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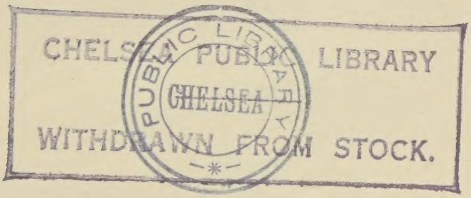
A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

FREDERICK C. DIETZ, PH.D.

Associate Professor of History in the University of Illinois



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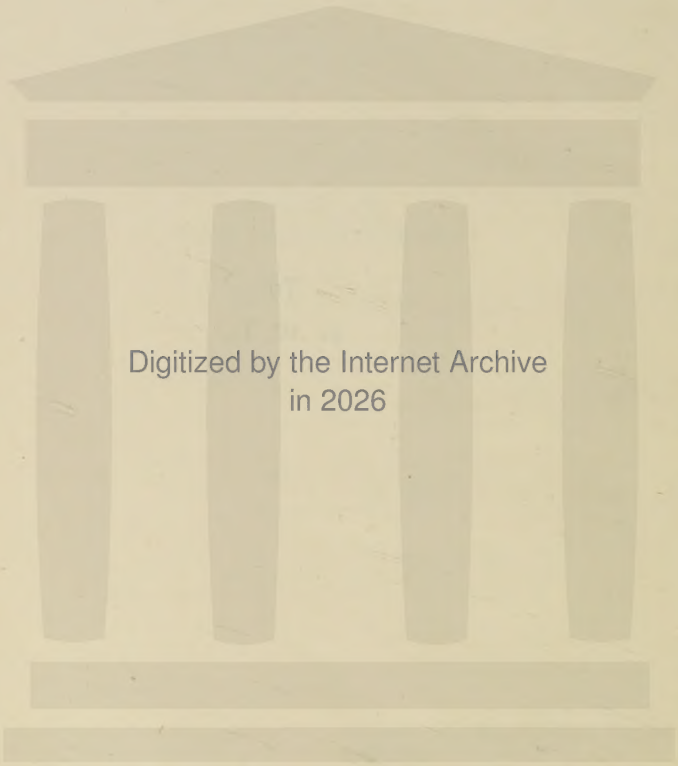
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PREFACE

The present day concern with economic and social problems inevitably leads the historian to emphasize these aspects of historical development. It is in the hope of making a contribution to the reinterpretation of English civilization and culture in such terms that this book has been written. To do this satisfactorily it has been necessary to eliminate many time-worn details and stories even beyond what has already been done by several recent writers. The result is on the whole a somewhat briefer treatment of English history, even though much new and rich illustrative material has been introduced in the discussion of the larger forces and major social movements.

In this exposition the attitude and idiom of the modern reader have been kept constantly in mind. It is generally recognized that students are but little concerned with military campaigns and battles, kings, and political intrigue. Their own experience in the contemporary world gives them a more vital familiarity with such things as the causes of wars, business expansion, technical advances, and the importance of masses and numbers in production and in population.

This technological point of view, symptomatic of the intense mechanization of modern civilization, has suggested that the study of each period begin with the examination of the fundamental changes in industry and agriculture as the background against which political and cultural activity may be reflected more vividly. It is then possible to evaluate and develop the effect of the more imponderable elements of tradition and idealism, the power of personalities in politics, and the force of emotional considerations in mass movements, such as the Reformation. On the other hand, owing to the allocation of certain subjects, such as literature, art, and philosophy, to specialized courses in American colleges, it has seemed best frankly to abandon any complete description of literary, artistic, and intellectual achievements in favor of briefer references. These are, however, sufficient to enable the student to relate his studies in these fields to his work in history.

It has been considered best, also, because of the lessened in-

terest in the Middle Ages, to reduce considerably the discussion of the period before 1485 by the omission of much material, innately interesting, but of less obvious importance for modern life. At the same time full justice is done to the more striking medieval constributions to the present, such as were contained in the church, feudalism, nationalism, representative institutions, and the development of capitalism. The rich heritage of law and government, which is shared by America, has been emphasized particularly.

The maps should prove an important auxiliary to the text itself. Through the generous coöperation of the publishers new maps have been engraved specially for this book. Much care has been taken to give these simplicity and clarity, and it is hoped that, through their freedom from excessive detail, and boldness of outline and legend, they will prove valuable to the student. For further geographical information reference should be made to W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, E. W. Dow, *Atlas of European History*, Ramsay Muir, *Hammond's New Historical Atlas for Students*, or S. R. Gardiner, *Atlas of English History*.

The bibliographical notes appended to each chapter include only some of the more recent and important works, and are intended merely to suggest further reading. Fuller lists of books can be found in the various bibliographies noted under General Works.

For valuable suggestions I am under obligations to many friends, especially to Professor C. F. Brand of Leland Stanford University, Professor J. W. Swain of the University of Illinois, Professor Wallace Notestein of Cornell University, and Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University. No one but myself, of course, is responsible for any opinions which may be expressed.

Mr. Philip Davidson, of the University of Illinois, has given liberally of his time and energy in reading proof of the entire volume.

FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

Champaign, Illinois,
April 26, 1927

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A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The archeological evidence of human habitation of Britain reaches back to the Piltdown skull, found in Sussex, which is that of a man who is conjectured to have lived in southern England as much as 100,000 years ago. There is nothing to indicate anything about the number of centuries he and his kindred lived in the country, and in all probability they did not survive the subsequent glacier ice-sheets, which repeatedly spread over Britain and Europe.

During the third inter-glacial period, perhaps 50,000 years ago, men again appeared in England and in Europe, of whom some were not of the same species as ourselves, and others seem to be represented in modern times by the Eskimos. Those among them who survived the last glacial age, which presently overwhelmed them, probably moved northwards with the retreating ice-sheets; but, if any remained in Britain, they witnessed great geographical changes. The broad valley which once extended along what is now the southern coast of England subsided and formed the English Channel. A vast swamp lying off the present east coast, through which the Rhine carried the waters of its tributary, the Thames, to the Arctic Ocean, formed the North Sea; and Great Britain, hitherto attached to the continental mainland, became an island. The woolly rhinoceros and other fearsome animals became extinct; and it is even possible that all, or nearly all, of the inhabitants also vanished. Their places were taken by newcomers from the Mediterranean basin, Africa, and Asia, the first invaders to come by sea.

Although it is possible to differentiate several races among the earliest arrivals from overseas, they resembled each other

in several characteristics. They were long-skulled, and they had evolved the art of giving to the flint, of which their weapons were made, a polish and finish unlike anything known by the earlier peoples. The cultural advancement over older races is further shown by their introduction into the island of domestic short-horned cattle, sheep, dogs, and goats; and some conception of a future life is premised on their treatment of their dead, whom they buried in long barrows or mounds, in which the departed leaders were surrounded with all their weapons and household utensils for use in the next world.

The long-skulled races controlled Britain for many thousands of years, and their blood flows in the veins of part of the British people to this day. At a time which is conjectured to be between 2000 and 1400 B.C. the long-heads were submerged by waves of round-headed peoples, of whom some were tall with massive jaws, prominent brows, and sloping foreheads, and others were broader headed and dark haired. The question of their ultimate origins is still unanswered, but it is believed that they came into England directly from France, the Rhineland and the Netherlands, and from Denmark. They sometimes built their villages on piles over lakes for greater safety from attack, or lived in round or oval huts gathered in tiny villages, enclosed by walls for protection and defense. Many of the huts which have been excavated contain cooking holes, lined with stones, in some of which fragments of charcoal have been found. Domestic animals, pastured on the broad downs which surrounded the villages, formed the main food supply, but hunting was still important, and agriculture was beginning to be practiced.

Long before reaching Europe, these remarkable people had developed great skill in producing bronze by fusing tin and copper; and it has been suggested that their quest for tin, a metal not widely distributed throughout the world, led them to settle various areas of Europe and finally brought them to England, where there is rich tin-bearing land in Cornwall. Equipped with bronze axes, they could clear the forests and bring the soil under cultivation; and thus, through their demonstration of the superiority of bronze over flint, they ushered the bronze age into history. They burned their dead, or buried them in round barrows, many of which have been excavated. Their most notable monuments were great circles of standing stones, of which Stonehenge in Salisbury plain is the outstanding example. This structure probably was connected with sepulchral

usages, although various other suggestions of its purpose have been made. The uncertainty over the function of Stonehenge is symptomatic of the darkness which enshrouds the long past of British history. There are no written records and but few archeological remains.

The lack of data is characteristic even of the early history of the Celts, the next invaders, who began their incursions into the island in about the seventh century B.C. Endowed with a physique surpassing that of the bronze-workers whom they encountered, and possessed of iron weapons and utensils far superior to the bronze implements of the existing inhabitants, the tall, fair-haired Celts presently dominated the country. They imposed their language so completely on the underlying population that to this day Celtic idioms are spoken in Wales, northern Scotland, and Ireland, and have disappeared from Cornwall and the Isle of Man only in the past hundred and fifty years. They established little kingdoms up and down the country, each one defined by the natural barriers of forests, rivers, mountains, swamps, and woods, corresponding rather closely in their boundaries to the existing English counties. It may be even that the people whom they conquered had themselves established political organizations with the same boundaries, which the Celts merely took over. The country across the channel in Gaul, or France as we now call it, was also under the control of Celtic rulers, and between the two lands of Britain and Gaul considerable commercial and diplomatic relations existed as the pre-Christian era approached its close. It was this circumstance which brought Britain within the scope of Roman interests, and led to the first Roman interference in the affairs of the island.

Just before the middle of the first century B.C. Julius Caesar began the conquest of Gaul. Disturbed by the fact that the Celts in Britain were extending aid to their kinsmen in Gaul, Caesar made a reconnaissance in force to the island in 55 B.C. Caught by the high tides and gale, his ships were disabled, and a retreat was necessary after only a few days' stay. In the next year, 54 B.C., a more elaborate expedition was undertaken; and although Caesar did inflict rather severe losses upon the Celts, a storm again interfered with a signal success.

For nearly a century Celtic predominance in Britain continued. In all probability Roman grain merchants visited the island to buy grain, and at the same time certain diplomatic relations developed between the Roman emperors and the Celtic kings. A quarrel over the succession in one of the Celtic royal families

gave an excuse to the Roman Emperor Claudius to interfere anew in the affairs of the island. The Roman conquest of Britain followed, and for the next four centuries, from 43 A.D. to 407 A.D., Britain was a province of the Roman Empire.

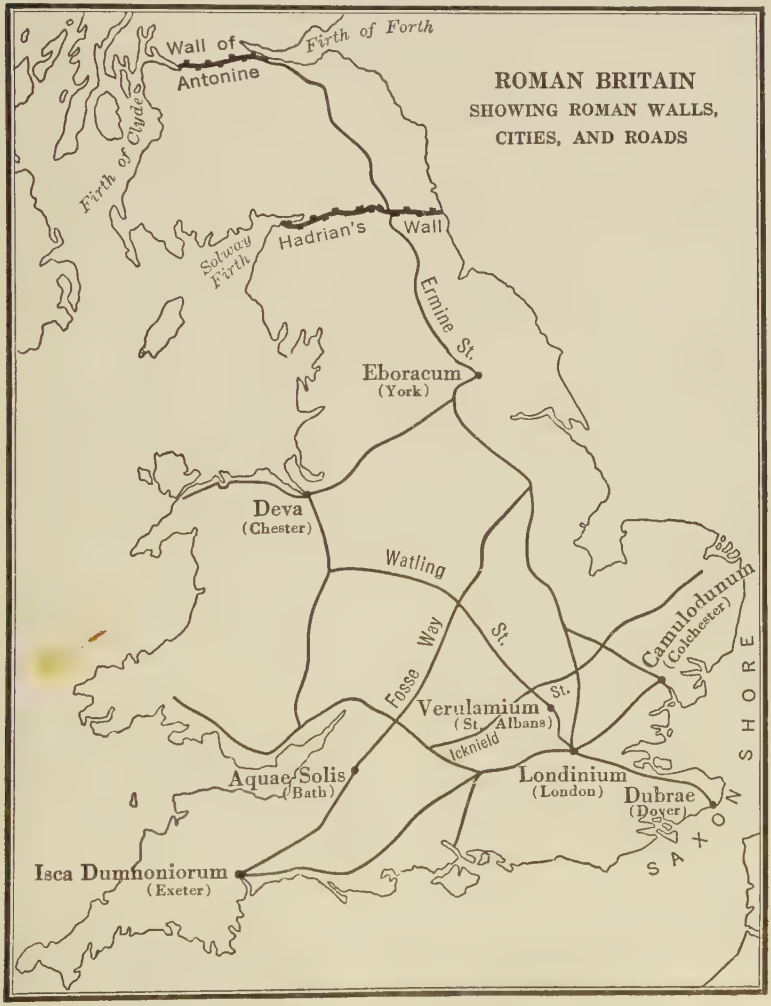
The Roman Province of Britain

The success of the Roman subjugation was largely due to the genius of Julius Agricola, an extremely able colonial governor, who administered the island from 78 to 85 A.D. He carried the military conquest of the island far into the west and into the north and made it effective up to the limits of the Welsh mountains, the Pennines of northern England, and the Highlands of Scotland. Realizing that the soldier's work in itself was impermanent, he set about to effect the cultural assimilation of the Celtic leaders to Roman civilization. He introduced them to the comforts and conveniences of Roman urban life, by encouraging the building of cities on the Roman plan with beautiful temples, baths, and palaces; he encouraged the use of Latin as the daily speech of the wealthy classes; and he induced them to send their sons to Gaul to be educated and Romanized.

During the period of the Roman occupation one hundred and fifty towns grew up in Britain and radiated Roman influences; and another characteristic institution, the villa, the great estate cultivated by slave labor, spread over the country districts. A remarkable system of roads, built primarily to facilitate the movement of troops over the country, extended to all parts of the province. These highways continued to be used until at least the sixteenth century, and their routes are followed by the lines of communication to this day. They opened up the country, penetrated the dense forests and swamps which covered the land, and made hitherto remote areas accessible to colonization and settlement. Even when Latin was obliterated by later invaders, the roads and the clearings remained as the most lasting contribution of the Romans to the development of British life.

In spite of these remarkable achievements, the Roman conquest of the island was never complete. Latin civilization did not bite deep into the lives of the masses of the non-urban population; and, in the outlying districts, the barbarians were practically unaffected by it. The fierce tribes of the Scottish mountains were never even subdued. Although Agricola had entertained the idea of extending imperial control to include all of modern Scotland, the Romans eventually contented themselves

with a boundary from the Solway to the Tyne as the northern limits of the province, with outposts beyond as far as the Firth of Forth and the Clyde. On these two lines fortified walls were



built; and, while for centuries the northern barbarians did not dare to attack the Solway-Tyne barrier with its garrison of 10,000 men, they remained unconquered and were a constant menace. This was the more serious in view of the general evils which were undermining the Empire and led in the end of the

fourth century to the beginning of the withdrawal of the Roman legions. In 383 the commander in Britain took many of his troops to Gaul to play the game of civil war; and, when he was slain, his troops were not returned. In the years 400-403 Alaric the Goth was threatening Rome. To strengthen the army of Stilicho, the loyalist general, one legion was withdrawn from Britain. In 407, when an irruption of Vandals, Sueves, Burgundians, and Alans into Gaul disorganized the civil government of Gaul and Britain entirely, the last remaining legion in Britain elected Constantine, one of its own members, as general and embarked for Gaul to take part in the general scramble for wealth and fortune. Three years later the Romanized Britains, feeling the need of the protection of Roman soldiers, addressed a request to the Roman government for the return of a Roman garrison. But the central government was involved again with Alaric and was unable to send any troops. Its inability to do so, expressed in a reply to the Britons that henceforth they must defend themselves, is considered as the formal notice of the ending of the Roman occupation, which had already taken place with the departure of the last legion in 407.

The collapse of Roman civilization seems to have been extremely rapid after this date. This is due preëminently to the fact that in Britain, as in all the Roman colonies, the basis of economic life was credit advanced by the great Roman banking houses. As long as a military force of the home government was there to protect their investments, they were willing to finance agriculture and urban industry; but with the departure of the legions, they withdrew their money as soon as possible and did not invest it anew. It is possible also that, with the withdrawal of the imperial forces and Roman credit, the technical experts who managed agriculture, commerce, and industry also returned to Spain, Italy, and Gaul from whence they came, while the disturbed conditions of Gaul and Italy cut off the necessary grain markets.

The country suffered a serious economic decline, which sapped her powers of resistance. In the face of this, in common with the rest of the Empire, Britain was called upon to meet the onslaughts of the barbarian hordes who were everywhere battering the old civilization. First came the Picts from the north, and presently the more terrible Germans. With the departure of the Romans it is possible that Britain split up into smaller units, headed by the local leaders; but at the same time they seem to have united in some way for purposes of defense under a com-

mon leader. They continued to look to Rome for a long time for help; as late as 446 they addressed an appeal to a Roman general with this pathetic phrase: "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back to the barbarians. We have only choice between the two methods of death, whether we should be massacred or drowned." But Rome could extend no help, and before a century passed the once fruitful province of Britain had become in the capital a land of mystery and myth. Thus Procopius, a historian of the sixth century, wrote: "Britain is divided into two parts by the men of old. On the eastern side of that wall all is fresh and fair; neither heat nor cold extensive; fruits, harvests, men abound. But on the western side things are altogether different, so that no man can live there even for half an hour. Numberless vipers and serpents and other venomous beasts abound there, and so pestilent is the air that the moment a man crosses the wall he dies."

Anglo-Saxon England

For two centuries after the end of the Roman occupation of Britain, from 407 to 597 A.D., there are almost no contemporary records,—only a few references in such things as lives of saints—and when later writers began to record the traditions and stories which men handed down about these years, they had become deeply encrusted with myth and legend. The first historian to resume the recording of history in Britain was a monkish scholar of the monastery of Jarrow, the Venerable Bede, who lived from 672 to 735. A noted teacher and a remarkable student, he collected all the documents he could find and, when documents were wanting, all the legends of English history and incorporated them into one of the most renowned historical works of all time, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*—the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. From his account and from the scanty contemporary references, it seems that shortly after the Romans ceased to garrison Britain, the Picts of Scotland began to harass the southern part of the island by terrible raids. Following the custom of the Romans, the British leaders took into their employ certain numbers of German mercenaries; after these mercenaries had driven back the Picts, they rebelled against the British who employed them, and, helping themselves to the lands and possessions of their employers, they settled in the country as masters. This happened for the first time, according to the legendary account, in Kent in 449, when two German

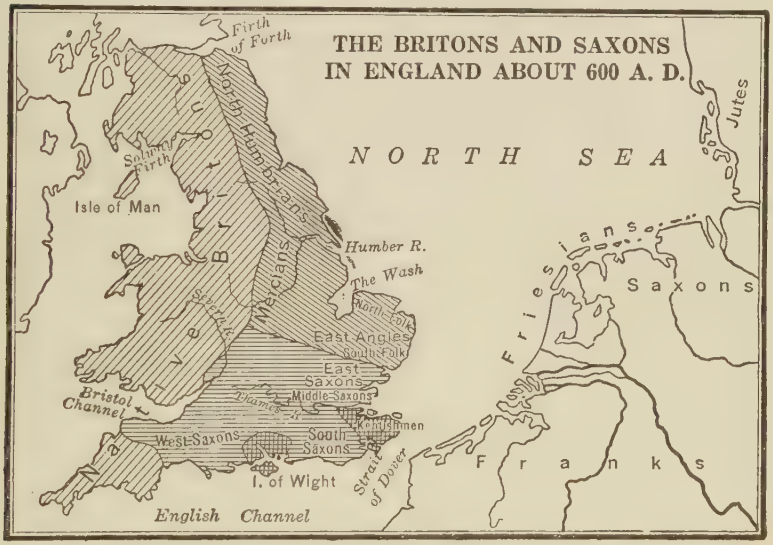
leaders of the tribe of the Jutes, named Hengist and Horsa, led their followers against Vortigern, the British commander, and occupied Kent. While the individual names perhaps are not correct, and the date is a little late for the beginning of the movement, this account is probably an accurate picture of what went on in region after region in the period from 425 to about 500. Small mercenary bands, largely recruited from the Jutes and from the Angle branch of the tribe of the Saxons, who lived in and near the Danish Peninsula, turned on the British, took over their property, and established themselves as masters of small areas along the coast. As the reports of their success filtered back to the home lands, other bands came on purely conquering expeditions; and, after they had defeated and driven out the local land owners, they settled down on the deserted estates. The invaders may have occupied also completely vacant land, of which there was a good deal in Britain in Roman times, especially in southern Kent, northern Sussex, western Somerset, Warwickshire, and the Midland plain. The Roman roads gave easy access to the interior.

There was probably no great invasion in which a whole tribe left its homeland under its king and threw itself upon the new country. Many war bands came under many chiefs. Except in the east there was no extermination of the old inhabitants in Britain by the newcomers beyond the slaughter of the local leaders, but it is probable that the mass of the people, already slaves, or unfree tillers of the soil, were allowed to remain to serve their new masters. Moreover, it must be remembered that the German invaders never occupied the whole island. The Celtic Britains resisted vigorously at times. Under two leaders, Ambrosius Aurelianus and Artorius, who seem to have been kings in western England vested with fragments of Roman authority in their own localities, they actually checked the German advance into the Midlands so decisively about 500 that it was not resumed again until 577.

On the basis of certain agricultural practices it is possible to trace a line from Durham east of the Pennines south to the borders of Wales and Cornwall which marks the western limits of the German military conquest. West of that line the Celtic British maintained themselves far past the period of the invasions. When a kind of equilibrium had been established in the sixth century, there were in all about twenty kingdoms in Britain, of which eight were Celtic British and twelve were Anglian. In the next century the Anglian kingdoms were re-

duced still further to four; Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex.

There were certain marked differences between the Celtic and Anglian sides of the island. In the one, certain Roman institutions continued to exist, while in the other all was German, pagan, barbarian. City life disappeared more or less completely everywhere, but the Roman system of agriculture seems to have persisted in the western part of the Romanized area of the island; and, above all, the Christian church, introduced in Roman times, continued a sturdy life among the Celtic Britons. So vigorous



was it that it developed and combated a heresy shortly after the Roman occupation ended; and all through the period of the German disorders it carried on an active missionary work, without, however, making any attempt to convert the invading Germans. Its most notable achievement was the conversion of Ireland under St. Patrick, who began his activity in 432. Coöperating with other missionary bishops, he established dioceses and monasteries, and infused the new church with so much zeal that in the following century these Irish houses sent out a host of able missionaries to convert or reconvert Britain and Europe. Among others, St. Columba set out in 563 to convert Scotland, and his mission station on the island of Iona soon became famous over Europe as a center of piety and learn-

ing. Early in the seventh century, Oswald, one of the petty Angle kings of Northumbria, spent some years in exile at Iona; and, when he recovered his throne, in pursuance of a vow made in his youth, he called upon Iona to send him a missionary to convert his people. In answer to his call, Aidan, a brother of the house, began his work on the island of Lindisfarne, off the Northumbrian coast, in a monastery which soon became the brightest beacon of learning and religion in northern Europe. With such zeal, Celtic Christianity would eventually have swept the island. There were, however, certain deficiencies in the Celtic church. Its organization was loose and it had lost all contact with Rome, which, in spite of all vicissitudes, still remained the center of western civilization.

In the meantime, while the Celtic Britons were trying to carry on and even spread their own culture, the Saxons were laying the foundations of a new order in the eastern half of the island. In place of the autocratic institutions of Roman civilization, with a handful of wealthy magnates controlling slaves and half-free colonists, and no important body of free citizens, the invaders substituted a more vigorous society. While they enslaved the existing inhabitants, the newcomers themselves were all free men, even though there was an aristocratic class with special privileges. At the head of each political unit or kingdom was a chief or king, who held his place by his leadership in battle, but bolstered it up very frequently by claims of descent direct from Woden, the great god. The ruler was thus both general and priest. He consulted his people on important matters in an assembly which included all the arms-bearing men, if the kingdom were small, or their representatives, the wise men, if the kingdom were larger; but in the assembly the individual had little beyond the right of acquiescing in measures presented to him.

In the villages, the units of local life, however, popular control was more vital. Except in Kent, Essex, and East Anglia, where the Roman villa was entrenched so strongly as to survive the invasions, the English village was a group of from twenty to forty free families, in which each family possessed its own homestead, the house and garden surrounding it, and its own cattle. It also owned a certain amount of farm land, which in earlier times was about 120 acres, called a hide, but later was reduced by subdivision to about 30 acres, known as a virgate. This land was not in a continuous field, but frequently was divided into acre strips (66 feet by 660 feet) which were scat-

tered all over the village, probably in order that each family might have some of the best land and some of the poorest. Although these strips were held in severalty or individual ownership, they were subject to a great deal of control by the village as a whole. Thus, for example, the crops to be planted were determined in the assembly of the whole village, and each occupier was bound to follow the decision of the group. As a general rule the village land was divided into three "fields." Of these one was allowed to lie fallow, the second was planted with wheat, and the third with oats, pease, or barley, as the village decided. In the next year the field planted with barley would lie fallow, the fallow field would be planted with wheat, and the field on which wheat had been raised would be planted with barley, oats, or pease. During half the year, moreover, from about the first of November to sometime in April, the individual's right to use his land for himself ceased, and every villager had the privilege, under the control of the village community, to turn his cattle over the plow lands to eat up the stubble. In addition to the plow lands or arable fields, there were in every village a meadow and a common waste or pasture. These were owned not by individuals, but by the village as a whole; and each member had certain carefully defined shares in their use. The hay cut from the meadow was divided to provide each family with winter fodder for its cattle, and every householder was permitted to pasture so many head of cattle on the common and to cut certain amounts of wood for building and for firing.

The invaders also brought with them their pagan religion, with which they superseded Celtic Christianity in the eastern half of the island. This was a fateful circumstance, since the acceptance of the British church by the Saxons would have offered heavy obstacles to the renewal of cultural contacts between England and Rome, inasmuch as all moral and intellectual values were now being expressed in religious terms. With the break-up of the imperial government in Rome in the fifth century, the remnants of authority had fallen into the hands of the pope, the Christian bishop of the city. The Papacy soon began to make efforts to restore something of the fabric of the Empire, with emphasis upon spiritual rather than political affairs; and missions to the pagan German tribes became common towards the end of the sixth century. In 597 such an expedition under Augustine, dispatched by Pope Gregory, landed in Kent in southeastern England.

Ethelburt, the King of Kent, was already quite familiar with

Christianity, since he had married a Christian princess from Gaul; and he probably realized the political importance of the new religion, since it had found acceptance at the court of Paris. He was impressed with Augustine's fine silver cross, his hymns, and his banner with its picture of Christ, and was rather afraid of the spells which the missionary might cast upon him. He placed St. Martin's Church, a small surviving Roman structure in his capital at Canterbury, at Augustine's disposal; and in less than three months he accepted baptism. Augustine became Archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of England, and was entrusted with the work of organizing the Roman church throughout the island. His proposition to the British bishops of the west to unite with the Roman church and submit to its control was rejected on the ground of fundamental differences in customs, such as the date of Easter and the form of the tonsure; and for sixty years after Augustine's death the supremacy of Rome even among the pagan conquerors was undetermined. For the Celtic church had begun to missionate from its houses at Iona and Lindisfarne among the northern English kingdoms, and at length won an official position at the court of Northumbria, whence the extension of its work might have been rapid.

Fortunately for the Roman cause, it possessed in Wilfred and Benedict Biscop two extremely aggressive leaders, who, taking advantage of a marriage between the Northumbrian ruler and a Kentish princess of their own communion, were able to force the claims of their organization upon him. At length, in 664, he arranged a council or synod at Whitby, to debate the relative merits of the Celtic and Roman churches. The consideration that Peter, the keeper of the keys of heaven, was the founder of the Roman church appealed to King Oswy with such force that he decided in favor of Rome. Most of the Celtic clergy in Northumbria and in the neighboring kingdoms followed his decision, and the westward success of the Roman church against British Christianity was begun, carrying with it, through its Saxon personnel, an advance of Saxon civilization.

The consolidation of the success won at Whitby in 664 was the work of Theodore of Tarsus, who came to England as Archbishop of Canterbury four years later. On his arrival he found seven bishopries and three bishops warring among themselves for power. The spiritual wants of the people were provided by missionary priests who might not visit a given village twice in years. Theodore organized a regular system of bishops, began a system of parish churches where regular services should be held,

and in 673 held the first general provincial synod for all Britain at Hertford. To provide an educated priesthood, he began a school at Canterbury where arithmetic, astronomy, Latin, Greek, and the Scriptures were taught. So zealous was the Roman church under his inspiration that missionaries were sent to Germany and Norway to convert those lands. At the same time the work of winning the British church went steadily forward, so that by 737 the Roman church had seventeen regular dioceses and held sway over all England except Wales, Cornwall, and Devonshire. Even though, politically speaking, the country still was divided into a number of separate kingdoms, it had achieved a national ecclesiastical union. This unity was all the more significant, because the church of this time had a much more important place in men's lives than the civil authorities and performed many functions now in the hands of the state. With ecclesiastical union accomplished, political unity was considerably easier of attainment. The process of political unity, moreover, was hastened by a new period of invasions, which began in the later part of the eighth century and continued sporadically until the Norman conquest in 1066. During the course of these new invasions the place of the political state in men's lives was enormously enhanced, so that not only was political unity furthered during this period, but the transcendence of the state over the church as the more important factor in the control of men's lives was accomplished. Before this development was assured, the Roman Christian Saxon society had to submit to the scourge of the Northmen and their terrible raids.

The Northman Invasions

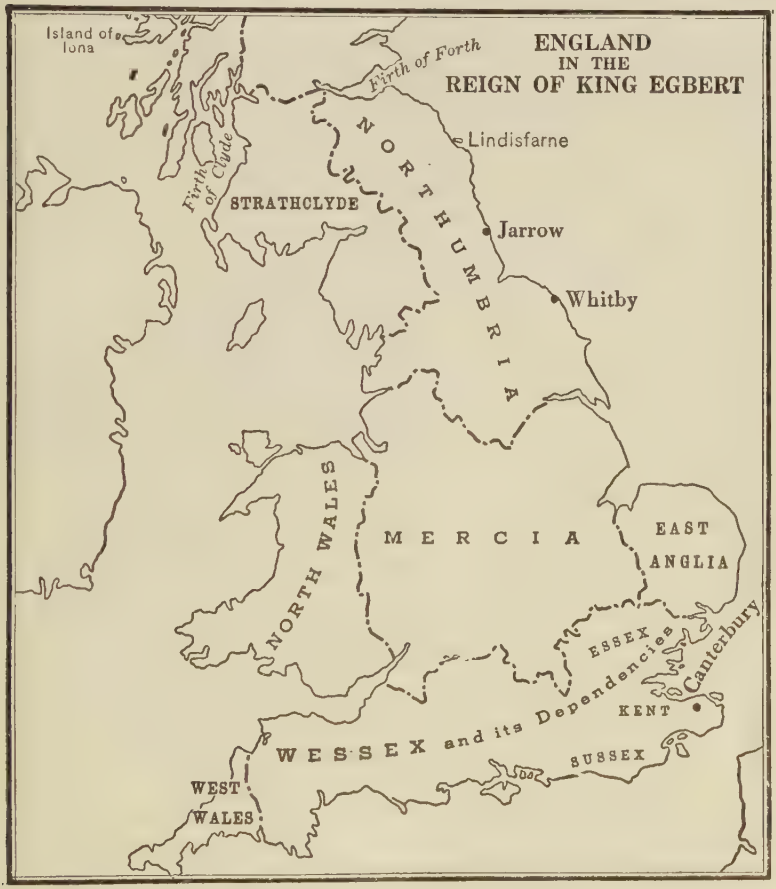
The term Northmen or Vikings is given to tribes of German peoples living in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, who were still, at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, outside the influence of Rome and of Christianity. Either because their population had outstripped the resources of their narrow fiords or because they were lured by the treasures of the more civilized lands to the south, they began to make long and daring raids upon a Europe unprepared to resist them. In their open, undecked viking boats, 70 feet long, carrying in all 100 men, 30 for the oars, the rest for fighting, they followed three general routes from their homelands. The Swedish Vikings crossed the Baltic to Russia, where they opened up trade with Constantinople by way of the Dnieper and the Black Sea, bring-

ing to the west fine armor, silks, rugs, and jewels. The Norwegians rounded the north of Scotland to Ireland and the Mediterranean, and the Danes skirted the shore to the northern coast of France and England. About 790 a chronicle records, "First came three ships of Northmen" to Wessex. Three years later in 793, after dire presentiments and famine had cowed the hearts of the people, and "hurricanes blew and lightnings flashed, and fiery serpents hurtled through the air, the heathen men miserably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne with rapine and slaughter." In the next year the monastery of Jarrow, where Bede had lived, was attacked; and in 795 a fleet of more than a hundred ships came to Wales, but was driven off. Ireland now became the object of attack, and at the end of the first third of the ninth century, when the Viking fleets grew larger year by year and changed from piratic forays to well organized expeditions for conquest and colonization, a Norwegian kingdom was established there. In 835 the attacks upon England were renewed and continued almost until the end of the century.

The political situation in northern England about 835 was particularly favorable for the success of the Northmen. Northumbria, which had been a rather strong state in the seventh century, had fallen a prey to civil wars between rival dynasties. Mercia, which had risen to preëminence in the eighth century under King Offa, had declined again with his death in 796. On the other hand, in the south, Wessex was rising to new greatness. Under King Egbert (802-839) Wessex expanded rapidly so that by 831 Egbert could claim overlordship of most of England—Cornwall, Wales, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, although many of these little kingdoms still retained their own kings. It was Egbert, his son, and grandsons who had to meet the new Viking blows after 835. Egbert spent his last years in beating off the pirate raids, although, without ships, he was unable to pursue them once they retreated to their boats and put out to sea. During his son Ethelwulf's reign the raids became more severe, and in 866, while one of Ethelwulf's sons ruled in Wessex, the major Danish attack upon England was launched. After East Anglia, Northumbria, Essex, and London had been conquered, the Great Army stood ready to invade Wessex. In the initial engagements the West Saxon King was wounded and died soon afterwards, and his younger brother Alfred, who had already shown qualities of leadership in the Saxon armies, received the crown.

Alfred the Great (871-900?) was just twenty-three when he

became king of the West Saxons. Realizing the strength of the Danes, he bought peace from them by promising a tribute, and during the respite thus given he reorganized the military powers of his country. When war was renewed in 875, Alfred eventually defeated Guthrum and in 878 compelled him to sign a treaty of



peace at Wedmore. By this treaty and by a second treaty made in 886, all England north of the Thames and Watling Street was given to the Danes as the Danelaw, or camp of the Danes; but in return the Danes accepted Christianity, which made inevitable their absorption into the body of the English people, from whom they differed only in religion.

For the greater part of Alfred's reign after 878 there was

peace, and Alfred was free to carry out constructive work in his kingdom, which included a reform of the church; the translation of noted books, such as Gregory's *Pastoral Care* and Orosius' *History of the World*, from the Latin into the vernacular; the writing of a history of England, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which was continued to 1154; the codification of the law; the

opening of a school at his court where the sons of his nobles might be educated; and the building of a fleet to patrol his coasts. He even extended the boundaries of Wessex by marrying his daughter Ethelflaed to the King of Mercia, upon whose death Mercia passed to the crown of Wessex. Near the end of his reign his work was interrupted by a new Danish attack. For three years the raids were continued, but Alfred's well organized army and his fleet eventually destroyed the pirate ships and captured the Danes themselves. They were settled in East Anglia and

Northumbria and soon became lost in the surrounding population. Some of the invaders escaped, harried the coasts of France about the mouth of the Seine under a new leader Rolf, or Rollo, until the King of France made much the same terms with them that Alfred had made with Guthrum in 878. They were given a part of France, henceforth called Normandy, as their own, on condition that they accept Christianity.

The Viking invasions of the ninth century just described had two very important series of results. They profoundly affected the world of western Europe at large. Men who lived in this period thought of their age as one of retrogression and relapse. King Ethelwulf showed the pessimism of the times in his will, when he ordained that each year every tenth man should be supplied with meat and drink and clothing by his successors, always supposing "that there should still be men and cattle in the land and that the country should not have become quite desolate." A tone of sadness was prevalent among those possessed of learning and culture; they regarded the days of Greece and Rome as the golden age, and looked for happiness only after death in heaven. But the raids were more than destructive forces. The Northmen were as much traders as pirates; and everywhere they went, they opened up new trade routes, bringing the products of Constantinople and Russia to the west, those of Spain and France to the north, taking in exchange their own dried codfish, furs, walrus-skins, and falcons. Towns sprang up along their routes; Rouen in France, and Chester, Bristol, Lincoln, Leicester, and York in England, deserted since Roman times, were reinhabited. Increased material wealth followed the development of trade, and a new alertness was evident in the social life of Europe.

For England the Danish invasions of this century had a special significance. They destroyed all the native royal families which ruled England save that of Wessex alone. Consequently, the West Saxon kings, advanced in prestige as the leaders of the English cause and strengthened by increases of territory through Alfred's addition of part of Mercia, London, Sussex, and Kent to his territories, had no rivals in the work of reconquering the country from the Danes and were able to bring all England into a single political unit. The invasions also did much to raise the political state from a position of inferiority to one of superiority to the church. When the Viking raids began, the church represented the most important institution that men knew. While the church had tried to protect England and western Europe, it

could use only the immaterial weapons of proselytization and conversion. In time the work of its missionaries among the Northmen was to be more effective than military measures, but in the immediate present the king, not the priest, had been the surest defense.

Finally, during this period, possibly in connection with the military activity of the times, the Saxon aristocratic classes had increased their importance. They came to exercise many varieties of economic control and judicial power, from complete ownership of whole villages with governmental rights in them, to a mere obligation of protection. The basis of this development seems to lie in the obligations of military services and certain payment in kind, such as a barrel of eels or a hundred eggs a year, which each villager owed the king. In the course of time these dues may have come to be regarded as rents for land which was now considered as really the property of the king in the hereditary possession of the villagers. Perhaps in payment for efficient military support the king transferred his rights to large local landowners of noble rank, who, present on the ground, were in a better position than the remote king to insist upon strict payment. Often the local magnate added to his powers the responsibility for the local military levies and the administration of justice, and if he could do this for a number of villages, especially if they were located in an area where older tribal feeling continued to be strong, he was on the way to establish a local sovereignty or earldom which might eventually become so powerful as to be independent in all but name. These developments went on apace in later centuries. The destruction of the ancient freedom of the villages was not completed until after the Norman conquest; the emergence of powerful earls who challenged the crown was the curse of tenth and eleventh century life.

The Achievement of Political Unity, and the Renewal of the Invasions (900-1066)

Under the son and grandsons of Alfred, the Danelaw was reconquered gradually and incorporated into the body of the West Saxon kingdom. The process was completed in 954, when Northumbria, the last remaining Danish territory, was annexed; and from that moment, except for very brief and momentary divisions on two or three occasions later, England always has had one central political government. The success of the move-

ment and the absorption of the Danish elements of the north into the body of Saxon society was due in large part to an ecclesiastical statesman, Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury and Archbishop of Canterbury, who served the West Saxon kings from 943 until his death in 988. He reformed the English church and Anglicized the Danes, but he could make no headway against the growing tendency of a few rich and powerful nobles to make themselves political masters of various parts of the kingdom, and he could not prevent factional and family strife at court. Shortly after his death, to add to the country's misfortunes, the Danes took advantage of internal dissension and renewed their attacks. King Ethelred the Unready, the king without counsel, adopted the policy of buying them off by the payment of tributes, which grew steadily larger, 10,000 pounds of silver in 991, 16,000 pounds in 994, 24,000 pounds in 1002, and 48,000 pounds in 1012. The money for this purpose was raised by a regular tax called the Danegeld.

As the Danes repeated their demands, Ethelred began to think of the possibilities of an alliance with Normandy, one of the most vigorous states in Europe, by marrying Emma, the sister of the reigning duke. At the same time he resolved to stiffen the unity of his people by ridding England of all Danes who were living there by a general massacre on St. Brice's Day, November 13, 1002. This act brought upon the country the vengeance of Sweyn Forkbeard, King of Denmark, whose son, Cnut, eventually succeeded in completing the conquest of the kingdom. From 1016 until Cnut's death in 1035 England was part of a North Sea empire, which included England, Norway, and Denmark, and she was in danger of becoming a Scandinavian land, cut off from the progressive, vigorous life of western Europe That retrogressive step was averted, in part at least because Emma of Normandy had become Cnut's queen after Ethelred's death; and, after the unworthy rule of Cnut's two sons, she was able to place Edward, her eldest son by Ethelred, on his father's throne.

While the accession of Edward the Confessor superficially represented the restoration of the old English monarchy of the house of Alfred, it was in reality a forward step in the Normanization of the country. Reared from infancy in Normandy, with Norman tastes, ideas, and friends, the saintly king did much to favor the spread of Norman influences which Emma's marriage to Ethelred in 1002 had begun. His efforts in this direction were not unopposed. Among the nobles who had become practically independent rulers over various earldoms, in which the separatist

feeling of the former Angle kingdoms was reasserted, Godwin, the earl of Wessex, represented himself as the protector of native Saxon ideals, even though he served no cause but his own. He openly challenged the King in 1051 by refusing to punish the town of Dover for an indignity to a visiting foreign nobleman. Edward was strong enough to exile Godwin for his disobedience, but could not hold his own against the powerful forces in whose company the exile and his sons presently returned. The rebels signalized their victory by deposing Robert of Jumièges, the Norman chaplain of the King, who recently had been made Archbishop of Canterbury, in favor of Stigand, a Saxon, and by forcing the crown to appoint Godwin's sons to the earldoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Middlesex as they fell vacant.

During the last decade of Edward's life Godwin's eldest son Harold inherited and increased his father's power and came to be looked upon as the inevitable native claimant of the throne. On the Confessor's death in 1066, he was elected king by his followers in London; and on the next day, while Edward's funeral was being celebrated in the new abbey church of Westminster, Harold was crowned in the same place.

The contest in England between Norman and Saxon elements had been watched with interest for years by William, Duke of Normandy, who long had conceived the purpose of adding England to his possessions. During Godwin's exile in 1051 William had paid a visit to his cousin Edward and had probably received some kind of acknowledgment from the English King as his heir and successor. More recently, in 1065, the Norman Duke had the good fortune to strengthen his claim to the English throne by a trick of circumstance. While Harold was sailing in the channel, his yacht was wrecked on the coast of Ponthieu. He was taken prisoner and dispatched to the Norman court at Rouen. Although William received and entertained him honorably, he was not permitted to depart until he took a solemn oath, sworn upon two chests of sacred relics, promising to be William's man. Such an oath involved the obligation to do nothing contrary to the interests of the lord in whose favor it was made; and when Harold assumed the crown in the face of his oath, his act was flaunted before the public opinion of Europe as the blackest perjury. William had to conquer England from Harold to avenge that sin. No one, moreover, could be blind to the fact that a consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury was deposed and in exile, while the false bishop, Stigand, ruled in his place; William

would be the leader of a Christian crusade against the contumacious nation. So, secure with the blessing of the Pope, justified by the public opinion of Europe, and, above all, with the approval of his powerful kinsman, Baldwin of Flanders, who pulled all the political strings in European politics at this time, William set out to take his kingdom of England.

Harold's cause was weakened by years of internal warfare and strife. At the last moment, Harold's own brother, Tostig, exiled from his earldom of Northumbria, united with Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, to conquer England from the north. On September 27, 1066, Harold defeated his brother Tostig and Harold Hardrada at Stamford Bridge, ten miles from York; on the very next day William set sail from St. Valery in Normandy with 50,000 men, to land on the following day at Pevensey in England. With extraordinary courage and ability Harold hastened from York to London, re-formed his fighting units, and stood face to face with William at Hastings on the evening of October 13. On the day after, the battle was joined, and toward evening, at about five o'clock, Harold was killed; and William pitched his tent where Harold's standard had stood.

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CHAPTER II

THE FEUDAL PERIOD

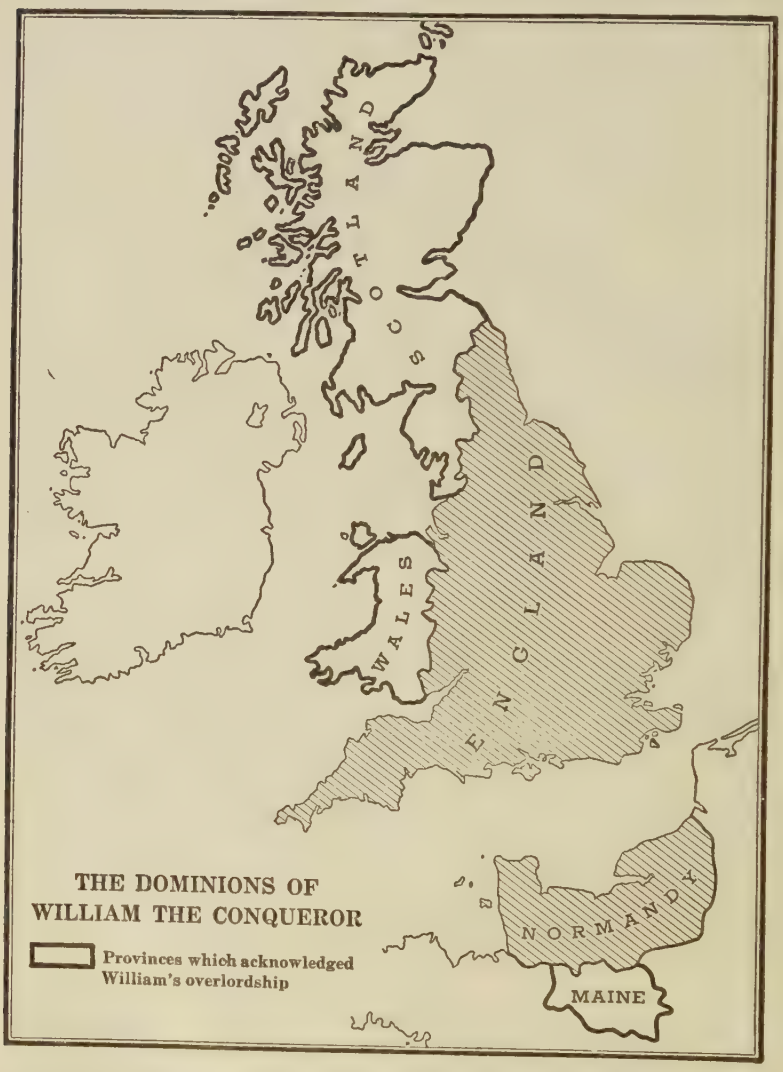
The kings of England following the Norman conquest, called the Norman kings, were

William I, the Conqueror, 1066-1087
William II, surnamed Rufus, 1087-1100
Henry I, 1100-1135
Stephen, 1135-1154

William II was the second son of William the Conqueror. He received England on his father's death, while his elder brother Robert received Normandy. Henry I was the third son of William the Conqueror, who succeeded William Rufus in default of a direct heir. Henry's own son, William, died in the wreck of the White Ship while crossing the channel, and in default of a male heir Henry strove to have his daughter, Matilda, recognized as his successor; but on his death the throne was seized by Stephen, Count of Blois, who was the son of Adela, the daughter of William the Conqueror.

William the Conqueror's expedition to England was not an undertaking of the Norman state, but a kind of "joint stock enterprise." Before making his plans, William assembled his nobles to discuss the project. They refused to risk the resources of the Duchy of Normandy in so hazardous a scheme, but they were willing to venture their own private wealth, on condition that they should be rewarded with a share in the lands and estates which William conquered and confiscated. In the period after the battle of Hastings, a great deal of the land of England passed into William's hands. The crown lands of the old King were, of course, his. The possessions of Harold and all who had fallen with him in battle were seized at once, while the later rebellions of Saxon nobles were followed by confiscations of their property. Much of this land was bestowed upon the chiefs of the Conqueror's army, in proportion to their contributions to the conquest. A concrete example may be used in illustration. William's own half-brother, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, a churchman more enamoured of fighting than of praying, who, prevented by the tenets of the church from shedding blood with a sword, swung a great iron mace in battle, which shed no blood but did

effective work, contributed 100 ships and their equipment to the expedition. After the victory of Hastings, in which Odo did especially valiant work at a critical juncture in rallying the



retreating Normans, he was made Earl of Kent and ultimately was given 500 villages or *manors*.

These estates and manors granted by the King were not given in full ownership. He looked upon them as rewards for past

aid, but also as payments for present and future services, and introduced into England in connection with them a system of tenures and relationships, already used in Normandy, known as *feudalism*. In a modern society, the state would grant land in free ownership and take a small levy of its value in the form of taxes to provide for its present and future needs. But taxes in measure great enough to meet the expenses of his government were impossible for William the Conqueror. To understand this condition, several circumstances must be kept in mind. The first of these is that England was still in a period of natural economy, where money was almost unknown and unused, and where goods and services were exchanged directly for each other. There was thus no money available for the payment of taxes on any important scale, and, it may be added, almost no one thought of performing any services for money. In the second place, there was in the eleventh century an absolute lack of any notion of patriotism, the sense of obligation to an impersonal social entity. In its place there was a sense of personal loyalty to a leader, who had conferred benefits upon his faithful followers and was expected to bestow still others in the future. The most cherished benefit of this sort, which cemented affection between chief and man most closely, was the hereditary grant of a piece of land, called a *fief,* out of gratitude for which its recipient, the *vassal,* would gladly make certain payments and perform certain services. The feudal system was thus, in the first instance, a practicable means of turning land, the chief form of wealth, to support the king by providing services for him in a time when money was not in use and the sense of obligation to an impersonal state unknown.

The chief services which the king required were the services of his ministers, such as the Treasurer, the Marshal, the Chancellor, and others, and secondly, the services of soldiers. Any kind of service, however, might be provided for, from the highest office in the state down to the duty of keeping the king's falcon, or "counting our chessmen in our chamber, and putting them in a box when we have finished our game." There was a rather important peculiarity which characterized this method of getting duties done. The land or the fief, once granted, was hereditary in the family of the vassal who received it, as long as he and his heirs were willing to do the required services.

The vassal had certain other obligations to the king besides the performance of the particularly stipulated duties in the king's army, household, or government. He was obliged to assist the

king with advice and counsel, and sat with him in the great council of the realm to make important decisions and to help the king define the law. In the next place, he was entrusted with the maintenance of law and order on his fief. In the wretched conditions of travel and communication of the times, it was impossible for the king to make his authority felt directly in all parts of his country in all matters. He had to rely upon the trustworthiness of local representatives, and of these none was more fitting than the local vassal. To him was entrusted, therefore, a large measure of governmental authority in dealing with his fief, especially the right to hold a court and punish many kinds of offenses.

Just as the king divided the land of England into fiefs which he granted to his immediate vassals, so they might subdivide their fiefs into smaller fiefs. Odo, for example, was required to furnish the military service of many knights in return for his lands. In the absence of money he could not hire knights; to raise the requisite military force he subdivided his estates and bestowed his manors upon his own followers. These now stood in the same relation of vassals and were under many of the same obligations to Odo as he was to the king.

The relations between the king and his barons and knights were not those of master and subject. In theory, at least, all were bound together as comrades in arms by ties of deep personal affection, and stood on a plane of such social equality that in some countries of Europe the barons habitually used, in their addresses to the king, the phrase, "we, who are as good as you, to you, who are no better than we." The very emphasis upon equality in this phrase implies that in practical affairs loyalty and regard gave way to friction and hostility between the lord and his vassals. All were subject to the greatest temptations to disregard their mutual obligations. The king might try to recover fiefs when he no longer needed the stipulated services, while the vassals constantly endeavored to lessen their duties and to convert their hereditary possession into free ownership.

Certain safeguards were devised, therefore, to bind both the king and his vassals. In feudal law the relation between the king and his vassals was regarded as a contract, voluntarily entered into, which neither the king nor the vassals could break. The king had the obligation, as defined by the feudal lawyers, not to injure his vassal in any way, not to build castles on the vassal's land, not to make war against him without cause, not to increase his dues without his consent, and not to take his fief

away from him as long as he fulfilled all conditions. The vassal had the general obligation not to injure his lord in body, reputation, or estate. His love for the king was so great that he would willingly give all his possessions to aid the king in times of trouble; but, for safety's sake, both the contributions and the times were carefully defined. When the king was captured and must needs be ransomed, when his eldest son was knighted, and the king was under heavy expenses for his horse and armor and the ceremonial banquet, and when the king's eldest daughter was married and a dowry had to be provided, certain payments called *aids* had to be made by every vassal. To keep a perfect record of the king's ownership of the land, of which the vassal merely held hereditary possession, a small sum called a *relief* had to be paid whenever a vassal's heir inherited an estate. In later times no payment was more evaded than this; for if several generations passed without the renewal of the record which was made when the relief was paid, the king's right might be forgotten. To protect the king in securing the proper services when a minor heir or a girl inherited a fief, he had the right to take over the fief until the heir reached maturity or until the heiress was married, or to be paid a fine in lieu of his rights. When a vassal died without heirs, the fief escheated back into the king's hands, to be granted to another vassal as occasion required. These three last obligations, *relief, wardship and marriage,* and *escheat* are called *incidents.*

In France the process of subinfeudation led to a great deal of civil war; for although the vassal was bound not to war against his immediate lord, the subvassals were under no such obligation. To forestall these continental troubles, William the Conqueror seems to have obliged every vassal and subvassal to take an oath of primary obedience to himself, so that he had the direct allegiance of every member of the feudal system in England. One known example of such an oath was administered in 1086 on Salisbury plain and is called the Salisbury oath. William also tried to check the forces of disintegration by other devices. He kept in his own hands certain powers which on the continent were delegated to the vassals, such as the rights to license the building of castles and fortresses, to coin money, and to try in his own courts certain kinds of cases called "pleas of the crown," which dealt with contempt of the king's orders, treason, counterfeiting, shipwreck, robbery, outlawry, and other matters. Moreover, probably as much through the circumstance that England was conquered piecemeal as through design,

William scattered the grants of particular individuals all over the country, so that no one noble should control any large region. By this practice he made more difficult the reappearance of anything like the great Anglo-Saxon magnates, who possessed whole series of counties in which, under the title of earls, they exercised complete governmental authority. It is true that William established earldoms on the borders of England, where strong measures of defense might be necessary, as in Kent, Durham, Hereford, Chester, and Shrewsbury; but the earls were rather royal officials than great landowners as the Anglo-Saxon earls had been.

In addition to all this, to prevent the rise of great families to independent power like that possessed by Earl Godwin in Anglo-Saxon days, William the Conqueror kept a check on all his feudal vassals through certain non-feudal administrative and judicial officers. In every county there was an Anglo-Saxon official called the *sheriff*, who did not hold his office on a feudal basis. This official, appointed for a short term and dependent on royal favor, was retained by William and given charge of all the royal revenues in his own county, the duty of issuing royal proclamations, of commanding the king's forces, and of apprehending any insurrectionary movement against the king's authority. He was the king's eyes, the king's mouth, and the king's ears in every shire. William also retained certain non-feudal courts, especially the county court, attended by all freemen of the county, a body entirely non-feudal, which continued to exercise great control in local government. Finally, he permitted appeals in certain kinds of cases from the various local courts to his own royal court, without regard for the niceties of feudal distinctions.

William's innovations probably went beyond the mere protection of his feudal position and represented an effort to create a strong political sovereignty in place of a lordship based upon the personal loyalty of his followers. The imposition upon the Norman barons of this altered concept of the kingship, different from that which prevailed in other feudal countries, was aided by the circumstance that, while William acted as a feudal conqueror in disposing of the land of England, he wore the crown of England as the rightful heir of Edward the Confessor and the old English kings. In line with this contention changes were made in existing institutions only when necessary. The Anglo-Saxon system of laws was retained and little was added to them. Anglo-Saxon institutions were taken over, although they were modified considerably by feudal conditions. The old

royal council, the Witan, the assembly of the wisest and ablest men of the kingdom, was subtly converted into the *Curia Regis*, a feudal court, in which men took their places as direct vassals or *tenants-in-chief* of the king. In the Curia Regis, the Great Council of the realm, the leading nobles, lay and ecclesiastical, played the dominant role, as they had done in the old Witan.

Above all, the Norman kings recognized that one of the chief elements in the political sovereignty which they sought to establish was the control of abundant material resources by the government. Apart from any theoretical considerations, the practical aspects of royal policy involved heavy outlays. Castles to garrison the country, of which the Tower of London, begun by William the Conqueror himself, is an example, were constructed at great cost. A great deal of expense was entailed in completely subduing the English, who recovered after the initial overthrow and rebelled against William on several occasions; namely, in Yorkshire in 1069 when William laid waste the Vale of York for fifty miles, and again in 1071 when Hereward the Wake led the men of central England in the last great native insurrection. At certain times revolts of the feudal nobles to secure the privileges of the continental aristocracy denied by the Norman kings had to be dealt with. William the Conqueror was faced by two risings of his barons, one in 1075, led by Ralph and Roger, Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, and the other in 1077-79, led by his own son Robert; William II had to suppress the revolt of Odo, his uncle, and Robert, his brother, in 1088, and that of his great vassal, Robert of Mowbray, in 1095; and Henry I had to fight for his power against his brother Robert in 1101 and against the powerful Robert of Bellême in the next year, 1102. William II increased his expenditures by a campaign into the north, as a result of which Westmoreland was added to England, and by lending his brother Robert 10,000 marks on pledge of Normandy to enable him to go on the first Crusade in 1096. In 1101 Henry I had to promise his brother Robert a pension of 3000 marks a year to induce him to abandon his claims to the crown of England, recently seized by Henry on his brother William II's death, and to return to Normandy. Henry never paid this money, but he did not feel safe until he invaded Normandy in 1106 at the head of a costly expedition, defeated and captured Robert in the battle of Tinchebrai, put him into prison for the remaining twenty-seven years of his life, and assumed the Duchy of Normandy for himself.

The Revenues of the Norman Kings

To meet the charges of their government the Norman kings developed large, but inelastic, revenues. Taxation of the modern sort was unknown; a Danegeld occasionally levied was the only direct taxation; and indirect taxation, such as national customs and excises, was non-existent. The chief resources of the crown were the feudal services, the feudal dues and payments, the yield of the 1422 manors which William I had reserved for himself, and the income from the royal forests, coming from the sale of wood and the leasing of pannage for swine. There were also paid into the treasury fines in the royal courts, payments (first in kind, but soon in money) in lieu of customary services from the people of the towns, money coming from the sale of charters to the towns, and the value of *waifs* or goods thrown away by a thief in flight, of strayed animals, wrecks, whales and great sturgeons cast up on shore, and of treasure trove. Furthermore, the king had the right to impress conveyances and horses for his use and to buy supplies at fixed and low prices.

In their efforts to bring more money into their treasuries the Norman kings adopted the newest inventions and discoveries in accounting. Of these the most significant was the abacus, which was in reality a method of using the arabic or decimal system of notation in place of the cumbersome Roman duodecimal system. It is represented in modern times by a frame fitted with wires on which wooden beads are strung, still used by Chinese laundrymen to work their accounts. An earlier form was a table on which lines were drawn, while weights, moved up and down in the columns, took the place of beads. This accounting device came to England from Lorraine, and William and his immediate successors were quick to see its possibilities in their treasury department. From the resemblance of the table to a chequer board the accounting office came to be called the *Exchequer*, a name which has come down from Norman times to our own. Around this Exchequer table, in the presence of a committee of the Curia Regis, the king's sheriffs and all other officials who received revenues in kind, or handled money for the king (which became much more common in the century after William's death and took the place of payments in kind after the reign of Henry I), made their accounting twice a year, at Easter and at Michaelmas (September 29).

More positive endeavors were also made by William the Conqueror and his immediate successors to enlarge their income.

William I gave so much attention to the problem that his contemporaries declared he was "given to avarice and greedily loved gain," while a modern historian has asserted that his subjects groaned under his exactions. He finally ordered a great economic census of all the wealth of the kingdom, concluded in 1086, called the Domesday Book, on the basis of which Ranulf Flambard, Bishop of Durham, the chief minister or justiciar of William II, actually devised larger revenues. A contemporary chronicler, Odericus Vitalis, declared that, while enormous sums were spent prodigally in useless armaments, Ranulf Flambard and other minions and officers of the King "were robbing England, and worse than thieves pillaged without mercy the granaries of the farmers, and the stores of the merchants, not even restraining their bloody hands from plundering the church." A less impassioned examination of Ranulf Flambard's work shows that he found means of exacting money from the church, and that, in defiance of feudal custom, he greatly increased the feudal reliefs and the severity of payments in connection with the king's right of wardship and marriage. Ranulf himself suffered dismissal from his office for his ruthless and unpopular efforts to increase the royal income and spent the last years of his life in building the great cathedral of Durham, the most magnificent of all English cathedrals. His successor in the justiciarship, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, pretended to abandon his excessive rates of payment, but actually committed them to record in the now firmly established Exchequer, after removing certain inequalities, so that they soon began to be regarded as right and proper. The problem of increasing the king's income to correspond with rising expenditures was not solved, however, during this period, and continued to form one of the major concerns of the successive governments all through English history.

The Norman Kings and the Church

While the feudal barons remained restless under the constantly advancing might of the first three Norman rulers, their revolts were unsuccessful, and they were forced to bide their time until a weaker personality mounted the English throne. More serious in the eyes of William and his sons was the opposition to their pretentions of the church, which advanced against the idea of supreme royal control a contradictory policy.

In order to understand the situation clearly, certain facts concerning the church must be kept in mind. The term

"church" is the general name of the organization which was concerned with the religious life of western Europe. Its government was controlled by a hierarchy of officials; priests, archdeacons, bishops and abbots, archbishops, and the pope. On the other hand, the vast properties spread throughout Christendom, on which the church depended for its wealth and the means of carrying on its work, were owned by local corporations; the bishoprics, monasteries, and other offices. The pope could issue regulations for the general government of the church, which the Archbishop of Canterbury, for example, felt himself obliged to obey; but the Archbishop of Canterbury was not paid by the pope for carrying out his duties. He received his income from landed estates which were the property of his office, the corporation of the archbishopric, over which the pope had no control and from which the pope received no income or revenues directly. At the same time the pope was very much interested in seeing that the estates of the archbishopric were passed on from one archbishop to another, in order that the resources of the archbishops might continue ample for their duties.

Another fact that must be noticed is that while the church in England was a part of the church of western Europe, at the same time it had a certain entity and separate organization. Headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury as their primate, the English bishops and the English clergy were capable of organized action in their own interests. Consequently, the phrase, the relations of the Norman kings and the church, may mean the relations between the Norman kings and the pope as head of the church as a whole, or between the Norman kings and the English church as a separate entity, or those between the Norman kings and both the pope and the English church.

In the relation between the Norman kings and the English church there are two fundamental considerations: first, the fact that the church corporations, the bishopries and monasteries, were the great vested interests *par excellence* of the age, and second, that the clergy were almost the only educated class, with a monopoly of training and executive ability. There was, therefore, no question of eliminating the influence of the clergy, the learned embodiments of corporate wealth. The king had to depend on churchmen to man the offices of the central government. From William the Conqueror to Edward I a long line of great ecclesiastics served in the chief offices of the state. The real question was whether they should control the state as officers of a great politico-religious organization which looked upon the

state as inferior to it, or whether they should owe their first allegiance to the king and the secular ideal. It made a world of difference which they did; and it is largely owing to the developments of the Norman period that, in general, they were first of all servants of the king. From the start, William the Conqueror was resolved that in England the churchmen and the church should be subordinate to the king, and as one means of assuring this fact he insisted that the lands and estates of the church should be regarded as fiefs, paying certain dues and services to the king. In enforcing these views William had the extraordinary assistance of Lanfranc, an Italian lawyer turned monk, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1070 until his death in 1089. On the other hand, William found himself limited by the fact that he had led his conquering expedition to England as a Christian crusader with the blessing of Pope Alexander II. Moreover, in his plans he was opposed by a great regenerative movement in the church at large led by Hildebrand, who became pope in 1073 as Gregory VII.

By the middle of the eleventh century the central government of the Christian church in Rome had reached the nadir of degradation, when three Popes conducted an unseemly quarrel for the control of the papal throne. To the monk Hildebrand, who was right at the heart of the struggle, it seemed that the real evils symbolized by the present wretchedness were the despiritualization and feudalization of the local officers of the church, especially the bishops, and their subordination to the civil king. All over Europe in the days of the Northman invasions, the civil state had come to play a greater part in men's interests than the church, and the bishops and other learned men of the church were drafted to place their learning and ability at the service of the government. More than this, there was an increasing tendency to lose sight of the distinction between the property of the bishoprics or other offices and the personal possessions of the bishops, for bishops to marry, found families, and pass on not only their personal property, but the estates of their offices to their children. If this process went very far, it was clear that the church would lose its wealth, and with its wealth, its influence and power for doing good in the world. Hildebrand, therefore, sponsored a program of reform, in which he demanded the coöperation of all Christian kings and churchmen. He began by boldly and clearly claiming the supremacy of the Roman church over all other churches and the superiority of the Church over the State. While this was not a fact, it was essential as an

article of faith to induce the bishops to regard the service of the church as more essential than their work for the government. He then went on to declare that the church officials must be elected according to the law of the church—bishops by the cathedral chapters, and abbots of monasteries by the convents—and that they must not be appointed by kings, in order to prevent mere politicians without spiritual interests from receiving church offices. To make this doubly sure, he denied the right of kings to induct new bishops and other church officials into their offices, or to invest them with their estates or ecclesiastical powers. All this must be done by church officials. Finally, to prevent the appearance of a hereditary officialdom, passing on church property as a family possession, he forbade the marriage of priests.

With such parts of this program as made for reform in the church without interfering with his own power, William the Conqueror was in accord. He sincerely desired to see more spiritually minded men in at least some of the great offices of the church, and he and Lanfranc worked together to put such men into office. He saw the force of the objection to the marriage of priests and forbade priests of the higher ranks, in any case, to marry. But he insisted upon his patronage or the right to select church officials, and to avoid conflict the Pope granted it to him for his lifetime. In the matter of the superiority of the Church over the State, he absolutely refused any concession. When the legate of the Pope bade him make this acknowledgment by doing fealty to the pope, he replied in a letter, directly to Gregory, "I refused to do fealty, nor will I, because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors." He refused to allow any one settled in his dominions to acknowledge a pope save at his own bidding, or to receive letters from Rome without his first having seen them; he did not permit any independence to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he refused to allow the excommunication of any important persons or their accusation of crimes against the moral code without his command. Finally, he insisted that the lands held by the church corporations, bishopries, monasteries, and other offices and institutions were feudal lands subject to feudal services. Bishops attended the Curia Regis not as distinguished men, but as vassals holding fiefs. The King's view was more definitely stated by Lanfranc in 1088. On the occasion when William of St. Calais, Bishop of Durham, was sentenced to exile for his part in the baronial revolt of that year, he appealed from the king's court to that of the pope. Lanfranc advised the King that in respect

of the lands of the bishopric of Durham William of St. Calais was a lay baron, and that thus his estates were liable to forfeiture by the judgment of a vassal court.

Much may be said in justification of William's position. An impossible situation would have been created if the great churchmen, invested with hundreds of manors, had been allowed to evade their obligations as vassals. In effect, a considerable part of England would have been removed from the king's control.

As long as William I lived, his relations with the Papacy, even if strained at times, were on a plane of mutual respect. Gregory VII was too busy with a quarrel with the German Emperor, Henry IV, to press his claims against William, and William was too wise to go to extremes with his. The situation was altered when William Rufus came to the throne. Personally, if the monkish chroniclers may be believed, he was a man of low character; his habitual expression was a sneer, he was given to fits of passion when he threw decorum to the winds, he laughed at the ordinary restraints of morality, he gave such special license to his household knights that at the news of his approach his people fled to the woods and hills. He was faced also by pressing needs of more revenue. With the advice and help of Ranulf Flambard he openly asserted the feudal nature of the estates of the church and proceeded to treat them exactly as fiefs. This is what Odericus Vitalis meant when he said that Ranulf and the other royal officials did not restrain their bloody hands even from the church. Ranulf and the King demanded large sums from bishops when they entered upon their bishopries. The Bishop of Thetford paid a relief of 1000 pounds; and, straightway, as he opened the gospel book at his consecration, his eye fell upon the salutation with which Christ had greeted Judas on the night of his betrayal, "Friend, wherefore art thou come?" He then realized that he was guilty of simony, the heinous sin of buying spiritual preferment and betraying his Lord for money. The King and his minister went further, however, after Lanfranc's death in 1089, when they frankly treated the see of Canterbury as a lay fief which had escheated into the king's hands, collecting its revenues and showing no intention of filling the vacant office. Other bishopries and abbeys were treated in the same way as they fell vacant. From this advanced position William Rufus receded, when in the shadow of death he permitted Anselm, a holy Italian, to be named Archbishop of Canterbury; but he still endeavored to saddle all feudal burdens upon the ecclesiastical fiefs. In 1094, for example, he called

upon Anselm for one of the feudal aids (which Anselm refused), and he continued to keep certain abbeys vacant in spite of Anselm's warning sermons. "What is that to you?" cried the infuriated King. "The abbeys are my abbeys. You do what you please with your own manors, and I will do the same with my abbeys." Other questions came up subsequently between the King and Anselm to embitter their relations, but the question of the feudal obligations of ecclesiastical fiefs was ever in the foreground. It was raised again over demands made by William for contributions and knights for a campaign into Wales, and for the money to be lent to Robert to enable him to go on his crusade in 1096. In the next year Anselm, refusing to appear at the king's court at Windsor, appealed to the Pope and went into exile. While in exile, visiting in Rome, he learned a stricter doctrine of the relations between Church and State, to the effect that church officials must be chosen by the proper church agencies, and must never be invested with their lands or spiritual powers by the king. This was simply restating the position which Anselm had already held in England, that church lands were not feudal fiefs; and when Henry I, after his accession to the throne in 1100, invited Anselm to return to England, Anselm at once reopened the quarrel by refusing to do homage to the king for his lands. In 1106 a compromise was made between Anselm and Henry at Bec, which was a rational settlement of the Investiture Conflict. The church gained the recognition of the fact that a church official had certain spiritual powers which only the church could bestow, while the king's feudal rights were safeguarded. Church officials were to be elected by the proper church bodies, but in the presence of the king or his representative, who in practice came to nominate the person to be chosen. The newly elected bishop or abbot was to receive his lands from the king and accept certain feudal obligations; but at the same time he was to be invested with his spiritual powers, without which he could not serve in his office, by the church.

The English church was not satisfied with this compromise, and in the reign of Stephen replaced it by a different arrangement. Both the feudal barons and the church were discontented with the strong rule of William I and his sons. The barons, therefore, supported Stephen for the kingship on Henry I's death, because he was a mild man, and soft, and good, and did no justice, in opposition to the more vigorous Matilda, Henry's daughter; and in 1136 the church took the occasion to extort

from Stephen a charter, by which all that had been sought by the church since the conquest was gained, and all that had been won by the king was abandoned. Yet the very weakness of Stephen's rule was the undoing of all his concessions. Civil government almost dissolved in the universal disorder, the land was filled with castles, property was unsafe, the royal courts ceased to function. "However a man tilled, the earth bare no corn; for the land was all fordone by evil deeds, and they said openly that Christ and His saints slept."

The Prosperity of Feudal England

Much was written in contemporary literature of the grinding tyranny and the financial exactions of the Norman kings, and it was seldom or never recognized that England was so much more prosperous than she had been in an earlier age, that she easily could stand the burdens which the government laid upon her. The extent of English prosperity in this period is indicated best by the extensive building of churches and monasteries, into which most of the surplus wealth of the day found its way. Though most of the Norman churches have been destroyed or altered, enough remains to give some idea of the activity of the time which they represent. Thomas of Bayeux started the cathedral at York in 1070; Lanfranc built part of the choir at Canterbury cathedral beginning in 1072; Osmund of Salisbury built a cathedral at Salisbury (now entirely replaced) from 1072 to 1095; Remegius rebuilt Lincoln cathedral from 1075 to 1081, though only a small part of his work remains in the present church; Rochester cathedral, as it now stands, is the work of Lanfranc and others; Evesham was begun in 1077; St. Alban's was built between 1077 and 1115; and at Glastonbury, Thurston of Caen finished a monastery church in 1083, but his successor, dissatisfied with it, tore it down and built another between 1102 and 1120. Besides these, the cathedrals and monastery churches of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, St. Paul's in London (the predecessor of the present edifice), Gloucester, Chichester, Norwich, Abingdon, Tewkesbury, Exeter, and Romsey, and the most magnificent structure of all, the great church at Durham, —half ark of God, half defense against the Scots—were built during this period. In addition to the cathedral and monastery churches, many parish churches were erected in this time. There was also much activity in founding monastic establishments with their endowments of lands and groups of buildings. Under

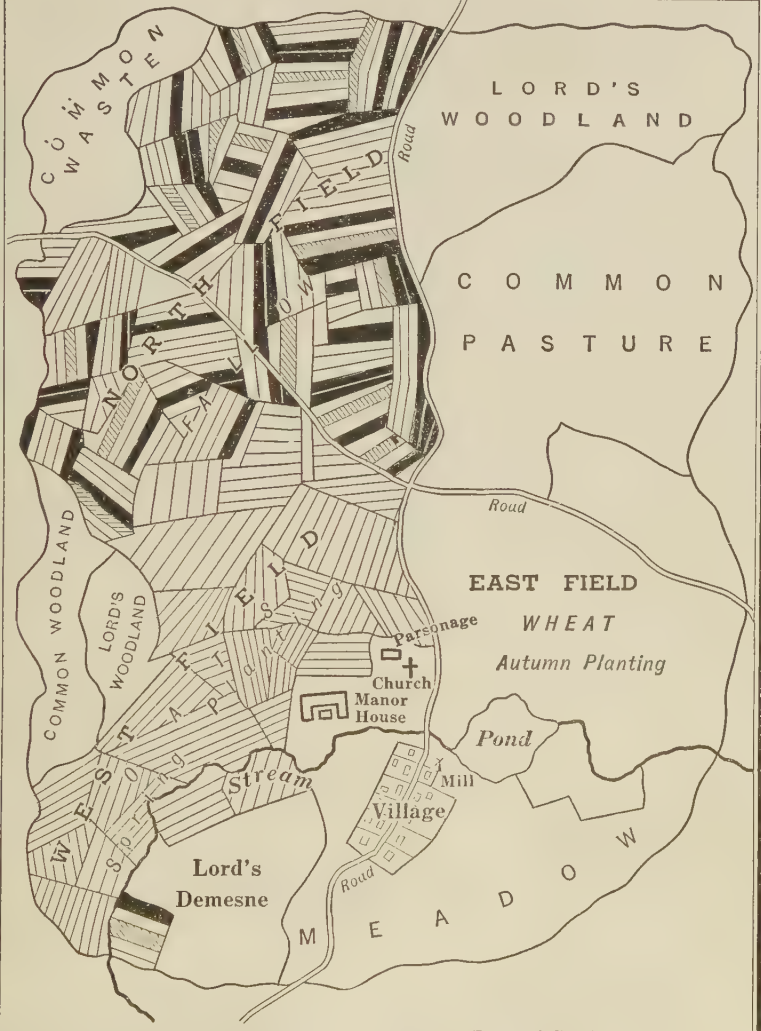
William I and William II, twenty-six houses of the Benedictine order were founded in England, and before the end of Stephen's reign there were fifty Cistercian houses.

The material prosperity thus indicated was due in some part to the strong government, the harsh, severe regard for order, and the sharp repression of disorder, upon which the feudal kings insisted. The private civil wars of the great Saxon families, which had so weakened England in the eleventh century, were not permitted by William and his successors. Moreover, foreign invasions also ceased, since the northern rulers soon discovered the futility of attacking the vigorous English kings. But in greatest measure it was due to several other things; a very rapid growth of commerce, the rise of towns, and an important agriculutral development.

The story of agricultural advance in this period is intimately associated with the extension of feudalism in England, which brought to completion the changes which had already made so much progress in the late Saxon times. The fief as a bare piece of land would have been valueless to a medieval vassal. He was precluded by the dignity of his social position and by the fact that his time was taken up by his services to the king from tilling the soil himself in the sweat of his own brow; and in the condition of natural economy there was no money with which he could hire any one to work for him for wages. Even if money had been in use, it would have been difficult to hire labor, for the simple reason that the population of England was still sparse and engaged in subsistence farming. What the vassal required to make his fief productive for himself was the control of land scattered about in existing agricultural communities, with power to compel the agricultural workers to leave off work on their own land part of the time and work for himself without pay. This arrangement was worked out through an organization known as the manor.

Every fief consisted of a number of manors, sometimes one or even less than one, sometimes many hundreds. A manor and a fief might be the same area exactly; the fief was the land looked upon as a political unit; the manor was the same land looked upon as an economic, productive, farming unit. In general, a manor represented a village, although sometimes two or three villages were grouped in one manor, and sometimes two manors might be included in a village.

The whole development represented by the transformation of the Saxon village into the Norman manor was under way long



THE MANOR IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Showing (a) the Lord's Demesne, made up of the home farm and strips in open fields; (b) the common meadow, pasture, woodland, and waste; (c) the three open fields in which the strips of lord, serfs, and the glebe lands of the parish church are intermingled.

In the North Field the dark strips represent the holdings of the Lord of the Manor in the open fields, and form part of his demesne; the cross-hatched strips are the holdings of Robert, son of John, a serf.

before the conquest, although the process had no uniformity throughout the country. In some villages all men were still freemen without any lord; in others the lord had become so strong that he looked upon his villagers as personally unfree possessions of his own. The Anglo-Saxon thegn was supplanted in most cases by a Norman lord as the proprietor of the manor; for the various grades of dependency the Normans substituted, in general terms, one status, that of *serf*. In many places a goodly number of freemen managed to survive. A few remained on nearly every manor, and, in all, perhaps twelve per cent of the agricultural population continued to be personally free. Even those villages hitherto entirely free were given to lords, and their inhabitants reduced to a servile status.

The serf was not a slave, for, while a slave was unfree and had no rights, a serf was free against everybody but his lord and was capable of suing all actions against third parties. Against the lord, however, a serf theoretically had no rights, and the lord could stop any action against himself on the part of a serf by pleading the exception of serfdom. In practice, on the other hand, the serf was protected by certain legal rules and, above all, by custom as it developed in every manor, which, it was held, even the lord himself could not break. The serf was personally dependent upon the lord, but could not be sold apart from the land or devised by will. All the serf's property was the lord's, yet the serf had the right to continue to hold his little farm and pass it on to his son, subject to the payment of the required dues and services. At the same time, if the lord could not take him from his land, the serf could not leave the land; and, moreover, he had to pay certain fines for marrying his daughter or son off the manor, for engaging in trade, or for permission to go on a journey away from the manor. He was compelled to work certain days on the lord's land every week in the year, with extra days in seed time and harvest time. He was obliged to do certain plowing for the lord every year, to do his share of the lord's carting, to work on the village roads, to have his corn ground in the lord's mill, to be present in the manor court, and finally, to fold his sheep at night on the lord's land, so that the lord's land might get the benefit of the sheep manure. Since sheep manure was the most valued fertilizer of the time, this was so important a matter that a test of a man's status was often the question of where he folded his sheep.

In the technical economy of the manor, the management of its agriculture, many features of the older village continued to

be used. The three-field system with the division of the open fields into acre strips, the common waste, and meadow, and the control by the village community over the plow lands during half the year was still the rule in the larger part of England. The lord's land, called the *demesne*, was scattered about in strips in the open fields intermixed with that of the serfs, subject to the same common use as theirs for pasture land after the harvest had been gathered.

It was through the extension of the feudal and manorial systems that the Norman conquest came most closely home to all classes of the Anglo-Saxon population. The Saxon nobles were displaced; the Saxon freemen, with the few exceptions noted, were lowered in status; and the great mass of the already unfree found themselves reduced to a common Norman standard, as serfs or villeins, with heavier duties than they had known before. On the other hand, the Saxon slaves were raised to the personal status of serfs, although they continued to be economically worse off than serfs, because, while they might have small gardens around their cottages, they held no land in the plowed fields.

The greater effort and harder work exacted of the serfs by their new feudal lords undoubtedly brought about a significant increase in agricultural produce, which, after all, was still the largest item in making up the national income each year. Output was increased still further by certain advances in technique developed on the lands of the monasteries, which were the agricultural experiment stations of the Middle Ages. The Cistercians were leaders in this work. They founded their houses in the most desolate and remote sites, and these they proceeded to make as fruitful as possible. They gathered up the water supply for miles around by vast drainage works; stagnant pools were converted into running waters enclosed by embankments, and swamps were drained and reclaimed. Mills were built, roads were constructed, and endless energy was spent to reclaim worthless land. So eager were they for land at last, that they were said even to desecrate church-yards and to encroach on the royal forests. They grew famous for their breeds of horses and sheep; they thanked God for the blessings of fatness and fleeces, as foreign weavers sought their wool and poured the silver of Flanders into their treasure houses.

The revival of town life and the growth of commerce had begun in England long before the Norman conquest, as a result of Danish commercial activity; but the development had been even

more vigorous on the continent than in England. The discovery of silver mines at Goslar in Germany had increased the stock of money in circulation, the enterprise of the Swedish Vikings had opened up trade between Constantinople and the North through Russia, and the energetic Italian merchants of Bari, Amalfi, and later Pisa, Genoa, and Venice had penetrated to the eastern Mediterranean. The two great east and west lines of trade through the Baltic and through the Mediterranean, which had thus been developed, were connected with each other by north and south routes across Flanders and France, and across the Alps from Italy to Germany and the Rhine towns. With this active European commerce, from which England was cut off still rather completely even in the reign of Edward the Confessor, England was brought into closer contact by the political connection between England and Normandy established by the conquest. Merchants from Rouen, the capital of Normandy, flocked in the wake of the Conqueror and settled down in London "inasmuch as it was fitter for their trading and better stored with merchandise than they were wont to traffic"; artisans came from Flanders under the protection of William's queen, Matilda, who was a Flemish princess; men of the Emperor, that is, German merchants, already established in London in Ethelred the Unready's time, became so prominent that in 1157 in the reign of Henry II they received very extensive privileges and a house in London. With Italy communications on diplomatic and ecclesiastical affairs were conducted by way of the Seine (through Normandy), the Rhone, and Marseilles. Along the same route the wool of England found an export market in the Italian cities, to be woven into cloth on the looms of Lucca and Florence. The commerce between England and Italy was entirely in the hands of Italian merchants, who, by their presence in England, brought England within the range of the rapid advances which were being made in business in Italy under the influence of Italian trade expansion into the east.

But in addition to an active trade carried on overseas, there was also in all probability in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the development of local trade. Even though in theory everything that was needed on the manor was raised there except iron, millstones, salt, tar, and incense, and everything raised on the manor was used there, in actual practice certain manors early began to raise surplus produce of one sort, which could be exchanged for surplus produce of another sort with another manor. Differentiation in production began early; and with it,

trade grew. Those manors best situated for centers of trade grew into towns; and many of the inhabitants found it profitable to engage in the exchange of goods or to embark in some manufacturing process in connection with their raw materials. At the same time they continued to be regarded as serfs by their lords; and had to pay the servile exactions and services to their lord, even though they were handicapped severely in their business by so doing. They became conscious of their collective interests and needs. They wanted to be free of work-services, to journey where they pleased, to marry whom they liked, to do business without paying the lord his "merchet," to buy property as they desired, to be rid of the obligation to use the lord's mill and bake oven. Many of the manors which became towns were on the royal domain; and because, as early as Henry I's reign, the king was more interested in money than in feudal and servile services, he began to listen to protests of his townsmen against their feudal status. In return for payments of large sums of money, Henry I began to sell charters of privileges to the towns on the royal domain, and this practice was followed by Henry II, Richard, and John to an ever increasing extent. It might be noted in passing that towns on the estates of lay lords generally succeeded in getting charters from them also, but towns on ecclesiastical estates vainly fought for privileges down to the end of the Middle Ages.

Foremost among the privileges granted by charters were the abolition of all services in return for an annual tax, which the townspeople assessed upon themselves and collected, and the right to have their own courts for the adjudication of disputes. The towns also secured the authority to elect their own officials, the mayor and his council, and the monopoly of trade within the town to the exlusion of all "foreigners," that is, men of other towns, and even of residents in the town who were not "citizens," in all probability, in the beginning, those who had not contributed to the expense of getting the charter. The trade monopoly was managed through a system of gilds, at first through the gild merchant, which included all business men in the town, and later, in the fourteenth century, through a series of craft gilds, formed probably out of the gild merchant when the numbers of various craftsmen in the separate crafts grew large enough to form separate organizations. The towns not only claimed a monopoly of trade for their citizens and protected the home market and home industry against the outsider by severe restraints upon foreign traders, but they exercised certain

other trade regulations in the interests of the consumers. With this end in view meat and corn were prohibited from being exported, elaborate statutes against fraud were enacted, and attempts were made to enforce a "just price." In the Middle Ages, before economists had discovered "time utilities" and "place utilities," by which the middleman and often the profiteer justify their existence, it was believed that every article had a just price, which would enable everyone who had contributed to the making of the article to get a return by which he could make a living suitable to his station, and neither more nor less. This just price was the one for which all goods should be sold, and various attempts were made to assure it. Bread and ale generally had prices fixed by the municipal authorities. In the case of other goods sentiment and law generally prohibited forestalling or the buying of goods before the market opened, engrossing or cornering the market, and regrating or purchasing large quantities of goods to sell at a higher price. The middleman had no place in the medieval system; and even the foreign merchant, who was recognized as rendering a service by carrying the goods from overseas, was allowed to make only fair, and not all possible, profits.

While it must always be recognized that the towns of the feudal period were all small, that the whole trade and industry of this time were insignificant in comparison with the agriculture of the nation, and that only a part of these was centered in the towns, since a great deal of wholesale business was carried on in fairs outside the control of town regulations, the towns play, nevertheless, a most important part in the feudal age. For with their narrow crooked streets, with houses crowding up into the air to get the utmost on every square inch of ground, they were the dwelling places of that part of society, artisans and merchants, for whom there was no place in the feudal system, which recognized only workers in agriculture, fighting men, and priests. They were not opposed to feudalism, but merely asked that feudalism make adjustments to suit their peculiar needs. In their growth they developed institutions and ideas, such as free contract, money economy, and capitalism or the use of money to make more money, which eventually destroyed feudalism.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER II

(See General Works)

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

G. B. Adams, *The Political History of England, 1066-1216.*
H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins.*
E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England.*
C. H. Haskins, *The Normans in Europe.*

FEUDALISM AND SERFDOM.

W. S. Davis, *Life on a Medieval Barony.*
N. J. Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records.*
F. W. Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond.*
D. C. Munro, *The Middle Ages.*
J. H. Round, *Feudal England.*
C. Seignobos, *The Feudal Regime.*
P. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century.*
The Growth of the Manor.
Villainage in England.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

G. B. Adams, *Council and Courts in Anglo-Norman England.*
G. B. Adams, *The Origin of the English Constitution.*
C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions.*
R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century.*

ECONOMIC HISTORY.

W. J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory.*
E. Lipson, *Introduction to the Economic History of England in the Middle Ages; Vol. I, Middle Ages.*
J. H. Ramsay, *A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England, 1066-1399.*

SOCIAL HISTORY.

F. P. Barnard, *Medieval England,* Ed., H. W. C. Davis.
M. Bateson, *Medieval England.*
G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation.*
T. Wright, *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages.*

CHURCH HISTORY.

M. Deanesly, *History of the Medieval Church.*
W. R. W. Stephens, *The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I.*

BIOGRAPHY.

R. W. Church, *St. Anselm.*
C. W. David, *Robert Curthose.*
E. A. Freeman, *William the Conqueror.*
A. J. MacDonald, *Lanfranc.*
J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville.*
F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror.*

SOURCES.

W. Stubbs, *Select Charters to the Reign of Edward I.*

CHAPTER III

THE FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL UNITY AND THE GROWTH OF THE CONSTITUTION

The kings of this period were

Henry II, 1154-1189
Richard I, 1189-1199
John, 1199-1216
Henry III, 1216-1272
Edward I, 1272-1307

Henry II, the founder of the Plantagenet dynasty, was the son of Geoffrey of Anjou and Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. Before Stephen's death a treaty was made between him and Matilda under the terms of which Matilda's son Henry succeeded to the English throne. Richard and John were Henry II's sons; Henry III was the son of John; and Edward I, the son of Henry III.

Amid the growing prosperity of Norman England the feudal disorders of Stephen's reign were for most men a sharp retrogression, and the wretchedness of the times caused by the baronial struggle for independence justified the restoration of effective royal power as the great boon. The exorcism of anarchy was the first important task of Henry II after his accession in 1154. He was already one of the most powerful princes in Europe. From his father, he inherited Anjou, Normandy, and Touraine; from his mother, Maine; and by his marriage in 1152 to Duchess Eleanor, twelve years older than himself, he became ruler of the Duchy of Aquitaine, stretching from the Loire to the Pyrenees. He added Brittany and Ireland to his empire in later years, and still further increased his power by alliances with the most powerful princes of Europe; the King of Castile, who married his daughter Eleanor; the King of Sicily, who married his daughter Joan; and Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria, who married his daughter Matilda. When he came to England he found that hundreds of adulterine or illegal castles—one authority says 1115—had been built by feudal nobles as strongholds to flaunt the royal authority. With his great resources as ruler over more than half of France, Henry II had little diffi-

SCOTLAND
IRELAND
The English Pale
WALES
ENGLAND
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
TOURAINE
AQUITAINE
TOULOUSE
THE DOMINIONS OF HENRY II
Dominions under Henry II's control
Dominions Ruled Directly by Henry II

culty in leveling these castles, humiliating the nobles, and restoring peace and quiet in the land.

Henry recognized that the mere destruction of feudal strongholds was not enough to guarantee the permanent suppression of baronial ambitions. There was need of improved royal institutions to keep the disorderly elements under such effective control that no disturbance might gain headway. Consequently Henry gave much attention to the perfection of efficient police measures for the detection and extirpation of crime. As early as 1164 reference is made to the use of the testimony of neighbors as a method of securing information against evil-doers. The practice seems to have been already in existence before this date, but two years later, in the Assize of Clarendon, it received great prominence through the provision that twelve men in every hundred and four men in every manor should be sworn to reveal any man known to them who was guilty of murder, larceny, robbery, or of harboring criminals. Ten years later, in the Assize of Northampton, forgery and arson were added to the list, and other additions were made afterwards. Out of this system of the jury of presentment was developed the modern grand jury, which presents indictments against men suspected of crime.

Henry II and the Church

The repression of disorder was but half of the problem of the restoration of the king's authority. The crown could never be dominant in England as long as the church maintained the position it had won in the days of Stephen's reign. It had not only received the charter of 1136 granting all its pretensions of sovereignty; but, with the failure of the royal courts, it had taken over many of the functions of the civil government. The church courts had sat uninterruptedly and even increased their business as men learned that, owing to the superior procedure of these courts and the more evolved system of law used in them, they afforded more exact justice than the royal courts.

As a beginning of recovering the royal jurisdiction, and the revenues which the courts brought in, Henry II chose as his chancellor Thomas à Becket, a brilliant clerk, who talked louder than all the rest of the bishop's oath of fealty to the king. In 1161 this appointment was followed by Becket's nomination as Archbishop of Canterbury. As archbishop, to Henry's chagrin, Becket espoused the cause of the church as warmly as he had

that of the crown and openly flaunted the royal policy. He excommunicated one of the king's tenants-in-chief, because he wrongfully retained some of the land of the archbishopric; he refused to pay certain fees to the king hitherto paid to the sheriffs; and he would not permit two or three clerks recently accused of murder and robbery to be tried in the king's courts, on the ground that they had a right to be tried in the church courts, even though the adequate sentence of execution could not be inflicted upon them. In spite of Becket, Henry II drew up a series of propositions in a document, called the Constitutions of Clarendon, defining the rights and powers of the church as they had been in the reign of Henry I. The Compromise of Bec was restored to regulate church elections, and a great amount of business was drawn from the church courts to the royal courts. Thomas à Becket had given some kind of preliminary assent to the restoration of customs as they had been in Henry I's time; but when he saw the Constitutions of Clarendon, he picked out one article as particularly objectionable, and on the technicality of its injustice he rejected the whole document. He based his attack upon the provision that priests should first be tried in church courts; if found guilty, they were to be degraded from their offices and handed over to the state courts for punishment. Becket declared that thus they would be punished twice for the same offense, and God himself did not give judgment twice in the same case. Becket had a case against the King, but he took his stand upon ground which did the church no credit. Going into exile, he carried on his contest with Henry and raised up so many supporters that Henry had to come to terms with him. A new quarrel developed almost at once, when Becket found that during his absence the Archbishop of York had usurped a prerogative of his own in crowning Henry's son as the next king. In his vexation Henry dropped a foolish remark about being rid of this pestilent priest, which led to Becket's assassination in his cathedral at Canterbury by Henry's henchmen. Becket became a popular saint, one of the greatest of medieval Europe; and his shrine at Canterbury was constantly crowded by pilgrims. Henry had to make an abject penance, and even had to yield some parts of the Constitutions of Clarendon which he otherwise might have kept. He surrendered the trial of criminous clerks to the church courts, likewise all cases involving marriages, wills, and testaments, and those concerning the internal economy of church revenues and ecclesiastical corporations; and he admitted the right of appeals

to the papal court in Rome. On the other hand, he kept in the royal courts the adjudication of all disputes involving rights to property, even church property, and all suits relating to oaths and promises (contracts), which were soon to form the bulk of the business of civil courts. He also kept his rights under the Compromise of Bec.

Henry II's New Judicial System

Even before his quarrel with Becket, Henry realized that he would have no success in restoring business to the royal courts, unless the excellences of the courts of the church were outdone by superior attractions in the royal institutions. Sleepless nights were spent in worrying over the remedies; and far-reaching innovations, which are still fundamental in the English and American judicial systems, were gradually introduced. Among the greatest defects of the existing system were the incompetent arrangements for settling disputes about the ownership or possession of land. The usual method was the ordeal of battle, in which the parties to a suit appealed to Heaven and fought with lances on horseback until one was defeated, in the belief that God was on the side of him who was in the right. A more rational procedure would be to determine the facts in the matter; and indeed this had already been done in certain unusual cases, even before Henry II's reign. In the reign of William the Conqueror, for example, in a suit between the Abbot of Ely and other persons, the King ordered his judges to summon a certain number of Englishmen, who were neighbors and, therefore, knew what lands were held by the church of Ely, to declare their knowledge on oath. This group of Englishmen was to give information about a particular point of fact, to recognize or declare the truth, whatever it might be, without prejudice to either side; and, on the basis of the fact thus established, the court could pronounce judgment. The body of neighbors summoned by a public officer to give true information under oath was called a jury. It had its origins on the continent and was brought to England by the Norman kings, who used it frequently to gather evidence, as, for example, in the compilation of Domesday Book, and in the determination of facts in connection with their own litigation. They even granted the right to make use of juries to favored churches, as in the case of the Abbot of Ely just described. Under Henry II the exceptional became normal. The use of the prerogative procedure, hitherto be-

stowed only by the royal favor, was conceded to all subjects in certain kinds of suits involving the ownership or possession of land, when a proper writ was purchased from the king. The ordeal of battle was not abolished until 1819, but it very soon became obsolete in the presence of the more scientific methods of the trial by jury.

It should be noted that the jury was not used for a long time to come in the trial of criminals. After the sworn testimony of a body of neighbors, taken before the justices of the king or by the sheriffs, had revealed the names of suspects, they were tried by the old method of the ordeal. They submitted to certain tests, such as carrying a piece of hot iron for three paces, in which their innocence was proved by the miraculous intervention of Heaven, exemplified by a clean, healing wound after a certain number of days. Resort might be had also to compurgators or oath helpers, men to a certain number who swore to the truth of their principal's oath. Even though neglected for centuries, compurgation was legal in England until 1833; but the ordeal to determine the guilt or innocence of those accused of crime ceased to be used after it was declared unlawful by the Lateran Council of 1215, and the trial jury was introduced in criminal cases, as well as in civil cases.

These various measures rapidly increased the amount of business which was transacted in the royal courts, and certain important changes in their structure developed. The central institution of the government of the Norman kings was the Curia Regis, composed of all the tenants-in-chief of the crown, exercising undifferentiated legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Even before Henry II's reign there were certain tendencies toward specialization, however, when certain members of the Curia Regis who had a technical knowledge of the abacus and a particular intimacy with revenue problems sat in a special place as the Court of the Exchequer. In a similar way, courts of justice began to be differentiated. The Curia Regis did not give up its superior control of judicial administration, and, indeed, reserved or drew to itself cases of extreme difficulty. But more and more there was a tendency for the crown to assign members of the council, expert in law, to the special task of doing justice habitually. From 1178 onward there was a definite group of professional judges who sat term after term at Westminster for the adjudication of cases, subject only to the reserve of the king and the council. In the next century, this court, known as the *Capitalis Curia Regis,* was divided into two parts; the King's

Bench, for the trial of criminal cases, and the Common Pleas, for the trial of civil cases.

In addition to establishing a permanent central court, Henry also gradually perfected a system by which his judges went about through the country to bring the law of the central government more closely home to men in their own localities. It was useless for the king to issue a set of special regulations about crime, unless these regulations were enforced locally; and it was difficult to conduct some of the new varieties of procedure in the adjudication of the possession of land far from the neighborhood. As a consequence, Henry II frequently sent the members of his Curia Regis on a circuit through certain districts. For the enforcement of the Assize of Northampton of 1176 for the suppression of crime, England was divided into six circuits, which were traversed by eighteen judges. In nearly every year after 1176 judges on circuit, known as itinerant justices, visited at least some parts of England, made the royal authority a real force, and spread a knowledge and respect for the common law to all parts of the country. At the same time the feudal courts of the nobles continued to exercise jurisdiction, and it was not without great difficulties in the future that the feudal franchises finally were suppressed to the advantage of the crown.

In these innovations for maintaining his own ascendency in England, Henry II developed a set of institutions which not only gave him the control he desired, but were so well organized throughout the country that they served as the political framework of national unity. In certain matters at least they brought the royal government directly home to the most remote subject, and made him recognize allegiance and render obedience to a king and to a law common to all England.

The Beginnings of National Feeling

At the same time that Henry succeeded in curbing the church and the barons, his general policies did something to create a new spirit that was ultimately to be stronger and more fatal to the power of his successors than feudal ambitions had been. Henry II was not primarily King of England, but ruler of an Angevin empire which spread from the Pyrenees northwards. Indeed, during the thirty-five years between his accession to the throne and his death, he was but thirteen years in England altogether, generally only for a few months at a time. His interest in good government and strong royal power was in part at

least motivated by the desire to make the country yield as large a revenue as possible. The whole effort to restore his courts had a financial side, and the revenue from the sale of writs was an important part of the king's income. In dealing with his revenue problem Henry II reorganized the Exchequer, giving it a more perfect form, which it continued to have for centuries; he reduced the feudal military services of his vassals into money payments, called *scutage*, and attempted to replace the Danegeld by more productive direct taxes. He left to his sons, nevertheless, a very serious situation, which Richard I proceeded to make worse by draining the country of every possible kind of contribution. Richard sold charters to cities in large numbers, and declared he would sell London itself if any one were rich enough to buy it. He squandered the proceeds on a futile crusade, at the end of which he was captured and had to be ransomed.

In view of the constant pressure for contributions and payments made upon the English barons, it began to come home to them that, altogether apart from the older grounds of opposition between the crown and its vassals, there was now a more important difference of objectives. This became more true as the nobles came to hold lands only in England. They no longer had any interest in the king's continental affairs, and began to resent his efforts to take money and services from them to conquer new counties in France, or to go on pilgrimages, or to fight for lost provinces. As one individual after another accepted this view and learned how generally it was held, a consciousness of English baronial interests as opposed to those of the king appeared, and the barons as a class began to desire to be relieved of exactions for foreign concerns.

The baronial attitude was made more critical by the refusal of the English church permanently to abandon the freedom and independence which Henry II had forced it to relinquish. Equally significant was the determination of the Papacy to have it out with the civil states of Europe and give reality to its claims of supremacy.

Finally, among the town merchants something like a realization of the identity of their interests as over against the king was also growing up, and it is almost possible to speak of the beginning of national feeling among merchants, churchmen, and feudal lords.

The situation which Henry II left was accentuated in the reign of John. The inelastic character of the royal revenues, the rising

tide of nationalism at home and in France, where it was running even stronger than in England, and the ambitions of the Papacy would have created extreme difficulty for any ruler. John added to his embarrassment by a vein of disloyalty in his character, which gave his enemies more than one pretext to attack him. Thus, for example, by marrying the betrothed wife of one of his own vassals, in defiance of all feudal concepts of honor, he made it possible for Philip Augustus, King of France, his overlord, to summon him to Paris to answer the complaints of the injured nobleman. Disregarding his feudal obligations, John refused to go. He was declared contumacious by Philip's court, his lands in France were adjudged forfeit, and in a very short time Philip had dispossessed him of all his property north of the Loire River.

Plans to recover the lost provinces only involved John in further difficulties. The barons began to refuse military service abroad, and heavy levies upon their property, beginning with the unheard-of tax of one-seventh of all their goods in 1204, effected a real breach between them and the King.

While John was thus outraging his nobles by his exactions, the illegal effort of the younger monks of the monastery at Canterbury to elect a new Archbishop of Canterbury without the King's consent, followed by the election of John's candidate by the older monks, afforded a welcome opportunity to the Pope to assert his rights in the kingdom. Although the Papacy had never claimed any right to influence episcopal elections in earlier centuries, Innocent III, the greatest of the medieval line, maintained that in the case of a disputed election he had the right to interfere. Setting aside both candidates as unworthy, Innocent nominated for the post Stephen Langton, a noted English scholar living in Rome. John refused to receive Langton and for years defied the Pope. Before John was reduced to obedience, it was necessary for Innocent to draw his three spiritual swords: the Interdict, by which all church services in the island, excepting baptism of infants and extreme unction, were suspended; excommunication, which placed John outside the pale of society, so that no man could give him even a drink of water without incurring the anger of the church; and the deposition of John from his throne. When the King of France prepared to accept the church's invitation to carry out this sentence, John surrendered, like other contemporary rulers, and he even consented to hand over England to the Papacy and receive it as a fief, to stop the invading army of the French King.

John had held out against the Pope for eight years. He was able to do this, because his quarrel with the Pope afforded him an excuse to seize the property of the church in England. He expelled the monks from Canterbury, he seized the estates of the archbishopric of York and of all the bishops in England excepting two who remained loyal to him. In possession of more money than ever before, he was able to cow his barons and was able to embark upon some important military operations in Scotland and Wales. But after he had made his peace with Innocent, it was necessary to come to terms with the bishops and churchmen whose property he had enjoyed so long. They demanded the restitution of their lands and the payment of all the revenues which John had collected from them. Since the money was spent, John could not make repayment, and the bishops continued hostile to him. Meanwhile John provoked his barons anew in 1213 by preparing an expedition to France for which they were to make contributions. In their irritation the barons demanded the good laws of Henry I, and in the summer of 1213 Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the justiciar, agreed to their demands at St. Albans. A little later, Stephen Langton laid before them a charter granted by Henry I at his coronation. The subsequent death of Geoffrey removed the last restraint upon John, and "England now became a ship in a storm without a helm." John invaded Poitou in 1214; when his expedition was unsuccessful, because his allies, led by the Emperor Otto IV, were defeated in battle, and he could not hold the field alone, he ordered a new tax to be collected from the barons who had refused to accompany him to France. This was a signal to the barons and bishops, aided by the merchants of London, to unite and prepare for war on the ground that the King had broken his feudal bond. Faced by the "Army of God and the Holy Church," John capitulated at Runnymede, a meadow on the Thames, on June 15, 1215, by accepting the rebels' demands as drawn up in a document, later called Magna Carta.

From the point of view of those who drew it up, Magna Carta contained three sets of provisions: first, those relating to the taxation of the feudal barons (or towns) without their consent beyond the three regular aids; second, those concerning the modification of the law by the arbitrary action of the king; and third, those dealing with the right of the barons to force the king to obey the law, by civil war or otherwise, should the king attempt to free himself from it. All these provisions were drawn directly from feudal law and were recognized everywhere as

incidents of that law. The whole feudal principle was that between the lord and his vassals there was a contract by which both sides were bound; and every effort was made to guard against infringements of the contract. While most written feudal law defined the limits of the vassals' right of action, Magna Carta limited the king's right, and that too in the most solemn way. It contained nothing new and was a strictly selfish document, but at the moment when feudalism had already passed its zenith, it carried over from feudalism into more modern times, independently of any intention of its authors, the principle that the king was bound by the law and must obey it. This is the key principle of the British Constitution. Thus the British Constitution in the last analysis rests upon the feudal system and is built up around ideas which could have been derived from no other system. This is the importance of Magna Carta. It was not immediately settled, however, that Magna Carta should be a permanent part of English institutions. That development was the result of the events of the next half century; and the extension of the charter so that not merely the feudal classes, but all Englishmen were included in its provisions was the result of misinterpretation in the seventeenth century, out of which much good came.

The Growth of Nationalism in the Reign of Henry III

As a result of the work of Henry II England had a system of national political institutions with a single king, royal courts which functioned for the whole country, and a customary law common to all districts, which was in the process of being elaborated by the decrees of the courts, and of being systematized by the text book writers, such as Glanvill and Henry Bracton. Throughout the reign of John something like national feeling had been developed, and a certain influential minority, made up of barons, bishops, and London merchants had already come to see that they had common economic and political interests wider in their scope than the towns, especially in the matter of royal financial exactions and freedom from them. The new spirit must not be stressed too much in the thirteenth century, since travel, communication, correspondence, and transport were impossible except within small areas. Yet before the end of the reign of John's son English nationalism was a real force. It was greatly developed, for example, by new exactions laid upon the kingdom by the Papacy. Henry III considered him-

self under the heaviest obligations to Rome, feeling that, in the midst of a baronial revolt and an invasion by the King of France which ended John's reign, it was the support of the Pope which had made him king. Henry III saw, too, the long humiliation inflicted upon Frederick II, the greatest of medieval Emperors, because he had opposed Gregory IX and Innocent IV. He was, therefore, of no mind to resist the demands of the popes that England make new and unheard of contributions to their treasury, to enable them to carry on their aggression against Frederick. In 1226 the Pope asked a share of every cathedral church and monastery. In 1229 he asked a tenth of all church income. In 1240 his legate Otto came to England and raised large sums, and at the same time the King was forbidden to fill church offices with Englishmen until 300 Italian friends of the Pope had been provided for. In 1244 the Pope sent another collector, Master Martin, who was driven out of the country; but the money was not refused. As Englishmen saw their English money going out of the country to Rome, and as they saw Italians filling church offices which should have been filled by themselves or their friends, they became conscious of something in common—they were *English,* while the Pope and the Italians were foreigners.

This awakening consciousness of some common bond was already being further stimulated by the coming of other groups of "aliens" to England. As far back as 1232 Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, long one of the powerful figures in Henry's court, came back from a crusade, bringing with him a number of friends from Poitou, who were given good government jobs. In 1236 the King married Eleanor of Provence, a member of the poverty-stricken house of Savoy; and she was accompanied to England by her sister, uncles, and other relatives, who had to be provided with good places. One of her uncles, Boniface, became Archbishop of Canterbury, while her sister Sanchia married the King's brother, Richard of Cornwall. Then in 1241 there came another foreign flood. The King's mother, Isabella of Angoulême, John's wife, went back to France on John's death and married her old sweetheart, Hugh of Lusignan. With Henry's aid Hugh had led a revolt in his province of Poitou against the King of France, and was defeated. Deprived of his estates for his rebellion, he came to England with Isabella and his whole family to be supported by his stepson, the English King. These foreigners brought a great deal to English life and culture; but the native English, seeing only that they

crowded Englishmen out of public office and royal favor, became conscious of a feeling of identity of interests in opposition to the foreign favorites. Thus the nation was helped to become conscious of itself.

The new spirit was reflected in and furthered by the literature of the age. British subjects appeared as themes for literary treatment; Lancelot, Arthur, Tristan and Iseult, the Holy Grail, and Richard the Lion-heart replaced earlier classical and continental heroes. Although the English language did not become the everyday speech of the aristocratic classes until the next century, it was used as the medium of expression in serious works in place of Norman French, especially in the *Brut*, a rhyming chronicle of English history written by Layamon, a priest of the Severn Valley, and in the *Ormulum*, an English version of the gospel lessons for every Sunday in the year accompanied by short appropriate sermons. With a genuine passion for the new national movement, Matthew Paris, the historian of St. Alban's Abbey, glorified things English, denounced all foreigners and their works and ways, and gave to the English spirit its best literary expression.

During the years of Henry III's reign there developed an almost permanent party of opposition to the King and his foreign friends under the leadership of Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and finally Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a foreigner who had married the King's sister. This party constantly reiterated the national interest; it forced the King to ratify Magna Carta again and again, so that it became a permanent part of English political thinking; it demanded the dismissal of foreign ministers and finally insisted that the King submit to a very real control by itself.

The crisis came in connection with a new turn in the relations between the King and the Pope. In 1252, after the Pope had defeated Frederick II and destroyed the house of Hohenstaufen, he offered Sicily, one of its possessions, to Henry III for a member of his family. In 1255 Henry III accepted the crown of Sicily for his son Edmund. There was attached to the offer the necessity of conquering the country, as well as the obligation of assuming a debt of 140,000 marks which the Pope already had incurred in his own efforts to bring the country to obedience. Henry appealed to the barons for aid. He even led Edmund in Apulian dress into the Curia Regis to work on their sentiments. Finally, at a great council at Oxford in 1258, where he made

a third demand for money, the barons and knights in full armor crowded around the King and demanded the dismissal of all foreigners and the appointment of a committee of barons to draw up a program of reform. In the next year the committee reported, presenting a scheme which deprived the King of nearly all his power; and for the next four years the barons, led by Simon de Montfort and Richard de Clare, practically ruled England. The antiroyal party was by no means unified, since the class of knights and gentry were soon dissatisfied with the selfish rule of the baronage. With their experience in the county courts, the lesser nobles hoped for more initiative and participation in the government, and they had no desire to replace the King by a selfish oligarchy. Taking advantage of this breach in the ranks of his opponents, in 1263 the King felt strong enough to try the test of arms; civil war broke out, and in the battle of Lewes in 1264, Simon de Montfort defeated the King and practically deposed him. During the next year De Montfort endeavored to interest all classes of Englishmen, townsmen as well as knights and barons, in the revolutionary government by inviting them to an assembly, called the Great Parliament of 1265; but civil war was soon resumed, Simon was killed, and the King restored.

The Emergence of Parliament

Edward I could not refuse to recognize the force of the constitutional developments of his father's and grandfather's reigns. He admitted that the king was subject to the law, and that certain interests had a right to share in the government. Yet such limitations and rights are likely to be of little worth unless they are given expression in some institutional form. There must be some organized body which is able to insist upon them, and Edward had no intention of bringing such an institution into existence. His every effort was rather to strengthen such rights, particularly those of feudal nature, as still remained to the king by a series of very notable pieces of legislation, such as the Statute of Mortmain, which forbade the church to acquire any more landed estates without the royal permission; the Statute Quia Emptores, which provided that in the case of the sale of part of a fief the buyer had the same obligations to the king that the seller had, so that the king's rights would never be diminished; the Statute of Westminster for the limitation of feudal jurisdictions; and the Statute of

Gloucester, which ordered an investigation into all courts held by barons. He made every effort to protect his rights of wardship, marriage, escheat, and other feudal dues, and attempted to restrict and limit feudal nobles in exercising judicial functions in their courts.

Under the provisions of Magna Carta, the king was precluded from imposing any exactions upon his feudal barons and communities beyond the recognized aids, scutages, and tallages without their consent. As the fourteenth century developed, the importance of personal property as an economic factor increased; and in order to levy on this new wealth to meet their financial needs, the English kings were in the habit of conducting negotiations with the tenants-in-chief to obtain their approbation of the new taxes. To reduce the size of the assemblies, two or four knights were allowed to represent all the tenants-in-chief in a county; and since the choice of these representatives was made in the county court, where men were present who were not in direct feudal relations with the king, the knights of the shire introduced a non-feudal element into the constitution. The towns were regarded as collective or corporate tenants-in-chief of the crown, and they too began to be called upon to send representatives to sanction taxes to meet the king's fiscal obligations.

Knights representing the county court were used all through the reign of Henry III, and even earlier, for administrative purposes, and it was, therefore, not much of an innovation to summon them before the council to give their assent to new impositions in the name of the counties. In 1254, for example, Henry III was in great need of money for his expenses in Gascony. Since he had had several unhappy experiences in obtaining further aid in England, it was determined, in the hope of greater success, first to secure the consent of the counties to a new tax, and then to have that consent signified to the council by delegated knights. A similar practice was followed on other occasions. In 1265 Simon de Montfort called two representatives of each of the cities and boroughs, as well as representatives of the counties, to discuss national interests with the magnates. This assembly did not become a precedent, but in 1275 Edward I again summoned burgesses together with the knights to treat of common interests with the King. In the generation which followed knights and burgesses were repeatedly convoked to discuss national problems and to vote funds.

The convenience with which the king could negotiate with

the towns and counties through these assemblies of knights and burgesses was very great. Not only that, but more could be gained from an assembly where every representative was ashamed to seem less loyal than his fellows, than in private discussions where crowd intimidation was absent. Consequently, in 1295, when Edward was extremely hard pressed by the King of France, and when Scotland threatened England from the north, Edward again called his people in assembly to meet with his council. The townsmen, knights, barons, and even the clergy were to assemble in order that, as a learned clerk put it in the language of a well-known medieval formula, what touched all should be approved by all, and common dangers should be met by remedies in common.

The assembly of 1295 is called the Model Parliament. The word Parliament was not new. It simply meant a talk or parley of the king's Curia Regis in full session, and had been used for a very long period to describe the council when it sat in solemn conclave as a high or open court to hear cases where the judges of regular courts differed, to receive petitions which had not been acted on in other courts because of their difficulty or novelty or which had been subjected to special delay in them, and to deal with provision to be made for war, price regulations, and other topics. A number of these courts or Parliaments was held every year, and at certain sessions as in 1254, 1275, and 1290 representatives of the towns and shires appeared to signify and register their consent to the new taxes which the king demanded. The Model Parliament of 1295 was considered by later generations as particularly important, because it seemed to be the completion of a process of amalgamating the assemblies of the townsmen and knights with the council of the great ecclesiastical and lay barons. The union of the judicial function of Parliament, which involved the granting of petitions and the redress of grievances, with the granting of taxes indicated a very desirable possibility of the voting of taxes only after grievances were redressed; and there was in this combination an element of extraordinary value for the knights and townsmen.

Edward I intended to create no permanent institution when he called Parliament in 1295; much less did he intend to give it any real power. But the costs of the war continued so great that Edward called Parliaments of the new sort repeatedly, until the idea of national assemblies by classes became so fixed in men's minds that it became ineradicable. More than that, events

almost at once resulted in the grant of considerable powers to this new sort of Parliament. In 1296 Edward I was faced by the refusal of the church to pay any more taxes. Following the lead of the church, the barons refused to take part in the expedition to Gascony in 1297. The merchants were embittered by seizures of grain and salt for the King's army. In spite of all, Edward proceeded with the invasion of Flanders, which he had planned for the summer of 1297; and just as he was leaving England, the barons presented him with a list of grievances. Edward avoided them for the moment; but while he was in Flanders, William Wallace drove the English out of Scotland in the great fight at Stirling Bridge and threatened to invade England. The barons renewed their demands in the face of the Scottish crisis and forced the regency to give way. The concessions were embodied in a document, known as the Confirmation of the Charters, which confirmed the old charters, Magna Carta and others, and contained new clauses which were intended to provide that all the taxation, direct or indirect, must be approved by the will of the nation. No specific mention of Parliament was made, but it was only natural that this approval by the will of the nation should be delegated to that assembly which already existed to represent the nation. This was admitted definitely by the King in 1340.

It must not be imagined that Parliament at once took the supreme place in the state. Its very constitution was not fixed. Edward sometimes neglected to call the townsmen; the knights, as lesser aristocracy, might have merged with the lords; and the clergy, having an older assembly of their own, the Convocation, finally absented themselves altogether. The knights and the burgesses deliberated in separate assemblies, but they gradually felt the pull of common interests, and by the middle of the fourteenth century (1343) joined together in the House of Commons. The lay and ecclesiastical barons, the prelates and magnates, eventually formed the House of Lords. There was, however, as yet no notion of Parliament's consisting of two Houses. All business was transacted in the council chamber, which was the official meeting place of Parliament, in a common session of all members, during which the commoners stood in the presence of the king and council, and were conspicuous by their silence.

Parliament thus had no fixed organization in its early days, and it had, moreover, no regular time of meeting. It met only when the king called it; the taxation which it sanctioned was

asked for by the king only in extraordinary times, since the general belief was that under ordinary circumstances the king must live of his own—the rents of the crown lands, the customs dues which Edward had introduced and increased, the feudal dues, the profits of the courts, and other revenues which were quite independent of parliamentary control. Parliament was only a latent possibility, an undeveloped potentiality, a promise for the future rather than the governing body in the state. It was not until the seventeenth century, when the nation definitely recognized its obligation to pay the costs of its government through taxation, that Parliament assumed the direction of the nation. As yet, Parliament had only taken its place as the institution which should represent the nation in its corporate capacity. The groundwork and precedent of its later powers were laid in the fourteenth century, in the midst of conditions which must now be examined.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER III

(See General Works)

Political and Narrative History.

G. B. Adams, *The Political History of England, 1066-1216.*
H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins.*
J. H. Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire.*
J. H. Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution.*
T. F. Tout, *The Political History of England, 1216-1377.*
K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings.*
John Lackland.
The Minority of Henry III.
G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans.*
F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy.*
W. Stubbs, *The Early Plantagenets.*
T. F. Tout, *Edward the First.*

Church History.

F. A. Gasquet, *Henry III and the English Church.*

Constitutional History.

G. B. Adams, *The Origin of the English Constitution.*
J. W. Jeudwine, *Tort, Crime, and Police in Medieval Britain.*
Magna Carta Commemorative Essays, Ed., H. E. Malden.
W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta.*
A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament.*

Economic History.

S. K. Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III.*

Social History.

H. Hall, *Court Life under the Plantagenets.*
J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England.*

BIOGRAPHY.

C. Bemont, *Simon de Montfort.*
A. S. Green, *Henry II.*
W. Hutton, *St. Thomas of Canterbury.*
Simon de Montfort and His Cause.
E. Jenks, *Edward I.*
G. W. Prothero, *Simon de Montfort.*
L. F. Salzman, *Henry II.*

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL FEELING IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

The kings of this period were

Edward I, 1272-1307
Edward II, 1307-1327
Edward III, 1327-1377
Richard II, 1377-1399
Henry IV, 1399-1413
Henry V, 1413-1422
Henry VI, 1422-1461

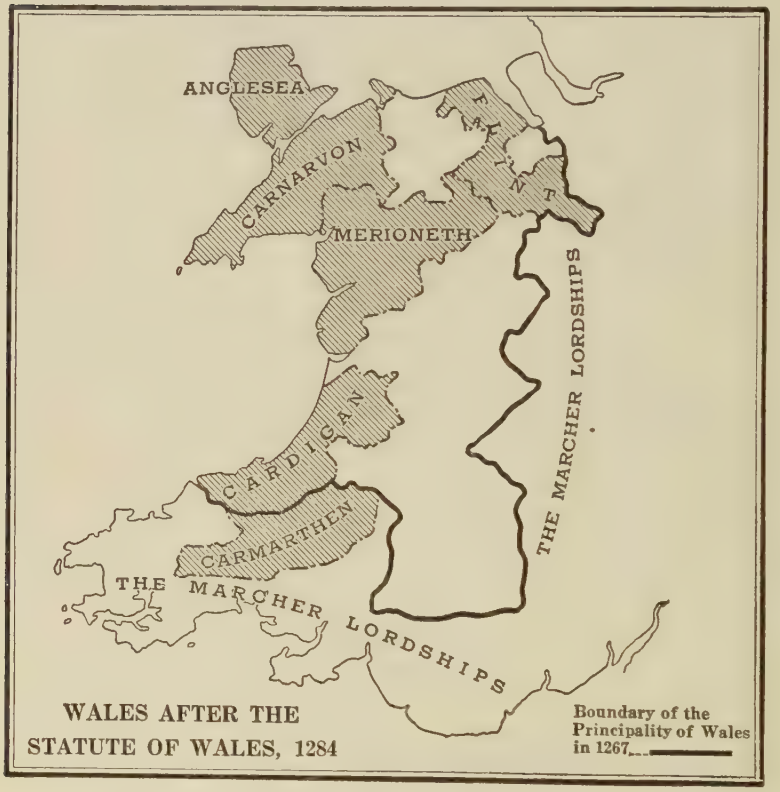
Edward I was the son of Henry III; Edward II, the son of Edward I; Edward III, the son of Edward II; and Richard II, the son of the Black Prince, Edward of Wales, who was the eldest son of Edward III. These kings are still called the Plantagenets. Henry IV is the first sovereign of the Lancastrian house. He was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the third son of Edward III. Henry V was the son of Henry IV, and Henry VI, the son of Henry V.

While certain modern writers have taken the view that common economic interests and geographical contiguity are the most essential elements in nationalism, in the sense that without these factors no national feeling can develop, nevertheless a most important element in stimulating its growth is a common tradition. This involves race and language, manners and customs, religion, and, not least, common antagonisms and enmities. It would almost seem that no force is so potent in bringing home to a people their unity as common participation in military struggles. Certainly the nascent English nationalism of the thirteenth century, already well developed through the internal conflicts of Henry III's reign, was greatly strengthened in the fourteenth century through the common hatreds and common experiences of a series of long wars.

Englishmen soon saw the advantages of extending the new unity which they had achieved to include all of Great Britain, Wales and Scotland as well as England. The lead in this movement was taken by Edward I, who earnestly endeavored to bring both Wales and Scotland under his own control. Re-

coupled by a new kind of permanent revenue, which he had devised with the help of some Italian bankers, in the form of an export customs duty on each sack of wool, Edward felt able in 1377 to embark upon his imperial policy.

While southern Wales had passed largely into the hands of Anglo-Norman lords, who ruled as almost independent sovereigns



over Marcher Lordships, northern Wales still enjoyed semi-independent native rule under Prince Llewellyn, whose status had been fixed by a treaty in Henry III's reign. On the ground that Llewellyn had not appeared at the coronation and refused to do homage to Edward I, a force was sent against him in 1277; and at the end of the campaign he was reduced to a small district around Snowdon. The English officials sent into Wales were absolutely unscrupulous in extorting revenue, and in 1282 the Welsh revolted. After two years of fighting, during which

Llewellyn was killed, that part of Wales hitherto subject to Llewellyn was annexed to England; and the English shire system extended to it. Incidentally, Edward I's eldest son Edward was born at Carnarvon in Wales in 1284, and seventeen years later, he was invested with the title of Prince of Wales, which has been held by the king's eldest son since that time. Southern Wales, controlled by the Anglo-Norman nobles, was really outside the control of the English crown until the sixteenth century, when Henry VIII sent Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield, with a regiment of soldiers and a corps of hangmen to teach the people the meaning of the royal authority, and Parliament passed a statute (1535) extending the English shire system to the whole of Wales and incorporating it in England on equal terms.

Soon after the conquest of Wales, Edward I became involved in Scottish affairs. From time to time in the past, English rulers had claimed certain rights over Scotland, which later kings again abandoned. Certainly at the beginning of Edward I's reign, Scotland was an independent state under the rule of Alexander III. Edward's plan was to bring about a permanent union of the two kingdoms through the marriage of Alexander's granddaughter, Margaret of Norway, the heiress to the Scottish throne, and his own son, Edward. The Scots consented, but Margaret's death prevented the realization of the scheme and led to a disputed succession in Scotland. Since the most prominent claimants held estates in England as well as in Scotland, and were feudal vassals of Edward for their English lands, they suggested to Edward that, as Superior and Lord Paramount of their kingdom, he choose between them. Edward was little loath to do this; and after first binding every claimant to acknowledge him as overlord of Scotland, he gave his decision, strictly on the merits of the case according to feudal law, in favor of John Balliol. Although Balliol swore fealty to Edward, he was shifty; and he early began to look about for an opportunity to cast off his obligations to Edward, especially when he found that these obligations involved his appearance before the English court at Westminster, to answer a suit in the matter of an unpaid wine bill run up by King Alexander.

At this juncture Edward found himself involved in difficulties with the King of France over the lands in southwestern France, in Gascony, which the English King still held in that country as fiefs of France. While the boundaries of these fiefs had formed the subject of successful negotiations in the recent past, Philip IV of France was determined to recover Gascony

sooner or later. He, therefore, took advantage of some quarrels between English and Norman sailors and between the Gascons and their neighbors, to summon Edward to Paris to arrange the new difficulties. At the end of the discussions, which Edward had entrusted to his brother, Edmund, Philip suggested that, to make all legal, certain garrison towns in Gascony should be handed over to his forces in order that Edward might be reinvested with them in due form. Edmund consented; but once the French garrisons held the Gascon towns, Philip refused to withdraw them. In consequence, Edward declared war upon Philip. While Edward was thus preoccupied, John Balliol declared his independence and made an alliance with France. From this time for centuries France and Scotland were allies, and England could never carry on war with one without fighting both.

The war which began in 1294 was a continuation of the earlier wars between England and France over Normandy and formed the preliminary to a contest which was to continue in sporadic outbursts until 1453. This struggle, known in history as the Hundred Years' War, was a series of wars, through all of which there ran certain continuous threads of policy; namely, the determination of the English to retain their lands in France, and the desire to control Scotland. There were many lesser motives and aims from time to time, but these were always present. Although the English finally lost their lands in France and did not loosen the hold of France on Scotland, the war played a memorable part in developing the national consciousness and the patriotic spirit.

The Beginnings of the Hundred Years' War

During the rest of Edward I's lifetime his chief efforts were directed toward the reconquest of Scotland. John Balliol was defeated and captured in 1296, and sent to spend the remainder of his life in exile in Rome, while the Scottish coronation stone, the stone of Scone, was carried to Westminster Abbey and built into the base of the English coronation chair. The Scots, however, did not admit Edward's conquest; they found a new leader in William Wallace; and after his execution in 1305, their cause was championed by Robert Bruce, a grandson of one of the candidates for the throne in 1290. In a famous battle fought at Bannockburn in 1314, Bruce destroyed the English army and won the independence of his country; and four-

teen years later, in the treaty of Northampton, the English government recognized Scotland as independent. Shortly after this treaty was made, Robert died and left his kingdom to his infant son David. This was the opportunity for a group of exiled Scottish nobles led by Edward Balliol, son of John Balliol, who foregathered at the court of the new English King, Edward III, to plan an invasion of Scotland for the restoration of their own authority; while Edward III hoped to recover English control over Scotland by backing them. Their first expedition in 1332 was a failure; but in their second attempt in 1333, when Edward III openly allied himself with Edward Balliol, the Scots were defeated in the battle of Halidon Hill; and King David escaped in flight to France. In Paris David sought aid from the King of France to recover his throne, and finally, in 1336, Philip VI determined to support him. Scotland thus became one of the stakes of diplomacy and the cause of war between England, which controlled the country through Edward Balliol, and France, which was determined to regain her influence there through the restoration of David Bruce.

Foreseeing the inevitable war for the control of Scotland, both Edward III and Philip VI began to cast about for allies. Edward easily negotiated a treaty with the Emperor, the foe of France, and then approached the various provinces of the Netherlands. These countries, the richest and most progressive of Europe, were separate provinces, fiefs of the Empire, with the exception of Flanders, which was a fief of France. Since Edward was the son-in-law of the ruler of Hainault and Zealand, one of the most powerful rulers in the Netherlands, and since Edward was in alliance with the Emperor, the feudal overlord of nearly all the provinces, he succeeded in making a number of treaties of alliance with them in 1337. His experience in Flanders was, however, something apart. The ruling Count of Flanders, Louis de Nevers, had recently been restored to his fief, in the face of a rebellion of the Flemish burghers, by the assistance of the King of France; and in a mood of gratitude to the King of France, he repelled Edward III's advances. He ordered the arrest of all English merchants in his country and prohibited commercial relations between Flanders and England. The great industry of Flanders, which employed the thousands of town-workers in the country, was cloth-weaving, on the basis of wool imported from England. Edward III now put economic pressure upon Flanders by prohibiting the export of wool to Flanders. The looms of Ypres and Ghent soon stood idle, and

a financial crisis developed in both cities. In the next year, 1338, the Flemish communes, led by Jacob van Artevelde, began negotiations with the English King over the head of their Count. In return for their alliance they demanded that Ghent be made one of the English staple towns, so that they might be assured of a constant supply of wool; and more than that, they stipulated that Edward III take the title of King of France. At the time of their previous rebellion in 1328, they had been forced to deposit a large sum of money in the papal treasury, which

would be forfeited if they ever again rebelled against the King of France; to protect this they asked Edward to claim that title. Edward III had a certain interest in the French throne through the fact that his mother Isabella was the daughter of Philip IV, all of whose sons had died without heirs. The magnates of France, in choosing the next king, had passed over Isabella and selected a cousin of Philip IV, who mounted the throne as Philip VI in 1328. After a momentary hesitation in 1328 Edward III had acknowledged him as King of France, and had done homage to him for his lands in France. Now, in 1338, at the demand of the Flemish communes, he reconsidered

the matter and raised a claim that, while his mother Isabella could not succeed to the throne of France because of the "incompetency of her sex," nevertheless, she might be a "bridge and plank" by which the succession passed to him. Consequently in 1340 he assumed the title of King of France; and the conquest of all France, a country with five times the population of England and many times its wealth, became the grandiose object of English policy.

War, however, had broken out two years before this. Philip VI, recognizing the import of Edward's alliances, pronounced the forfeiture of Edward's fiefs in France in 1337, and in 1338 Edward embarked on his first expedition. This proved to be a gorgeous military parade from Antwerp to Coblentz to meet the Emperor, at the end of which Edward's resources were exhausted, and he had to return home. The second expedition set out in 1339. No battles were fought, but northern France was invaded from the Netherlands and devastated. In 1340, after the defeat of the French fleet which was trying to prevent a return of Edward to the Netherlands, a nine months' truce was made between Edward and Philip, whereupon Edward, deeply in debt, his treasure exhausted, returned home. The events of the first three years are indicative of the nature of the whole war. Edward III did not have and could not collect sufficient means to keep an army in the field for more than a few months at a time. Troops were gathered, landed in the Netherlands or France, marched through France looting and destroying along the way, and reëmbarked for England. Occasionally battles were fought, and great victories were won by the English. Thus in 1346, while the English army of that year was sweeping through France from La Hogue to join another force in Gascony, the main French army blocked the way. Turning aside, Edward made for the Seine, where he found that the French King had gathered an army twice the size of his own, and, standing between him and the sea, threatened his line of retreat. Edward turned and stood at bay at Crécy on the Somme, and there he inflicted upon the French an overwhelming defeat, which made feasible the siege and capture of Calais. On another occasion in 1356, while Edward's son, the Black Prince, was leading a raid from Bordeaux through central France, he met the French King's army at Poitiers, and again the English won a magnificent victory over an army which greatly outnumbered it. Yet in spite of all, the victories were empty, because the English did not have the resources to gar-

rison the country they raided; and even after successful engagements and great victories, they had to retreat to their bases.

The battle of Poitiers was followed in 1360 by a truce or treaty, the treaty of Brétigny, by which Edward received his lands in France in full ownership. War, however, was renewed

a few years later. The Black Prince, now governor of Aquitaine, had begun to interfere in Spanish politics to such an extent that he was obliged to tax his subjects very heavily. They revolted and appealed to the King of France for help. When the Black Prince was summoned to Paris, he replied that he

would come at the head of 60,000 men; and so war was renewed. In this period the tide began to turn. King John of France was a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Poitiers. Though incompetent, he was patriotic enough to advise his countrymen not to ransom him, and the control of France passed to his very able son, Charles V. Charles was aided by a brilliant soldier, Bertrand du Guesclin, who adopted the practice of

avoiding open battle and leading the English forces into waste mountain districts where they perished. This was characteristic of the middle period of the war during the 1370's, 1380's, and 1390's, which was ended by a truce in 1396. Following Charles V's death, the kingdom of France suffered a period of internal division and civil war between the two parties of the Orleanists or Armagnacs and the Burgundians, led by two royal princes, the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Burgundy. Taking advantage of this situation, Henry V, who came to the English throne in 1413, revived the English claim to the throne of France; and, allied with the Burgundians, he enjoyed considerable success. In 1415 he won the great battle of Agincourt and soon afterwards conquered all Normandy. By the treaty of Troyes in 1420, he married Catherine, daughter of the King of France, and was recognized as the heir to the French throne. After Henry V's death in 1422, the alliance with Burgundy began to weaken, and French national spirit was called to new life by Joan of Arc with her relief of the siege of Orleans, the success at Patay, where the English were beaten in the open field, and the coronation of the Dauphin as Charles VII in 1429. Although Joan was captured by the Burgundians and handed over to the English, who burnt her (after a church court had condemned her) as a heretic, the alliance of Burgundy and England was dissolved soon afterwards; and the English were driven gradually backwards. In 1445, at the time of the marriage of Margaret of Anjou and King Henry VI, they ceded Maine and Anjou, which they could not have continued to hold in any case. Then Normandy was reconquered by the French, and in 1453 the English possessions centering in Bordeaux were lost. The only remaining English territory in France was Calais, which was held for another hundred years, until it was lost in the reign of Mary.

The English victories in the early part of the war were largely due to the fact that, while feudal knights fighting on horseback were used to some extent by the English, the major fighting was entrusted to footmen, armed with bows and arrows. These were the yew long bows with the cloth-yard arrows, the effectiveness of which the English had learned in Wales, whence they adopted them. Against bowmen on foot with their rapid arrow fire, the French mailed cavalry was useless. After Poitiers the French learned this lesson and fought on more equal terms. By proving the inefficiency of the armed feudal knight, the early battles of the war, Crécy and Poitiers, did much to undermine the feudal

system, by taking from it the element of military value upon which it in part depended.

At the same time it must be recognized that the Hundred Years' War gave many opportunities to the feudal nobles in England to strengthen for the moment their position in the state. Above all else the war enriched them. They carried the loot of France back to England; the ransom of many a prisoner—one of the great objects in battle was to capture as many prisoners as possible—poured the gold of France into their pockets; the governorships of captured cities made princely fortunes for those who could secure them. Above all, there were the contracts for soldiers. The English armies were not recruited or conscripted in modern fashion. They consisted of numbers of companies of mercenaries raised by captains, very generally noblemen, with whom the king entered into a contract for their services at a certain figure, which proved very profitable for the leaders. Incidentally, when the periodic truces and cessations of hostilities occurred, the noble captains very frequently kept their companies intact and used them in England as private armies, wearing their own livery. By means of their new wealth and their retainers, they were able, in the later part of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries, not only to hold their own as the local leaders, but to extend and increase their power and authority to the point where the greatest among them began to think of controlling the crown. Yet amid the anarchy and disorder which ensued, feudal society disintegrated rapidly.

Constitutional Development Accompanying the Growth of Nationalism

One of the most significant reactions of the wars of this period from Edward I to the end of the Hundred Years' War was their effect upon English constitutional development, through which political expression was given to the nationalist movement more than in any other way. This development was due to two factors growing directly out of the wars; first, the constant financial difficulties of the king, caused by debts, lack of money, and waste of resources which the wars occasioned, and secondly, the appearance of new men in public life raised to prominence by war profits, who demanded political influence, and fought and schemed to get it. The direct impetus to the evolution of Parliament in its fourteenth century form was given by the financial difficulties into which Edward was brought by his wars

with John Balliol and Philip IV. The renewal of financial stringency, which attended the opening of the Hundred Years' War, was followed by a very rapid development of parliamentary powers. In 1340 the King definitely agreed that no new taxes should be levied without parliamentary consent; in 1340 and 1341 Parliament appointed auditors to examine the accounts of previous grants; in 1344 it demanded that the money it granted should be spent for the purpose for which it had been asked; in 1348 it voted money specifically for the defense of the realm against Scotland; and in 1353 it provided that its taxation should be used for war purposes only. In 1377 it appointed its own treasurers to receive the taxes it voted and to spend them only for the war. On each of these occasions, the King was forced to grant certain concessions to Parliament to tide over his immediate difficulties, but the sum of these concessions was very great. They involved the right of Parliament to vote taxation, to make definite appropriations, and to audit accounts to see that the money was spent properly, together with other gains in the field of legislation won by refusing taxes until grievances were redressed, and the possibility of control over ministers through the process of impeaching those who were too corrupt or inefficient, a concession which the King had to yield in 1376.

While Parliament was winning powers for itself, certain political struggles between the older clerical bureaucracy and new political classes redounded to its advantage. In 1376, just before Edward III's death, the clerical bureaucracy, long led by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, avenged itself upon its enemies by inducing the House of Commons, which it controlled, to impeach its enemies among the King's ministers. Two of the "evil" ministers actually were impeached and dismissed from office. Instructed by this incident, the new political group, now called the popular or Lancastrian party because they were led by John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, worked with, rather than against, Parliament. In 1388, in their efforts to control the government of King Richard II, five of the "popular" leaders, the Lords Appellant, secured the impeachment and conviction of four of the King's ministers in Parliament and the actual execution of two of them on charges of misgovernment. After Richard's frightful vengeance upon the Lords Appellant, the remnants of their party led by Henry of Bolingbroke again put its confidence in Parliament; and eventually, after defeating Richard in the field, they succeeded in deposing him by parlia-

mentary vote and in making Henry of Bolingbroke king by parliamentary election as Henry IV.

In view of these events, it was only natural that under Henry IV Parliament should have an enhanced prestige in the state, since it now elected and deposed kings. Further gains were made as a result of the royal financial needs, entailed by the insurrections of Henry IV's reign and by the war with France in the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI. Many of the precedents upon which parliamentary government was based were established before 1450. Yet Parliament was weakened by a duality of purposes among its members. The knights and burgesses had no desire to gain control of the state in order to direct its policies, but rather exhibited a constant purpose to limit the king's spending and to restrict taxation. The House of Commons won the right to have taxation measures originated in its name, yet it did not seek to extend its power over taxation to govern the state. On the other hand, the magnates sought to manipulate Parliament and to use it for their own factional purposes. They actually succeeded in doing so after 1450, with the result that the classes represented by the knights and burgesses became suspicious of Parliament and were willing to see it kept in a place of little importance, as will be explained more fully in the next chapter.

In its contributions to the development of English national feeling, Parliament occupied a very significant place. It provided a common meeting place for men from all sections of England in a time when there was little communication between the different parts of the country; it made possible an exchange of ideas about politics and government; and it aided in the creation of a common set of political values among all localities and classes, which were essential to the growth of a genuine nationalism.

The National Movement in Religion

With the development of conscious nationalism in the fourteenth century, heightened by the war with France, institutionalized and given political expression in Parliament, and reflected in literature, it was not unnatural that the new movement also should have had its religious phase. This was made all the more inevitable by the fact that, during the greater part of this century, the Papacy was a kind of appendage to the kingdom of France, and France was England's enemy. The Papacy

was never so successful in all its endeavors to assert a superior place in western Europe as in the thirteenth century, when it held England as a vassal state, directed the King of France to do its bidding, and destroyed the greatest of all the medieval Emperors, Frederick II. At the very end of the century, Pope Boniface VIII tried to put the capstone on the edifice of papal power by forbididng the clergy throughout the world to pay taxes to the state governments in a famous bull or papal decree, called *Clericis Laicos*, in which he again asserted the papal claims in all amplitude. Philip IV of France, much irritated by this bull as well as by other papal acts, resolved to assert his independence. He not only forced the clergy to pay taxes, but he defied the Pope to his face with the help of an Italian lawyer, Nogaret, who forced his way into Boniface's presence and heaped untold insults upon his head. On Boniface's death in 1305, Philip bribed the cardinals who elected the pope to choose a Frenchman, one of Philip's own church officials, as the Vicar of Christ. This new Pope immediately removed the Papacy from Rome to Avignon, a little papal city on the Rhone, just outside the borders of the kingdom of France. There for seventy-two years the popes continued to maintain the capital of the Christian church to the growing scandal of believers, who saw in the control of the church by France an analogy with the Babylonian captivity of the Jews in earlier history.

The papal court at Avignon was one of the most splendid in Europe. So extravagant and luxurious was the life at the court of the successor of the Fisherman of Galilee, that it is said that the very mules in the papal service were shod with silver shoes and adorned with golden bells. To pay for all this magnificence, new sources of income had to be found by the popes, especially since some of their old revenues coming from their lands in Italy had been lost with their removal from Rome. Sharp increases were made in older fees such as the payments for the papal confirmation of bishops, for the granting of the *pallium* to archbishops, for dispensations or declarations setting aside laws of the church for the benefit of individuals, and for fees in the papal courts. Appointments of bishops, abbots, and other officials from among candidates prepared to pay portions of their revenues to the Holy See became common. While in earlier centuries the popes had had no right whatsoever to control the choice of church officers, they had gradually asserted certain rights and made them good. One of the methods which they used in the fourteenth century was the reservation of the

filling of certain offices to themselves, and the appointment of men to these offices effective on the death of the present occupants. Officials appointed in this way were called provisors; and so great was the anger against provisors in England that in 1351, in the Statute of Provisors, Parliament forbade them to take church offices in England. When provisors persisted in claiming church offices and carried their suits to oust officials chosen or elected under English law to the papal courts which invariably acknowledged the validity of the papal appointments, Parliament in the Statute of Praemunire of 1353 forbade the appeal of any suit from an English court to the court of an outside power. These two statutes were essentially popular national manifestations of English feeling against the foreign French Papacy, even though Edward III, in whose reign they were enacted, used them for his own purposes in coming to an understanding with the Papacy.

Some years later, in 1366, the Pope raised a new furore against himself, when, in the midst of exceptionally heavy national expenditures for the French war, he demanded the resumption of the payment of the tribute promised by John in 1213 and now unpaid for many years. Edward III refused to make payment, while Parliament declared that John could not make England the fief of the pope without the nation's consent. The parliamentary salvoes of defiance were provided with a good deal of intellectual ammunition by a pamphlet published in 1373 by an Oxford professor, John Wiclif.

Wiclif already had written a good deal about the church, especially in the matter of the secular employments of the churchmen in government service. He came to believe that the property which the church held was a hindrance to spiritual work, because it was a temptation to worldly men to seek church office while really engaging in secular affairs; and he held that the higher or "Caesarian" clergy were unnecessary to the church and injurious to it. He wanted to see the state take over the land and the revenues of the church, because they were the great obstacles which prevented the church from carrying out its spiritual mission. While such ideas were essentially unpopular among the English clergy, they made a great appeal to politicians, such as John of Gaunt, who, in power at the moment, were struggling with the insoluble revenue problem. As long as John of Gaunt's party controlled the government, Wiclif was unmolested; but after the return of William of Wykeham's party to power in 1376 in the Good Parliament, the

English clerical leaders determined to call Wiclif to account. On February 19, 1377, he was summoned to appear before a court of bishops at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, but he came accompanied by John of Gaunt and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. The trial was broken up by a fierce altercation between Gaunt, Percy, and their men and the mob over the question of whether Wiclif should sit or stand. A second trial was held in 1378 at Lambeth palace, the residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but Wiclif was protected at this time by the nobles and the London rabble, and the trial came to nothing. In fact he had attained by this time something of the status of a national hero, and the churchmen in England hesitated to move. He had just become the champion of the nation against new papal impositions. When he was consulted whether, if the kingdom was in danger of invasion, it could refuse to send money abroad, he replied that it would be folly to send money in the present emergency. His own personal exigencies soon led him into a more radical antipapal position. His enemies, unable to proceed against him at home, procured bulls against him from the Pope. But at about the time that the papal bulls arrived in England curious news came from Italy. In 1377 Pope Gregory XI had returned to Rome. Displeased with the ruined city after the fleshpots of Avignon, his cardinals desired to return to their palaces on the Rhone; and on his death in 1378, they planned to elect a pope who would lead them back to their Babylon. But the Roman mob, sensing their purpose, surrounded the palace where the election was being held and gave them to understand that unless a good Italian were chosen, they would be torn limb from limb as they made their exit. Under this compulsion, they elected a doddering Italian, eighty years old, who would be as clay in their hands. To their surprise Urban VI was adamant to their pleas and announced that they must remain in Rome. Escaping by stealth from Rome, they reassembled; and alleging that their election of Urban was under intimidation and therefore void, they elected another pope, Clement VII, while Urban appointed a second college of cardinals. There were thus two popes and two papal governments contending for the loyalty of the Christian world; and Wiclif, examining the situation in the light of the papal bulls against him, concluded that the pope was not necessary to the Christian church. He did not stop there. To justify the rejection of the pope completely, it was now necessary to examine the entire doctrinal system of the church and to pick out all those dogmas

which vested the pope and his agents, the priests, with their peculiar powers as the necessary intermediaries between God and man. "Anti-christ hath cast his cast to make all men subject to the pope, and lead them after that him liketh. Lord, where is the freedom of Christ when men are easten in such bondage?" In this wise Wiclif was led to reject the necessity, in penance, of auricular confession to a priest and satisfaction imposed by a priest, leaving only the necessity of sorrow in the heart of the sinner as the requisite for the forgiveness of sin. The priest had nothing more to do with the matter. Wiclif was led, likewise, to reject the peculiar doctrine of the church regarding the Mass or the Holy Communion, that the bread and wine of the Sacrament were changed to the body and blood of Christ, and that the miracle of this change was performed by the priest. If there was such a change and if the priest performed the miracle, there could be no doubt about the powers of the pope and the church, and this doctrine, the central and most essential doctrine of the medieval church, called Transubstantiation, Wiclif likewise rejected.

In place of a Catholic or cosmopolitan church officered by wealthy worldlings, controlled by a foreign prince, the pope, Wiclif worked out the idea of a spiritual institution without property, working in the popular language to bring spiritual salvation to the English people. To realize this idea, he began to translate the Scriptures, which he accepted as the basis of all belief, into English, a work in which a large part was taken by Nicholas of Hereford and John Purvey; and he organized bands of enthusiastic young university men to go about as poor priests to preach salvation to all the people.

Wiclif's work was not permanent as far as England was concerned, for, although it appealed to the national spirit, and was in line with the century-old trend away from the Papacy, its doctrinal implications and practical developments conflicted with too many vested interests. His doctrines were condemned in 1380 and 1382, and he himself was forced into the retirement of a country rectory at Lutterworth. His followers, the Lollards, were suppressed and exterminated, except for remnants among poor and unimportant folk, by Henry IV and Henry V. His own body was dug up in 1428, in accordance with a decree of the council of Constance, and burned; and the ashes cast into a neighboring brook. Nevertheless, time was on the side of Wiclif and the idea of a national church; and a century and a half after his death, when new forces were strong enough to

attack and defeat the old vested interests, religious nationalism came into its own.

The Medieval English Universities

Among the most significant institutions in English life from the twelfth century onward were the English universities. They were early centers of national spirit, and always have been training grounds for the church and the state. Nearly every important man in English history from the time of their origin to the present day has received his education in the universities and has gone out from them to public life. It is, therefore, worth while to examine the history of their early years and to trace their growth.

The development of English life and institutions, the rise of towns, and the growth of the royal judicial and financial systems are but one part of the great stirring and freeing of the human spirit in the feudal age, which England shared with the rest of western Europe. The period is also one of great intellectual advance, based upon an immense increase in human knowledge, which began to be apparent in Europe even before the twelfth century. The learning of the earlier Middle Ages which the schools imparted was represented by the Seven Arts, divided into the Trivium and the Quadrivium. The Trivium consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic; the Quadrivium, of Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. What was known and taught of these subjects was the matter preserved by three Roman writers of the sixth century, Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Martianus Capella, who compiled manuals of as much as they could save or could appreciate of the intellectual fund of the Roman world. Until Gerbert (later Pope Sylvester II) rediscovered the principles of decimal notation about 980, the Quadrivium was a poor enough mixture of the first and second books of Euclid without proofs, methods of calculating the date of Easter, and the rules of chanting. The real interest was in the Trivium. Grammar included not only technical rules formulated by the Latin grammarians, but the appreciation of the literary masterpieces of Rome; rhetoric included law and verse-writing; and dialectic comprehended logic or the rules of correct reasoning, the most fascinating subject to the medieval student in the curriculum. In the twelfth century came the revival of the study of Roman law at Bologna, the formulation of the Canon law by Gratian, and great increases in the knowl-

edge of medicine and the natural sciences through the translations of the writings of the Greeks, especially of Aristotle, into Latin from the Arabic translations which were common in Spain and other parts of the Mohammedan world.

As the reputation of these studies spread, young men eager to learn came together around the great teachers in many parts of Europe. At Salerno was the school of medicine; at Bologna, the law school, to which Becket went. In northern Europe Paris became the center for students and teachers, perhaps because William of Champeux and his greater pupil, Peter Abelard, attracted their thousands of students thither to hear their lectures on philosophy and theology. From these concourses of able teachers and eager students the university developed.

The university was one of the creations of the Middle Ages. In classical times there were no universities in the sense in which the term is used today, with organized faculties, courses of study, examinations, and degrees. The customs, offices, and titles of the modern university and the very idea of institutionalized learning are a direct inheritance of the medieval world. The name university comes from the Latin equivalent of gild. The universitas was the gild of teachers or students of a school where the Seven Liberal Arts were studied together with one of the higher faculties of law, medicine, or theology. In Bologna, it was the students who formed the universitas or gild and laid down to the professors the rules and regulations under which they taught. In Paris, which became the great model for all universities, the gild was made up of the teachers, who held their licenses to teach from the chancellor of the cathedral. They seem to have gotten their idea of forming a gild from the custom of requiring a public lecture, followed by a banquet, before giving their recommendation to any scholar who wished to set up as a teacher himself. The Middle Ages never neglected an opportunity to institutionalize a banquet.

It was as an offshoot of Paris that the university of Oxford came into existence. In 1167, in the midst of his struggle with Thomas à Becket, Henry II forbade any clerk, henceforth, to cross from the continent to England or from England to the continent without his leave. Moreover, all clerks who possessed "revenues" in England were to be summoned by the sheriffs to return within three months "as they loved their revenues." Hundreds of English students at Paris together with the English masters who were teaching there seem to have returned to

England and settled at Oxford. The masters organized themselves into a universitas magistrorum on the model of Paris.

Just as a migration of scholars from Paris in 1167 led to the foundation of Oxford, so a migration of Oxford masters and scholars in 1209 to Cambridge led to the establishment of the second English university. The killing of a woman in that year by the students brought about a raid on the rooming houses of the students, and the arrest and execution of two or three of them by the town government with the consent of King John. In retaliation the masters decreed suspension of lectures and migration. Various other migrations took place in the thirteenth century, and as late as 1334 some of the masters beaten in a quarrel with students, or, as another account reports, the north of England students beaten in a quarrel with the southerners, migrated to Stamford, where lectures were given for a long time. These later attempts to found another university were all unsuccessful; and down into the nineteenth century, there were only two universities in England, at Oxford and Cambridge.

The cessation of lectures and the migration of teachers and students were the most powerful weapons which the universities had in their disputes with town or king. Their use was made possible by the fact that the universities were simply gilds of teachers. They were not physical entities with grounds, libraries, laboratories, and class-rooms. For centuries neither Oxford nor Cambridge owned any property; they had no revenues, no endowments except a few legacies and chaplaincies, and no paid professorships. The masters received their income from the fees or *collecta* exacted by them from the students who came to hear their lectures. The more popular the master's lectures, the greater was his income. The buildings used for lectures were hired, certainly at first, by the teachers themselves. The first buildings which the universities came to possess were acquired in a somewhat doubtful way. At Oxford, for instance, the church of St. Mary's, the center of university life and the meeting place of the earliest congregations or full assemblies of the university, was simply borrowed from the parish and gradually annexed. It was not until the fifteenth century that the universities began to erect buildings of their own, the first at Oxford being the Divinity School, or examination hall for theology. The upper chamber of this building was used to house the magnificent library of more than 279 manuscripts which Duke Humphrey of Gloucester left to the university, and

as a consequence this building is today part of the great Bodleian library. During the fifteenth century too, endowed professorships were introduced.

The student coming to the English universities was expected to be proficient in grammar, that is, he must know how to speak and understand Latin, in which, as elsewhere in Europe, all the lectures and disputations were carried on. The full course in arts required seven years. Since the student entered the university at fourteen, this is not so long as it seems. During the first three years the student was a pupil pure and simple, and during the second period he was allowed to do a certain amount of "assisting." At the end of the third year the student was admitted into junior membership in the gild, and just as a junior carpenter was called a bachelor in the carpenters' gild, so the young student was called a bachelor in arts. The examination to determine his fitness for this distinction seems to have concerned itself chiefly with whether he attended lectures regularly. What he knew was "deposed" by the testimony of his teachers. At the ceremony which attended the granting of the degree, the young bachelor delivered a public lecture before his friends, a practice which survives in modern commencement parts; and he provided wine and a feast. During the next four years he gave informal lectures, and on his graduation was given the degree of master of arts. This final degree marked his admission into the company of the masters, the beginning of his right to teach as a full professor, and was, therefore, called, at Cambridge, the commencement. The same ceremony held at the time of the first degree was repeated, only on a larger scale. It is worth remarking that though on the continent the examination for the mastership was very stiff, in England it became more and more lax. An inheritance of this may be the fact that while admission to the higher degrees on the continent today is secured only after an exacting period of study, in England the degree of Master of Arts is granted for the payment of certain fees after the lapse of a certain time.

It is interesting to run over the course of study which a student was obliged to take. In 1408, he was required, for the bachelor's degree, to have heard one course of lectures on Donatus' *Barbarismus,* a book on grammar; the *Algorismus integrorum,* a book on arithmetic; and the *Computus ecclesiasticus,* the method of finding the date of Easter, together with either another course on Grammar or a course on natural philosophy, based on Aristotle's *Physica, De Anima,* and *De generatione et*

corruptione animalium. This represented an advance over 1267, when the course was based chiefly on the books on logic written by Porphyry, Boethius, Gilbert of Porrée, and Aristotle. For the master's degree, the student was required to have "heard," in addition to those required for the bachelors degree, certain books in Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy, and in the three philosophies, natural, moral, and metaphysical. The list included Joannes de Sacro Bosco, *Tractatus de Sphaera;* Porphyry, *Isagoge;* Gilbert de la Porrée, *Sex Principia;* Ptolemy, *Almagesta;* and Aristotle, *Sophistici elenchi.* Aristotle filled the most important place in the course of study, and his authority was so great that almost no student ever thought of questioning his dicta, even though they disagreed with the results of observation, history, or experience.

Having been admitted to the degree of master of arts, the scholar could set up as a teacher of the liberal arts himself, or he might proceed to study one of the higher faculties of medicine, law, or theology, where more years could be spent. The medieval student was as slow to quit academic life as the modern graduate student, and he might be a middle-aged man before he finally left the university. But the majority of students never entered the higher faculties, never taught, never even took the master's degree, but went out into the world after the bachelor's degree or before, to serve their country and their kind.

In the commonplace and everyday aspects of life, the students of the Middle Ages had much in common with the modern university man. There is abundant testimony to this in the letters of students, which have been preserved in the "complete letter writers" of the Middle Ages. "A student's first song is a demand for money, and there will never be a letter which does not ask for cash," lamented one weary Italian father, who might have lived in England just as well. The gem of all these letters is one written by an Oxford man, in Latin so bad as to give the lie to at least part of the statements he makes. "This is to inform you that I am studying at Oxford with the greatest diligence, but the matter of money stands greatly in the way of my promotion, as it is now two months since I spent the last of what you sent me. The city is expensive and makes many demands; I have to rent lodgings, buy necessaries, and provide for many other things which I cannot now specify. Wherefore I respectfully beg your paternity that by the promptings of

divine pity you may assist me, so that I may complete what I have well begun. For you must know that without Ceres and Bacchus, Apollo grows cold."

In the first century of university life in England, there was no provision for rooms. Just as today in many state universities, the student had to lodge with a citizen of the town. But the difficulties of securing rooms gave rise to the system of residence in halls or hostels. Little groups of students formed voluntary societies to rent a house for the group. Their organizations resembled the modern American fraternity, in function at least. Before long the universities asserted their supremacy over these hall societies, and the hall became a boarding house kept and governed by a master under the authority of the university. Up to the time of the Reformation, many students lived in halls; but in modern times these have almost entirely disappeared.

In the course of the thirteenth century, generous donors began to set aside lands and money for the foundation of something like a hall society, which should be maintained on the income of the endowment and should live under the rules drawn up by the founder. These new associations were called colleges. While the college was essentially a society or corporation of students living on its endowments, and not a building, the college building became a regular feature; and today a very large part of the outward material form of Oxford and Cambridge is represented by the college buildings. The oldest colleges in Oxford are University College and Balliol College, which go back to 1249 and 1261; but the college idea was not worked out fully until 1264, when Walter de Merton, sometime Chancellor of England, established Merton College at Oxford. His plan was "an academical brotherhood, which combined monastic obedience, order, discipline, and piety, with the pursuit of knowledge." He set aside certain manors to maintain twenty poor scholars and two or three priests in the schools of Oxford. The land was vested in the society. As vacancies occurred when the scholars left the university, they were to be filled by the society. Members were to have an annual allowance of forty shillings each; they were to live together in the hall or college building, with separate bedrooms and common dining and study rooms. As new colleges were founded, and the munificence of the founders increased, stricter obedience to rules and to the head of the society was imposed. Conversation was generally to be in Latin; but it was often restricted, because it wasted time. At New College

the scholars were forbidden to remain in the dining hall after supper except on feast days, when a fire was made, and they might sit around and indulge in canticles and in listening to poems and chronicles, and *mundi hujus mirabilia.* Many of the college statutes forbade amusements; there were to be no dogs or falcons, no dice or chess; scholars were not to frequent taverns, engage in trade, mix with actors, or attend theatrical performances. William of Wykeham found it necessary to forbid the throwing of stones in chapel and dancing or jumping in the dining hall. Women were not allowed, as a rule, within a college gate. If it was impossible to find a man to wash clothes, a laundress might be employed, but she must be old and of unprepossessing appearance. While the college discipline was thus very strict, the university gave almost complete liberty to the student; and those students who were not members of college or hall societies did almost as they pleased. To this day Oxford and Cambridge men have few university disciplinary regulations, but the colleges still enforce a code on their members which is much stricter than the discipline in most American universities.

The student's day began when he arose at five in the morning. He then read or reviewed until six, when lectures began. The morning from six to ten was the most important part of the day, for it was at this time that the ordinary or formal lectures were given. After a lecture, the students returned to their rooms (mass having been quickly heard if desired) and reviewed their notes and memorized what they had heard. Dinner came at ten o'clock, the first meal of the day. (Breakfast was not common until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). After dinner there was a little exercise. Lectures were resumed at twelve or one. These were the informal lectures, really reviews and class-room discussions of what had been heard in the morning, conducted by students who already had their bachelor's degree. Especial emphasis was given to this kind of review and discussion in the colleges, and resulted, eventually, in transferring the bulk of the actual teaching from the university to the colleges. Today the university still provides formal lectures, which are often unattended. The student does his actual studying under the direction of a tutor, who is an older member of his college, although the examinations are given of course by the university.

At five came supper. After supper, there might be informal disputations with honest jokes, or the evening might be given

over to amusement. Because there were no authorized or respectable amusements, the students turned to drinking and gambling at taverns, roaming the streets in large gangs under a captain, singing, throwing stones, breaking doors or heads, and quarreling with the townspeople. In these more modern times the students' desire for mob violence, which led to many a pitched battle between town and gown, one of which in 1354 led to the annual public humiliation of the town of Oxford before the university down to 1825, has been sublimated into campus rushes and athletics, which were altogether unknown to the medieval university man. Student life has grown more sober and more polite; but it no longer produces the great songs like *Gaudeamus igitur* or *Meum est propositum*, by which the medieval student perhaps would justify his rioting and carousing.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER IV

(See General Works)

Political and Narrative History.

J. H. Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution.*
Genesis of Lancaster and York.
T. F. Tout, *The Political History of England, 1216-1377.*
G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe.*
J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*
J. Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France and Spain,* Ed., Lord Berners.
J. Mackinnon, *The History of Edward III.*
T. F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History.*

Church History.

W. W. Capes, *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*
M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible.*
J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation.*

Constitutional History.

J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages.*
C. H. McIlwain, *The High Court of Parliament.*
A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament.*
T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England.*

Economic History.

N. S. B. Gras, *Early English Customs System.*
H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems.*
C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant.*
L. F. Salzmann, *English Industries of the Middle Ages.*
S. B. Terry, *The Financing of the Hundred Years' War.*
G. Unwin, *Finance and Trade under Edward III.*

Social History.

D. Chadwick, *Social Life in the Days of Piers the Plowman.*

G. G. Coulton, *Chaucer and his England.*
A Medieval Garner.
The Medieval Village.
Social Life in England from the Conquest to the Reformation.

E. L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People.*
Scenes and Characters in the Middle Ages.

F. A. Gasquet, *The Black Death of 1348 and 1349.*
English Monastic Life.
Parish Life in the Middle Ages.

C. H. Haskins, *The Rise of the Universities.*
Studies in the History of Medieval Science.

F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization.*
Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers.

A. Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars.*

J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages.*

A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England.*

A. E. Levett and A. Ballard, *The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester.*

A. G. Little, *Studies in Franciscan History.*

C. E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford.*

A. P. Newton, *Travel and Travelers of the Middle Ages.*

C. W. C. Oman, *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages.*

C. Pendrill, *London Life in the Fourteenth Century.*

R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning.*

E. Power, *Medieval Nunneries.*

R. S. Rait, *Life in the Medieval Universities.*

H. Rashdall, *The Universities in the Middle Ages.*

W. Stubbs, *"Learning and Literature at the Court of Henry II"* in *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History.*

H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind.*

E. V. Vaughan, *Origin and Early Development of the English Universities.*

Biography.

G. V. Lechler, *John Wiclif and his English Precursors.*

A. G. Little, *Roger Bacon.*

R. L. Poole, *Wycliffe.*

L. Sergeant, *John Wyclif.*

S. Armitage Smith, *John of Gaunt.*

F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste.*

Sources.

Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond. Translation Ed. by L. C. Jane (in King's Classics)

F. J. C. Hearnshaw (Ed.), *Select Extracts relating to English Towns in the Middle Ages.*

M. A. Hennings, *England under Henry III.*

CHAPTER V

THE EVOLUTION FROM FEUDAL SOCIETY

The period covered by this chapter coincides in time with the later part of the era of the growth of nationalism from the reign of Edward III onward, and extends beyond that age through the fifteenth century, including, in addition to the reigns already noted, those of the Yorkist kings. These were

Edward IV, 1461-1483
Edward V, 1483
Richard III, 1483-1485

Edward IV was the son of Richard, Duke of York, who claimed the English throne as a descendant of the second and fourth sons of Edward III and finally succeeded in deposing Henry VI. Edward V was the young son of Edward IV, who reigned for only a few months, when he was murdered, together with his brother, by his uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the brother of Edward IV, who mounted the throne as Richard III in 1483.

Because there was practically no money in existence, the feudal society in which Englishmen lived from the time of the Norman conquest was based upon natural economy, that is to say, the exchange of goods for goods, and the payment of obligations in goods and work or services. The lord's land was tilled by the forced labor of the serf, who held his farm for the rent thus paid, while the lord recruited the king's army and his civil service in return for the possession of his fief. There was little communication between places, and men obeyed the king less from a sense of duty to the state, which we today call patriotism, than from a sense of personal loyalty for favors received and expected. Unable to get about over the country quickly or to keep in constant touch with officials, and faced by the personal element in men's obedience, the king delegated many of the governmental functions to the local nobles. In local affairs the noble was thus very powerful. In the central government, on the other hand, the chief influence was wielded by the bishops and abbots of the English church. There were several reasons for this. The clergy were the only educated class. They were the representatives of the corporate wealth held by the

monasteries, bishoprics, and cathedral chapters, which were the vested interests *par excellence* of the Middle Ages. It was only natural, therefore, that the clergy should man the king's government and operate it in its own interests. They held many of the executive and administrative offices of the government; and with twenty bishops and from seventy-two to twenty-seven abbots sitting in the House of Lords, they controlled the upper and dominant House of Parliament. At the same time, owing largely to the efforts of the early Norman kings, they generally placed their loyalty to the king before their allegiance to the church; and as a rule, they did not disguise their self-interest with any high-sounding appeals to the rights of their high order as priests, on the basis of which privileges of the church dangerous to the civil government might have been founded.

But as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries advanced, the influence of the church declined, even though it was victorious over the nationalist movement in religion, exemplified by John Wiclif and his work. Its clergy lost their unique place as the only educated class. The universities were sending out men learned in the Roman Law with a special aptitude for administrative work; the households of the nobles were training-schools for accountants; and princes and nobles, such as the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Gloucester, the brothers of Henry V, achieved sufficient learning to make very effective executive heads of government departments. Moreover, new aggregations and new forms of wealth began to compete with the monastic corporation and the bishopric for a voice in the control of the government. The decline of the church and the rise of these new forces claim very careful attention.

The decline of the church, in the first place, was not bound up with any loss of its old functions by the church. It still controlled the destinies of men's souls, and this control does not seem to have been much weakened by the growing lack of spirituality among the officers of the church, from the pope down. There was, of course, endless complaint about the laxness of churchmen's lives; but as long as the doctrinal system of the medieval church stood unimpaired in men's minds, the priest was the necessary agent of salvation.

At the same time, the trend of social growth was against the church. The church conceived of life as a whole as subject to the moral principles of Christianity. It denounced in no uncertain terms the sins of usury, hoarding, and profiteering. It taught the idea of a just price, and exalted the belief that a

man's duty was not to amass property, but to live well in that station in which God had placed him. Yet, as wealth increased and men tasted the joys of its possession, they began to grow cold toward the notion that life was but a preparation for heaven. Worldly pursuits acquired an importance of their own, and that unity of all activity envisaged in the Christian view of life was broken, never to be achieved again. As secular concerns rose superior to religious interests, the church receded from its premier position in men's regard.

More narrowly, as society became more and more complicated, it was necessary that new functions should be performed for it. Since these new functions were secular, and had to do with contracts, the possession of land, the collection of debts, and the regulation of commerce, they were performed by the king and the civil government. Again, old functions, such as the maintenance of internal peace and order, which the church had been trying to perform for centuries through the use of eternal sanctions, the threat of hell and the reward of heaven, were soon to be taken over by the Tudor kings. Their vigorous fines and ruthless executions here and now were to prove far more effective than eternal punishment in the next world.

Another factor in the decline of the church was the virtual annexation by the king of great extents of its wealth and the replacement of its titular leaders by men who were really royal henchmen. From the time of Edward II on, the king appointed his own trained administrators to the bishopries to an increasing extent. This development was made easier in a rather curious way. The popes also were attempting to control the patronage of the English church, claiming the right to bestow upon their own favorites benefices and livings from bishopries down. Edward III and the nation in Parliament objected to the papal claim, which was a serious interference with the liberties and internal economy of the English church and of the English nation. It must be remembered that there was often a sharp divergence between the Papacy and the English church, even though the English church recognized the pope as the head of the universal church. Some shadow of legal right was given to the popes' claim, however, by petitions from Edward III asking that the Pope appoint some favorite or other of the King's to various offices, apparently where the King was not strong enough to compel the election in England. Clement VI recognized the import of such petitions, and once remarked "If the King of England were to petition for an ass to be made

bishop, we would not say him nay." So grievous did the matter of papal appointments become, that in 1351 Parliament enacted the Statute of Provisors, forbidding papal appointments in the English church. The rights and property of the English church were not to be subject to papal control. Edward III cleverly manipulated this statute to the advantage of the crown, by using it as the basis of a compromise with the Papacy. Bishoprics vacant by death were to be filled by the king with the pope's approval; those vacant by translation, that is, the promotion of the incumbent to another see, by the pope; and other patronage was divided. The Statute of Praemunire, frequently reënacted from 1353 onward, declaring that no suits could be carried from England to foreign courts (meaning the papal curia), was the royal threat held out against the pope to give effect to the compromise. Should the pope attempt to evade his part of the bargain and appoint to an office not in his province, the king's candidate entered upon the office and was protected by the English courts. Appeal from the judgment of the English courts to the papal courts was useless, since the judgment of Rome was not admitted into England under this statute; and the person making the appeal was liable to the heaviest penalties. The real importance of this act came later, however, when it was used by Henry VIII as one of the devices by which he ruined Cardinal Wolsey and compelled the English church to recognize him as its head.

The English church did not acquiesce quietly in the situation as it developed in Edward III's reign. In Henry IV's and Henry V's reigns, when the church recovered something of its old power through participation in the revolution which dethroned Richard II in 1399 and made Henry IV king, it attempted to revive free capitular elections, that is, to resume the management of its own property and affairs. It had a certain success, but the feebleness of the next king, Henry VI, gave it no support against the popes, who took over appointments into their own hands during this troubled period. When Henry VII in turn took the control of the great benefices of the church from the popes, the church had unlearned its old power. Royal ministers filled its bishopries, receiving their rewards for their services to the king in the form of the incomes from church endowments. Its property and its offices in the hands of royal officials, the English church was being so weakened that it could not resist the assertion of royal supremacy whenever the king wished to make it.

Agricultural Progress

While the church declined, the feudal nobles approached the zenith of their power and importance. One factor closely connected with this development was a series of changes in agriculture, which were in their turn closely connected with an increase in the use of money. While the use of money had become less uncommon in the century after William the Conqueror's time, particularly in making payments to the government and in wholesale business, nevertheless, in the feudal period it is probable that most men in England saw and used very little money in their daily business. The period of the Hundred Years' War, however, coincided in point of time with a very rapid extension of the use of money in the normal business of life in place of the exchange of things and payments of obligations in the form of services.

The increasing use of money in transacting business and as a nexus of human relationships was the great solvent force in all feudal society. It released the king from dependence upon the feudal nobles for services and enabled him to employ the more effective mercenaries and English bowmen in his wars. At the same time, it freed the English feudal nobles from reliance upon servile labor for the cultivation of their estates and enabled them to adopt the more efficient wage system. As corollary developments, without which the feudal lord would not have been able to do this, were the growth of markets in the towns, in which farm products could be sold for money, and the appearance of a free laboring class of men willing to work for pay. The first of these things has been touched upon already. The sale of pigs and wheat in the towns introduced money and the money economy to the manor, and the possibilities of a market soon awakened the cultivators of the soil to the desirability of farming for the greatest net product rather than of subsistence farming. The peasant saw his way to this end through the abrogation of forced labor on the lord's fields, so that he might give all his time to his own land. The lord's view of his best interests included something of the same thing. During centuries of trial it had been discovered that forced labor was very inefficient. It has been estimated that one serf did as much work in a week as a man working for wages did in a day, and no method of speeding up the unwilling slackers could be devised. The church, in its desire to aid the lords, laid much stress in the confessional upon loiter-

ing on the job; and priests were actually instructed to be especially strict and severe in this matter, when peasants came to confess their sins.

As the country population increased, and new farms and holdings out of the untilled land were no longer available for the younger sons, there was no place in the manor for considerable numbers of people who were born there. At first, some of the surplus was taken up in service in the lord's household and military enterprises. Ultimately there came to be considerable numbers of landless able-bodied men, who were willing to do anything to earn their living. The lords soon discovered that these men were more suited to their requirements as agricultural laborers than were serfs; and very early in the fourteenth century, and perhaps before that, lords began to employ such men on their own fields. Only a very few manors were affected at first; and even on these the practice was not regular, nor did it extend to all of the work. When a lord could get hired laborers to do his farming, he did not merely excuse the serfs from their work. He sold them their time at the same rate that it cost him to hire men to take their places. Thus, for example, if John the son of Tom was excused from labor services of three days a week for three months, because his lord could get hired help at one penny a day, the lord's stewart charged him with thirty-nine days' work services at a penny a day, or thirty-nine pence, which John gladly paid. In time, especially when all work on the manor in question had been done by hired laborers for a number of years, the money which the peasants paid to be excused from their own labor-services was looked upon as rent. Thus, the commutation of services into rent went on, on the basis of the prevailing rate of wages for hired help. When the labor services were no longer paid, the principal reason for the maintenance of the servile status with its personal degradation and the payment of unhonorable dues, such as merchet, ceased; and personal serfdom began to disappear on some manors.

This whole process was not general all over England, nor even uniform in any single district; but it was well under way on many manors by the 1340's. It was affected by a great pestilence, called the Black Death, which began in England in 1348 and continued until 1350. The calamity of this epidemic is seen in the wild exaggeration of the chroniclers who wrote that the survivors scarcely sufficed to bury the dead, and not one man in ten remained alive. In all probability from one-

third to one-half the population died, with the heaviest losses among the agricultural laborers and peasants. In the face of this terrible diminution of the population and reduction of producing powers, accompanied, of course, by no change in the stock of money, the value of money fell; and prices and wages rose. The government, recognizing its duty to set things right that were amiss, stepped into the breach and fixed the price of labor at the rates prevailing in 1347, or the average of the five or six years before; and it ordained that the price of food must be reasonable. These terms were embodied in a royal Ordinance of Laborers in 1349, issued while the plague was still raging, and were confirmed in 1351 in a parliamentary statute, enacted as soon as Parliament could come together again. The lords of the manor, faced by the choice of seeing their crops rot on the ground and their fields standing idle, or of paying the higher wages, raised the rate whenever necessary to get workers. Although the laws did not prevent wages from rising, they did expose the recipient of higher wages to the dangers of prosecution and imprisonment, or to the hardships of outlawry, if, accused, he evaded arrest. During the years which followed the Black Death many hundreds of men were outlawed; and, forming themselves into bands, they furnished inflammable revolutionary material. Incidentally, the wage fixing clauses of these laws operated also against the journeymen workers of the towns and led to vigorous dissatisfaction on their part.

In many cases the lord of the manor was unable to obtain free laborers to cultivate his land at any price. Under this circumstance he seems at first to have attempted to reintroduce the servile labor services where these had been commuted, and to stop the process of commutation where this was going on. With thousands of peasant holdings idle all over the country awaiting takers, it was easy for the peasants to flee from the manors of such a lord and find a farm or holding on favorable terms elsewhere. Thousands of peasants did flee from one manor to another; and the ultimate result was a very rapid extension of the process of commutation of services for money, even for peasants who remained on the manors on which they had always lived. In many cases where commutation had proceeded, the rights of the lord in the person of the serf, the stigmata of personal bondage, remained; and because they brought in some small return to the lord, they were not given up. The idea of degradation rankled, and as decades passed the serfs formed organizations to demand personal freedom. These became so

threatening that in 1377 Parliament passed a statute to coerce such serfs as did "affirm them to be quite and utterly discharged of all manner of serfage due as well of their body as of their tenures."

The whole social and economic situation among the three groups, the serfs, the town journeymen workers, and the agricultural laborers, on the eve of the disappearance of feudal society is thrown into high light by the events of a revolutionary rising in which they took part in 1381. For years agitators had been voicing their woes and justifying their resentment. Of these the principal leaders were the parish priests, and especially one named John Ball. Ball had been preaching up and down the country for twenty years, attacking serfdom and the whole existing feudal social system. He was, naturally, suppressed by the authorities, having been in the Archbishop of Canterbury's prison at least three times; and, in fact, he was serving a sentence when the revolt came. Ball discovered that the idea of personal freedom was in accordance with the teachings of Christianity; and, to establish it securely, he went beyond the mere abolition of serfdom to insist upon equalitarianism for all, though he was not a socialist as later writers have wrongly held.

In June, 1381, the long-simmering discontent flared into open revolt in the eastern and southeastern counties. The outbreak was precipitated in Essex by attempts to punish those who had evaded payment of a poll tax, the third collected by the government in four years, and in Kent by the attempt of one of the king's servants to recover a serf who had escaped to the town of Gravesend and had become so prominent in the town that the townsmen offered to buy him off, but were unwilling to pay the sum demanded. While the rioters were taking control of the East Anglian towns and monasteries, and were destroying the king's castle at Rochester, storming the Archbishop's jail at Canterbury, and marching on London, the royal army lay at Plymouth waiting for a wind for France. With no force within reach, the government was powerless and was forced to abandon London to the rebels. The action of the insurgents in London as well as the program of demands which they presented to the government shows clearly the causes of dissatisfaction with current society and the government. They resented the recent failures in France for which John of Gaunt, Archbishop Sudbury, and Robert Hales, the treasurer, were responsible. Hales and Sudbury they executed, besides burning

Hales' house and the hospital of the knights of St. John of which he was grandmaster; John of Gaunt was personally not in the city; but his palace was sacked and destroyed, and his servants were killed. The rebels looked upon the lawyers as particularly responsible for enforcing the Statute of Laborers and for upholding in their courts the privileges of the lords; they executed the chief justice and all lawyers, and burned the headquarters of the lawyers in the Temple and the Inns of Court, together with all charters and records which could be found. They demanded the abolition of personal serfdom and the commutation of all services to money rents at four pence an acre. They demanded the abrogation of the Statute of Laborers and the abolition of outlawry as defined in the statute. Finally, the more extreme among them wanted to see church property confiscated and divided among the poor, and the abolition of all bishops excepting one.

In the end, at the suggestion of one of the ministers who was cooped up with the King in the Tower, Richard II appeased the people with fair words and granted what they wished, with the intention of recalling all as soon as possible. The revolt was, of course, a failure. King Richard's concessions sent half the rebels home after a first conference. During a second conference the Lord Mayor of London killed Wat Tyler, one of the insurgent leaders, and the King, with great presence of mind, declared to the rebels that he was their leader and led them out of the city, after which the work of reprisals, recall of promises, beheadings, quarterings, and disembowelings began. "Serfs ye are and serfs ye will remain" said the King to one group which showed him his own letters of liberation. But all the forces of contemporary development were against the continuation of serfdom, and before the end of the fifteenth century serfdom had ceased to exist in England except in a few isolated cases.

This process was hastened by the fact that as the fifteenth century advanced, perhaps as a result of labor difficulties, the lords of the manors frequently adopted the practice of renting out their demesnes to large farmers, who cultivated them in the most efficient manner with hired labor. The lord, having no further interest in forced labor, gladly accepted money rents, and abandoned his claims to ownership of the persons of his serfs, which now had little or no value. Incidentally, new types of agriculture were evolved on the demesne. Because labor was too dear to continue the older forms of arable farming,

or sometimes because the soil was becoming exhausted, or wheat prices were low in the fifteenth century, and the price of wool was very high, the lords and the farmers who rented the demesnes often abandoned the growing of wheat, where it was possible to arrange the demesne as a continuous field, and laid it down in grass as a sheep walk for raising wool for home manufacture and export to the great Flemish towns. As a consequence of the payment of money rents by the serfs for their farms and the renting of the demesne to a large farmer, the manor provided the lord with an annual income in ready money, far greater in value than the products of the fields produced by the labor of serfs.

The Beginnings of Capitalism

During the same period there was a rapid growth of accumulations of money in the hands of individuals who used that money to increase the extent of their business operations. The whole agricultural development was capitalistic in its nature, since the business of sheep-raising, for example, entailed heavy investments in order to make greater profits; but the more striking phase of capitalism was found in connection with commerce. One of the effective causes of the rise of the new system was a psychological change among the people which led them to adopt new standards of taste and luxury imported from France during the wars. Greater sanitation and decency in the towns, as is shown by the town ordinances for keeping the streets clean, for removal of waste, and for the selling of sound meat; more extravagant dress, as is revealed in many preachments of the censors and moralists bewailing the evil of the times; better houses with three stories and attic, glazed windows, and fine furnishings; and more ceremony and outward show at court created new demands for commodities and made possible a very significant increase in business. The idea of using money to make more money can be applied only in a society where there is an expansion of the market; and that expansion was given not by the opening of new continents, as at a later date, but by the increased wants and needs of townsmen and courtiers. It is interesting to note that the new capitalist was not found among those merchants who dealt in the commodities used by the generality of Englishmen, but in those companies which traded in the new luxury goods, the Mercers, Drapers, Grocers, the Fishmongers who owned the ships in which goods were

imported, the Tailors, and the Merchant Adventurers, in London and the larger ports.

In some measure, the wars themselves contributed to the development of capitalism through the mobilization of materials for war purposes and through the financial operations dependent thereon. Edward III, finding that the old royal revenues were not nearly sufficient to buy the wine and grain needed for his armies and to pay the hire of soldiers, obtained the right to levy new customs duties, the tonnage and poundage on wine and other commodities, and the customs subsidies of wool, woolfells, and leather. The collection of these duties was immediately turned over to syndicates of merchants in return for ready money and certain concessions which made commerce freer and less restricted for themselves. Other merchants lent money to the king at high rates of interest on pledge of older revenues. In these ways very great sums were collected in the king's hands, perhaps larger than any single sums previously known in England. These were immediately spent for war materials, such as grain and wine, and for the hire of soldiers, and thus came into the hands of a comparatively few great contractors or war-profiteers, as we should call them today. Among these men, individuals stand out too, such as William de la Pole, merchant of Hull; Richard Lyons, who organized syndicates of "usurers" to take up loans to the king, and to buy up unpaid loans at a fraction of their value and receive payment in full; Richard Whittington, who lent money to Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V and, as security for the loans, was made mayor of the Staple at London and Calais, which was probably more valuable to him than being thrice Lord Mayor of London; William Cannynges of Bristol, who owned ten ships totaling 2854 tons, employed eight hundred sailors, once entertained Edward IV, and restored the magnificent church of St. Mary's in Bristol; and finally Sir John Fastolf, a contractor for grain and soldiers, captain of war, governor of captured towns, who accumulated ninety-four manors, four residences, £2643 10s. in money, and thirty-four hundred ounces of silver plate. For these men the accumulations of war profits made possible the rapid building up of large capitals, which were necessary to take full advantage of the new possibilities of trade. More important than the individuals were merchant associations, such as the merchants who were engaged in the business of exporting raw wool to the continent. In return for large loans of ready money to be repaid from the customs dues on the

export of wool, they received a charter incorporating them as the Society or Fellowship of the Merchants of the Staple with a monopoly of the export trade of wool, wool-fells, and leather, England's greatest exports. They finally established their headquarters at Calais, to which they sent the English wool clip each year for distribution through their hands over the continent. Another important merchant company of this sort was the Merchant Adventurers, which had a monopoly of the export of unfinished cloth from England to the Low Countries. Both these companies made continual loans to the English kings in return for confirmation of their charters and for new privileges. They numbered the richest and greatest merchants of England among their members. The Staplers declined in importance in the second half of the sixteenth century when the export of wool fell off; but the Merchant Adventurers remained a great force in national life well into the first half of the seventeenth century. The merchants, organized in these and in other companies and gilds, wielded tremendous political power, since, whenever the king was short of money, they could extort by direct bargaining with him what they wanted.

They soon discovered that the regulation of trade by the towns was adverse to their own interests, and they were responsible for the national regulations which superseded the older town system in the fourteenth century. In this way they contributed to the growing nationalism of the period. Since they all believed in monopoly as the greatest boon, from the crasser monopolies of the Staplers and the Merchant Adventurers to the more subtle monopoly of the Fishmongers Company expressed in a statute requiring Englishmen to export their goods in English ships, the first Navigation act of 1381, it came about that the new system of national regulation was not a system of free trade for Englishmen and aliens alike, but one of monopoly (extended from the town to the nation) for Englishmen and of restriction for foreigners. Two great foreign groups, however, the Merchants of the Hanseatic towns with headquarters in the Steelyard in London and the Italian merchants, especially those from Venice who distributed the fine wares brought to England each year by the Flanders galleys, managed to hold their own and even increase their privileges in this period. In spite of the protective policy, it was a long time before Englishmen had the requisite technical knowledge to conduct much of their own overseas trade, and foreign merchants continued important until the sixteenth century.

Results of These Developments in National Politics

Another striking phenomenon of this time was the concentration of the landed estates of the kingdom in the hands of fewer families through the failure of male heirs and the marriage of heiresses to heirs of other great houses. Edward III took advantage of this circumstance in arranging the marriage of his children, hoping perhaps in this way not only to provide well for them, but to tie up with the royal influence the great landed territories hitherto almost independent. Thus his son, Lionel of Clarence, married Elizabeth de Burgh; John of Gaunt married Blanche, heiress of Lancaster; Thomas of Gloucester married Eleanor of Bohun, heiress of the Earl of Hertford, Essex, and Northampton; the Black Prince married Joan, Countess of Kent; and one of Edward's grandsons, Richard of Cambridge, absorbed the great Mortimer estates.

A most illuminating case of the same process is given by the Neville family. Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, married the heiress of the Montacutes, who had already acquired the Holland lands in Kent by an earlier marriage. His son, Richard the Kingmaker, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, married the heiress of the Beauchamps, who through similar marriages had already come into the great estates of the Berkeleys and the Despensers. By this process of amalgamation of feudal estates through intermarriage, the great feudal nobles, including King Edward III's sons in that number, became much more powerful than their predecessors had been. They ruled over estates almost as extensive as those of the king himself. The wars with France had given them opportunities to raise private armies, which they hired to the king during the periods of fighting; and the economic changes, the substitution of money payments for services on the part of the serfs and the renting of the demesne farm, gave them ready money to maintain these armies in times of peace. They increased their wealth still further by the acquisition of lucrative government offices. Thus, the Earl of Warwick was Steward, Grand Chamberlain, Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, Justiciar of the Forests south of Trent, Warden of the East and West Marches, Chief Justice of South Wales, Constable of Cardigan Castle, Steward of the courts of Cardigan and Carmarthen, Admiral of England, Captain of Calais, Lieutenant of Ireland, Master of the King's Mutes and Falcons, and Seneschal of the Manor of Feckenham.

ENGLAND AND WALES
TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION
IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
Scale of miles
0 10 20 40 60
PERCY
GREY
Heugeley Moor
PERCY
Hexham
NEVILL
DACRE
PERCY
CLIFFORD
TUDOR
CLIFFORD
Towton
PERCY
Wakefield
TALBOT
GREY
FITZALAN
STAFFORD
Blore Heath
TALBOT
Bosworth
STAFFORD
Northampton
July, 1460
Mortimer's Cross
STAFFORD
Edgecote Field
TUDOR
Tewkesbury
VERE
TIPTOFT
VERE
St. Albans
BOURCHIER
Barnet
STAFFORD
STAFFORD
FITZALAN
YORKISTS
COURTENAY
TERRITORIES
Crown Lands
Duchy of York
LEADING FAMILIES
Lancastrian
Beauforts (Somerset)
De la Poles (Suffolk)
Yorkist
Nevilles (Warwick, Salisbury, and Abergavenny)
Mowbrays (Norfolk)
OTHER LEADING FAMILIES
Lancastrian shown thus STAFFORD
Yorkist shown thus BOURCHIER

It was natural that the great barons soon realized their enhanced importance in the state and attempted to take over the government and the kingship. They were joined by individual merchants, who had political aspirations. As early as Edward III's reign a number of war profiteers, named Latimer, Lyons, and Peche, gained important ministerial positions. Later, the descendants of William de la Pole, beginning with Michael, his son, had themselves raised to the peerage as Earls of Suffolk and sought service in the king's councils. In any move on the part of such men, from among either the old nobility or the wealthy merchants, there was always available the help and leadership of Edward III's sons and their descendants, especially John of Gaunt and his various families.

The first rumblings of their discontent were heard when in 1371 John of Gaunt, in combination with Richard Lyons, the merchant profiteer, and others of the new capitalists, turned out the old clerical bureaucracy headed by the astute William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. It was this particular political overturn which brought to the public notice Wiclif's great and incisive attack upon the English church and the Roman system itself, which has already been discussed. John of Gaunt was not interested in the wider implications of Wiclif's position, but he found able intellectual justification in Wiclif's writings for his attack upon the office-holding or Caesarian clergy. If from the Caesarian clergy Wiclif went on to attack the church's vast possessions on the ground that they were held without due return to society, so much the better from John of Gaunt's point of view, since the confiscation of the church's property might be a solution of the government's financial problem.

For a hundred and fourteen years after 1371 English political history is largely the story of attempts on the part of the great nobles as factions, cliques in factions, or individuals in alliance with all sorts of other elements to gain control of the king and the government. It was no longer the question of the feudal barony against the crown as in earlier days. The barons united against the king could have done as they pleased with the government. It was rather a struggle among the barons to see which group or individual should be supreme. It is worth noting further that groups were not permanent, but were constantly separating into most hostile elements over questions of the division of power. In 1388, the Lords Appellant and the Merciless Parliament led by Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, one

of the sons of Edward III, and the Earl of Arundel, with the young Henry of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, in their company, attempted to curb Richard II and his *nouveaux riches* advisers. In 1399 Henry of Derby became king only to find that some of his own followers, the Percys of Northumberland especially, were dissatisfied with their share of power and raised the standard of revolt on three occasions during the reign. Henry V deliberately plunged the nation into a renewal of the war with France to secure internal peace; but on his death the contest was renewed under the guise of a quarrel between the Duke of Suffolk, Queen Margaret of Anjou, and the Beauforts, who were descended from John of Gaunt by his third wife, and were led by Cardinal Beaufort and his nephew, the Duke of Somerset, on one side, and Richard of York, who claimed descent from the second and fourth sons of Edward III, and Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the Kingmaker, on the other. A civil war, called the War of the Roses, ensued. Soon after the Yorkist success in 1461 and the coronation of Richard's son as Edward IV, Warwick became dissatisfied with the rising power of another family, the Woodvilles, from among whom Edward had chosen his wife, in spite of Warwick's plans to marry him to the sister of the King of France, and led a new rebellion. Warwick was defeated and killed; but factional strife was kept alive by Edward's own brother Clarence, whom the king is said to have disposed of eventually by drowning him in a butt of Malmesey wine, and by his other brother, Richard of Gloucester. On Edward's death, Richard of Gloucester displaced the Queen Mother and the Woodvilles in the control of the young son of Edward IV, and seized the crown for himself. One of Richard's own friends, the Duke of Buckingham, led a new revolt; and finally in 1485 Henry Tudor, supported by some of the nobility, but much more by other classes who had grown tired of all this disorder, defeated Richard III in battle on Bosworth Field and introduced a more quiet time.

The continuance of this long drawn out struggle by the great nobles against the crown was due not only to their own great wealth, but also to the poverty of the crown itself. At the outset of the conflict the old feudal revenues of the king were so diminished by grants, "decays," and failure to collect that they brought in only a few thousand pounds a year. Taxes were demanded from Parliament more frequently than in earlier periods, but the government was not very successful in collecting

large sums. The chief reliance was, therefore, upon the customs dues; and these were smallest just when expenses were greatest, that is, during a year of war. If the government could have ended the French war permanently early in the fifteenth century, its revenue problem, while still pressing, might have been less acute; but public opinion would never have permitted so statesmanlike a policy, especially after Henry V's hollow successes. The situation was changed to the advantage of the crown, however, during the process of the baronial struggles, since the crown actually managed to make some gain out of the troublous times in the matter of increasing its landed properties and the rents coming from them. Each new family which seized the throne added its estates permanently to the crown, the Lancastrians in 1399, and the Yorkists in 1461. Moreover, valuable estates were confiscated from defeated nobles. The defeat of the Earl of Warwick, for example, was followed by the confiscation of his property, which was worth almost as much as the estates which the crown then controlled. As a consequence of this process of the transfer of great estates to the crown during the course of the fifteenth century, by 1475 or 1480 the king was raised to a position far above any one of his nobles, both in point of the extent of his land and local influence by reason of the possession of land, and in point of his income. While the revenue problem was not solved as yet, the comparative poverty of the king as compared with his greater nobles was a thing of the past, even before the advent of Henry Tudor.

This long period of baronial warfare thus had as one of its great results the destruction of the power of the feudal nobility. It is sometimes said that the feudal nobility was exterminated in the course of this period. That is far from true, since there were enough adult male peers left in England when Henry VII ascended the throne for twenty-nine lords temporal to be summoned to Henry's first Parliament. On the other hand, some of the houses were represented by minors; and nearly all had so impoverished themselves in fighting, that mortgages and debts were their most abundant possession; and no feudal baron could compare with the king in wealth. After 1485 the old feudal barony was no longer a very important factor in the state from either the political or economic side. There was still a social prestige attaching to nobility, which made it desirable for Henry VII and his successors to preserve the old noble forms and rear up a new aristocracy according to their pattern.

Results of Economic Changes in Local Politics

While the greatest lords were struggling for the kingdom during the fifteenth century, the lesser barons, also enriched by the economic changes already described, were fighting for local power. They sought to control the patronage in their own shires, to nominate the sheriffs, to choose the knights of the shire, who represented the counties in Parliament, and to name the justices of the peace. In doing this they not only desired to secure places and jobs for their own hangers-on, but were eager to pervert the machinery of government in their own interests. Since the knights of the shire appointed the local tax collectors, those who selected the knights of the shire were in a position to escape the payment of royal taxes. The sheriffs empaneled the juries in the shire and royal courts, and through the control of the sheriffs the local magnates administered the law as they pleased. To see the significance of this, it must be noted that the fifteenth century was an era of the most widespread litigation and law-suits. In an age of violence, forcible entry and disseisin with violence were common. Houses were regularly garrisoned for siege, and small armies were brought to attack them. The purchase of crossbows was as necessary a part of marketing in town as the purchase of cloth. On one occasion, Lord Moleyns attacked John Paston's manor of Gresham with two thousand men; and on another, the Duke of Norfolk brought three thousand men against Sir John Fastolf's castle at Caister. The aggrieved person in such cases went to law to recover possession, only to find that the sheriff, being the nominee of his enemy, would empanel a jury to give a verdict against him. "All things are done for money" and "on this hang all the law and the prophets" was the common belief regarding the courts.

The hand of the local magnate was strengthened in his design to secure local control and increase his property through violence and unjust judicial decisions by maintaining or giving his backing to bands of retainers. In return for his protection they wore the lord's livery, entered upon other men's property at his bidding, and supported his cause in court. If by any chance a case seemed to be going against their lord, they came into court in force and "not a man dared open his mouth." In effect, the lesser nobility were endeavoring to create local territorial sovereignties, almost independent of any central or royal control.

Discontent with Disorder

The disorders of the baronial wars and the separatist tendencies of the local nobility were opposed to the interests of the commercial capitalist class, whose rise has just been noted. Speaking through a document called the Kentish petition, they arraigned Henry VI for allowing these things. "His law is lost, his merchandise is lost, his commerce destroyed, the sea is lost; himself is made so poor that he hath not pay for his meat and drink; he oweth more and is greater in debt than ever was king in England. The realm was out of all good governance (whereby) the hearts of the people were turned away from them that held the land in governance, and their blessing is turned into cursing." Business depended upon peace, and national monopolies would be destroyed if the nation split up into small units. It was a tradition that the capitalistic merchants played little open part in politics, but no important policy was undertaken without their consent. They were accustomed, ever since the days of Edward III, to get what they wanted in the way of laws, privileges, and trade policies directly from the king, who was often enrolled in the membership of their companies. They knew how to apply for concessions at times when the king needed money and they had it to lend. This tradition of direct negotiation led them to favor a strong central authority, since an absolute king who needed money badly on occasion was easier to manage than any other form of government. In the break-up of feudal society the merchants were eager to support any king who would promise internal peace and order and who would stand opposed to the tendency to split the country up into small units, which might make trade over the whole country more difficult and prevent the national adoption of the policy of protection and monopoly in which they were interested. They did not take the initiative, but supported any leader when he seemed assured of success.

A second class which was injured by the disorders and wars of the times was the knights or gentry, the landowners who had a manor or two. Perhaps it would be better to speak of an aggressive minority among them, since here as elsewhere there is no uniform development. Many of this class were educated, especially in the new science of keeping books, which was later to make them valuable ministers in the new government of Henry VII.

Their chief economic interest was in the raising of sheep

and growing of wool. They found that the constant quarrels of nobility interfered with their business. They were frequently the victims of noble aggression, as in the case of John Paston, and lords' retainers prevented them from getting justice in the local courts. The perversion of the tax system through the appointment of the tax collectors by the nobles imposed the king's taxes almost exclusively upon their shoulders. In the earlier part of the fifteenth century they had sought to improve existing conditions through their power in the House of Commons, and indeed between 1399 and 1450 they made some advances in asserting the rights of Parliament and especially of the House of Commons in the government. But they discovered that Parliament could be and actually was subverted by the great nobles, who by interference in the elections often controlled the House of Commons. They came to the conclusion, as their thoughts were expressed by John Fortescue, a typical member of the group who rose to high office in the government of Henry VI and Edward IV, that a king practically absolute was the only solution of their grievances.

While the momentum to set up a new form of government on the ruins of the Plantagenet state was thus furnished by the merchants and the gentry, they might have accomplished nothing without leadership. Their first leader was Edward IV. But Edward IV was too much involved with dynastic quarrels and rivalries among the great nobles, who were still far from having exhausted their resources, at any rate so completely as was the case a quarter of a century later. Although Edward IV did not establish a settled government, he and his extraordinarily able brother, Richard III, projected many of the institutions which were to be successful under the next revolutionary leader, who became king, in 1485, as Henry VII and ushered in a new age.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER V

(See General Works)

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

C. W. C. Oman, *The Political History of England 1377-1485.*
J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York.*
K. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages.*
M. E. Christie, *Henry VI.*
J. Gairdner, *History of the Life and Reign of Richard III.*
C. L. Kingsford, *Henry V.*
Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England.

R. B. Mowat, *The Wars of the Roses.*
R. A. Newhall, *The English Conquest of Normandy 1416-24.*
C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV.*
J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV.*
The History of the Reign of Henry V.

CHURCH HISTORY.

R. S. Arrowsmith, *The Prelude to the Reformation.*
W. W. Capes, *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*
J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation.*
See also books under Church History in previous list.

ECONOMIC HISTORY.

E. Lipson, *A History of the English Woolen and Worsted Industries.*
G. O'Brien, *An Essay on Medieval Economic Teaching.*
C. W. C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381.*
R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.*

SOCIAL HISTORY.

The Paston Letters, Ed., J. Gairdner.
A. Abram, *Social England in the Fifteenth Century.*
English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages.
H. S. Bennet, *The Pastons and their England.*
W. Denton, *Life in the Fifteenth Century.*
A. S. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century.*
G. Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London.*
P. Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe.*

BIOGRAPHY.

A. G. Bradley, *Owen Glendower.*
R. B. Mowat, *Henry V.*
C. W. C. Oman, *Warwick the Kingmaker.*
K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.*

SOURCES.

J. H. Flemming, *England under the Lancastrians.*
D. Hughes, *Illustrations of Chaucer's England.*
E. Thompson, *Wars of Lancaster and York.*
I. D. Thornley, *England under the Yorkists 1460-1485.*

CHAPTER VI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL STATE UNDER THE TUDOR MONARCHY

With Richard III, the Yorkist line of kings came to an end, and a new dynasty known as the Tudors came to the English throne. The first king of this family was Henry VII. On his father's side he was the grandson of a Welshman named Owen Tudor, who had married Catherine, the widow of King Henry V. His mother was Lady Margaret Beaufort, who was a daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, and a granddaughter of John of Gaunt by his third wife, Catherine Swynford. The sovereigns of the Tudor house, whose reigns cover the next three chapters, were

Henry VII, 1485-1509
Henry VIII, 1509-1547
Edward VI, 1547-1553
(Jane, 1553 [nine days])
Mary, 1553-1558
Elizabeth, 1558-1603

Henry VIII was the son of Henry VII. Edward VI was the son of Henry VIII by his third wife, Jane Seymour. Jane, the nine days' queen, was the granddaughter of Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. Queen Mary was the daughter of Henry VIII by his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, and Queen Elizabeth was Henry VIII's daughter by his second wife, Anne Boleyn.

The most significant factor in the general European history of the fifteenth century was a striking increase in material prosperity. This is evidenced in England by the great luxury of the merchant princes, such as William Cannynges of Bristol, who entertained Edward IV at his house with a sumptuousness unknown to the king himself; by the large number of beautiful churches erected in the English towns as civic monuments; by the books of cookery and courtesy or etiquette in widespread use among the people, indicative of that refinement of manners which comes with wealth; by the patronage of letters by such men as the bloody John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, friend of writers and students, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; by the foundation of no less than six new colleges at Oxford and Cambridge between 1427 and 1473; and by the new interest in intellectual, social, and religious problems by a

group of men called humanists, whose very existence indicated the prevalence of leisure based on wealth. This new prosperity was due to the increased turnover in business brought about by the activity of the capitalist merchants, either as individuals or as members of the merchant companies, such as the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers. An important factor in the situation was the rapid development of the woolen cloth industry, which became so great that by 1450 it had already burst the barriers of the towns and spread out over the country districts, where spinners and weavers working in their cottages were producing the woolen cloth which was becoming one of the great articles of European commerce. Better methods of using the soil, a tendency to unite the scattered strips in the open fields into compact farms, the transformation of used up plowland into sheep pastures, and the plowing up of the virgin soil of the common waste land for growing grain gave a vast increase in agricultural products. But most significant of all was a new alertness, an unwillingness to put up with the slower habits and methods of life of an earlier age. This change in popular psychology is well illustrated by the literature of the new age. The old fashioned romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries never got anywhere. Single love declarations took many pages. In the modern type of story which was now coming in, best illustrated by the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer, things happened quickly, in rapid succession, with a speed and directness almost recent. The real symbol of the age, combining greater output and speed, is the printing press. Whereas a good copyist could write twenty pages of manuscript a day, subject to error and illegibility, the printing press could turn off a page, exact, legible, and cheap, in a few moments averaging in the time of setting the type.

England and Europe generally were richer places to live in in 1500 than had been the case one or two hundred years before. Society was wealthy enough to afford to support its governments adequately. Every English king from Richard I to Henry VI had been cursed by the poverty of the society over which he ruled, and no amount of wisdom could have completely solved his financial difficulties. By the time of accession of Edward IV, however, the situation had altered. Available wealth was at hand; it only remained for the king to work out the best methods of transferring it from the individuals who held it to the government.

The rulers of the later part of the fifteenth century and

especially Henry VII were favored by another circumstance in dealing with the fiscal problem. For centuries English kings had not secured even all that was really due them because of the deficiencies in royal control over land, estates, taxes, and other revenues at any distance from the immediate personal presence of the king. Management from a distance had not been developed effectively. Ever since the conquest the king had depended upon the sheriff as his local representative. The sheriff was often a great local magnate or his nominee and, first of all, was concerned with enriching himself. To keep check on him, the king's court of the Exchequer kept an involved series of parchment rolls, which were supposed to be proof against fraud because no erasure could ever be made on parchment without its being detected. Yet so elaborate was the system as a result of repeated entries of the same payments into many series of rolls, that it was absolutely impossible to discover what was really due to the king, or even how much had been paid. For practical purposes officials paid the king what they pleased. Fraud and deception were easy.

In the course of the fifteenth century, however, new and better methods of bookkeeping came into use, culminating in 1494 in the first text book on bookkeeping of the modern type published by Luca Pacioli in Italy. All over Europe trained accountants were ready to enter the services of governments and keep exact account of all their revenues for them by the use of these new methods. In this way the king was able to see what was due him, how much had been paid, and what was still owing, not only on estates near London, but on land in any part of England. In place of the heavy clumsy parchment rolls of the Exchequer containing great membranes six feet long, the new accountants used paper books which could be handled easily. Instead of a confused muddle of payments of a shilling here and a pound there from this estate or that, according to the Exchequer practice, the new accountants kept each manor and individual estate on a separate page of their paper books, so that all the items could be seen at a glance. The success of the new system was dependent upon the human factor, and here again good fortune waited upon Henry VII. He attracted to his service a group of trustworthy, loyal, devoted officials, who recognized in him the sole hope of their fortunes and were ready to serve him implicitly.

A successful solution of the financial problem was essential for the establishment of any sort of genuinely strong govern-

ment, but there was still another development which contributed to this end in a most marked way. That was the perfection of a system of effective royal control over the actions of subjects from a distance. The kings of earlier periods had as limits to their authority the immediate vicinity of their own persons, that is, London, the capital, and perhaps thirty miles around it. Outside that area royal influence was asserted through the sheriffs and the royal courts as they came on circuit; but the courts were intimidated, the sheriffs were not really royal officials, and the real power in the country lay in the hands of the great feudal nobles, who were really local princes. In the press of circumstances in which the country gentlemen, yeomen, and merchants found themselves in the fifteenth century, owing to the disorderly times and civil wars, the constant litigation, the molestation of property rights, the evils of livery and maintenance, and the burdens of heavy taxation resting upon their classes alone, the educated elements of these classes, despairing of salvation from Parliament which they had tried and found useless, began to urge the establishment of an absolute monarch. By this they meant a monarch served by themselves as advisers, who had ample revenues without resorting to taxes, whose control extended from one end of England to the other, from the greatest duke to the humblest serf, and whose behests were obeyed by all everywhere directly and immediately. Many men who thought in this way were accountants and served the king to this end in his revenue offices; many more were trained in the Roman Law and were ready to place their skill, their subtlety, and their unscrupulous ability at the service of the king to make him a ruler in this sense.

Under these circumstances of increased material prosperity, more accurate systems of accounting, supervision at a distance, and loyal bureaucratic officials, larger territorial units were made possible, and unions of provinces under centralized control, called national states, appeared. They are European phenomena, found in Spain, France, the Netherlands, and elsewhere.

In Spain this development was brought to fulfillment by the union of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon into a united Spain through the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile, in 1479. In France, Louis XI worked out the principles of the new state system on the basis of the absorption of the independent duchies by the crown. In the Netherlands, Philip the Good and his son, Charles the Bold,

were able to bring political unity to the congeries of provinces by judicious marriages. Just as Charles the Bold was on the point of raising his lands to be an important political power between France and the Empire, he met his death in 1477 while besieging Nancy. The united provinces passed to his daughter Mary; and, presently, through her marriage to Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick III, they became part of the Hapsburg system of states. The Hapsburgs, Archdukes of Austria, and practically hereditary Emperors, were constantly bent on gaining resources which should back up their distinguished rank as the successors of the Roman Caesars with something like real power. The possession of the Netherlands furnished the material wealth which the Hapsburgs needed; and the later acquisition of the kingdom of Spain by a marriage of Maximilian's son Philip with Joanna the Mad, heir of Ferdinand and Isabella, raised them to a position of European preëminence.

In England, Edward IV fumblingly groped to establish a government of the new order; and, indeed, he made enormously important contributions to this end by bringing together in his own hands the greatest English feudal estates, previously ruled by the Duke of Lancaster, the Duke of York, the Earl of Warwick, and many other feudal lords. Richard III, perhaps the ablest king, intellectually speaking, that England ever had, drew up many plans and suggestions for a centralized government; and these were later used with effective results by his successor Henry VII, who achieved the first real success in establishing the new national state in England upon a firm basis. It is Henry's work in this connection that forms one of the most interesting chapters in history.

Henry VII's Work

Like all the kings of the new type, Henry VII continued the ancient royal traditions and thus incidentally obscured the really epochal changes which he represented. He claimed hereditary rights to the throne through descent from the ancient royal line. As a matter of fact he himself recognized the flimsy character of his pretensions, since he was descended through the female line by a third marriage legitimatized long after the event from John of Gaunt, the third son of Edward III. When Henry VII finally won the throne he said nothing more about his hereditary rights. Without entering further into the question, Henry VII got Parliament to pass a statute that the

inheritance of the crown of England be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of our sovereign lord King Harry the Seventh. His real strength lay in more material factors which enabled him to raise an army and lead it to victory against Richard III, "in fact but not of right King of England," in the battle of Bosworth Field. In the first place, Henry VII was a great party leader, the head of the clan of Lancaster, and had the backing of great nobles of the Lancastrian party, such as the Earl of Oxford and the Courtenays. He also had the support of those Yorkists, who, like the Woodvilles, were personally embittered against Richard III. But the bulk of his support came from the middle classes; the great merchants, who lent him money to equip his expedition and establish his government, and, above all, the yeomen and lesser gentry, who captained his hosts in the battle and furnished him expert services as accountants, judges, and councillors.

In its origins the Tudor government was almost a class dictatorship in which Henry was the leader, supported by the aggressive spirits of the middle class, men such as John Morton, Richard Fox, Edward Poynings, Thomas Lovell, Richard Edgecombe, Richard Guildford, and Reginald Bray, who inevitably became the members of the new King's council, judges, and treasurers, while lesser men representative of the general body of this class were made justices of the peace and entrusted with the local government of the country. It is a fashion to say that Henry VII summoned to his council the most brilliant men in the state; it would be much more accurate to say that the most brilliant men in the state, that is, the aggressive educated elements of the middle classes, joined with Henry in making the revolution and shared with him as partners the control of the new government. He was the king, they were the leading ministers and officials. But it is also worthy of note that Henry VII himself was the dominant figure among them; and in the last analysis he could reject their advice and make his own decisions. The strong personality of the King thus reduced the partners to little more than advisers; and this development, together with the surviving traditions of the kingship and the fact that Henry always had to consider his Lancastrian and Yorkist supporters among the nobility, turned what might have become a real class dictatorship of the middle classes if the council had gained control into a national monarchy. The new government did not abolish Parliament, as it might easily have done. It was willing to continue traditional institutions because

of the opposition which their dissolution might entail. Like other old institutions, Parliament was allowed to continue to give formal sanction to the king's will as the law of the land.

Of first importance to the new government was the restoration of peace and order throughout the kingdom, the suppression of the armed bands of retainers of the great nobles, the ending of forcible seizures of land, and the prohibition of maintenance or the coming of liveried bands into a court room to browbeat judge and jury, which made justice such a travesty in the fifteenth century. It was anger against these things which had stirred the middle classes to demand changes in government, and only by suppressing them could the new government justify itself. From a narrower point of view, even if Henry and his followers had been mere adventurers on the make, they would have realized the danger against their own position which lurked in continued disorders. Among the first statutes of the new reign was one forbidding livery and maintenance; and special powers were given to certain members of the council to act as an extraordinary commission, like the Russian Cheka, or the Revolutionary Tribunal in France, to ferret out riots, illegal assemblies, intimidation of judges, false empanelment of juries, the collection of armed retainers, and many other evils, and to bring powerful offenders to sure and swift justice before them, unhampered by technical restrictions as in the ordinary courts. Within the span of less than a dozen years this body, now generally known as the Court of the Star Chamber (which was really an older court with which the new commission was later merged), had reduced England to greater internal peace and order than the church had been able to bring about by centuries of preaching the same gospel. The difference was due to the fact that the Star Chamber punishments, while less severe than the eternal torments of hell promised by the church, were not deferred to the next world, but were certain in this.

The new government also had to concern itself with the surviving embers of the dynastic feuds which had worried England for over a century. Henry VII recognized that some men would insist upon regarding him as a mere Lancastrian, as opposed to the Yorkists, and tried to quiet their opposition by marrying Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV, so that the two houses would then be united on the throne. In spite of this gesture, a certain number of Yorkists organized a revolt of the old type in 1487, even though most of the

feudal nobles had so impoverished themselves and mortgaged their estates in the fighting before 1485 that they were unable to make any move. For want of any genuine Yorkist princes, all of whom were Henry's own enforced guests, they set up a poor lad named Lambert Simnel as the Earl of Warwick, the nephew of Edward IV, and tried their fortunes on the field of Stoke. "Their snowball did not gather as it went," and Henry was henceforth free from revolts of that sort engineered from within the country. There were some malcontents left in England, whom Henry watched with the help of an elaborate spy system. He kept journals of their coming and going, and he had certain of his best spies regularly cursed at Paul's Cross to gain greater credence for them with his enemies. Still other Yorkists lived in exile and found aid and support at the court of Margaret, dowager Duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV. From this quarter they were eventually to make trouble, but not until Henry had so firmly established himself as to make any success on their part impossible.

The most positive move in the consolidation of the power of the new state, while the suppression of disorder was clearing the ground, was the establishment of a new revenue system. Here again both the necessities of the new state and the desires of the classes which had made the revolution came into consideration. The government had to get more money to keep going; and in order to retain the loyalty of the middle classes, it was obliged to abandon direct taxation except for extraordinary purposes as in case of war or invasion.

When Henry came to the throne, the treasury was empty, the royal jewels were in pawn, he owed money in France and borrowed more from the merchant companies. The crown lands yielded only a few thousand pounds to the royal treasury. Trade was poor; and, in consequence, the customs revenues were greatly diminished since 1460. Henry VII resolved to base his new financial system on, first, customs receipts, and, second, land revenues and rents. He was wise enough to see that he could not increase his receipts from the customs by arbitrarily raising rates. Such a procedure would cut off trade and actually lessen revenue. While rates of duty in general remained unaltered, the volume of trade was increased by the removal of legal and political restrictions through trade treaties with other nations. Henry made commercial treaties with Denmark, giving the English access to Norway and Iceland; with certain of the Hanse towns in an effort to secure entrance for

English traders into the Baltic; with Spain, granting reciprocal privileges; with France, removing all burdens imposed during the past twenty-two years; and with the Netherlands. Since the chief export market for English cloth was in the Netherlands, his treaties with the ruler of the Netherlands, the Intercursus Magnus of 1496 and the Intercursus Malus of 1506, designed to prevent interruptions of trade and to remove duties levied in the past fifty years, were especially important. The King also lent large sums of money to merchants to enable them to engage in more extensive operations, sometimes stipulating that in return for the loan the merchant should import goods paying certain amounts in customs within a certain period. The enhanced duties coming from increased trade were still further augmented by the elimination of waste and fraud in the custom houses. As a consequence of all these measures, the royal income from the customs went up by about 28 per cent from 1485 to 1509—from £32,000 a year in the beginning of the reign to £42,000 a year at the end of the reign.

All through the second half of the fifteenth century, the importance of rents from land owned by the king as a source of royal revenue had been realized. Edward IV is said to have had one-fifth of all the land of England in his hands at one time or another during his reign, but was compelled to part with most of what he acquired to placate his hungry followers. Henry VII's followers were provided for in another way, through participation in government offices; and Henry was able to keep what land he acquired. The first Parliament of the reign granted him a resumption of all grants made from any lands in the king's hands from October 1455 with certain exceptions; and all the land of those who had fought with Richard III at Bosworth Field, the Duke of Norfolk and his son, Lord Lovell, Lord Ferrers, Lord Zouch, Richard III himself, and twenty-three knights, was confiscated into the king's hands. Through these initial resumptions and confiscations the rents from the crown lands were at once raised to about £10,000 a year. During the entire remainder of the reign the extension of the crown estates was carefully furthered. Large additions came with the executions on charges of treason of notable men, such as Sir William Stanley, Henry's best friend, and the subsequent confiscation of their property; the death of great nobles without direct heirs, such as Jasper, Duke of Bedford, Henry's uncle, added other great estates.

Perhaps more important than these large accretions were the

small acquisitions constantly being made by way of wardship, marriage, and escheat. Under the feudal law, it will be remembered, if an estate passed to a minor or female heir, the king took it over until the boy reached maturity or a husband had been provided for the girl; and the estate escheated or passed back into the king's possession completely on the failure of heirs. During the century of disorder the king's feudal rights had often been overlooked or forgotten, and the records lost, but Henry was determined to restore his rights and renew the records. As he himself wrote, this was a matter of fundamental importance, since sooner or later every family would come to a failure of direct heirs and, ultimately, if the king's rights were insisted upon and kept recorded, all the land of the kingdom would come to the king's hands and produce rents which would enable the king to run his government without financial worries. To make a beginning in this matter, Henry ordered all men who held their land as tenants-in-chief to see that a proper record was made of the king's rights through the payment of relief, while zealous royal officials went over old records to detect men who had entered upon their lands without such payment. The relief itself was small; what was wanted was the record of the king's rights, which was made when the payment was tendered; and failure to pay relief was visited by the imposition of very heavy fines. Henry felt that he could make more rapid progress in reasserting his old feudal rights, if he could investigate men's private papers and learn by what titles they held their lands. With this end in view in 1504 he asked Parliament to authorize him to collect the two feudal aids due him at the knighting of his oldest son Arthur "now dead" and at the marriage of his eldest daughter to the King of Scotland two years before. Public opinion forced him to yield on this request; but the systematic work of his unscrupulous officials, such as Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, did much to restore his old feudal rights. In addition to the estates held directly from the king in tenancy-in-chief, there were properties over which the king's feudal rights were nonexistent or only mediate and thus practically extinct. To bring these under the same category as the other lands, Henry VII revived an old law compelling men who had land which would rent for £20 a year to become knights, a process which would involve the transfer of their land to tenancy-in-chief where it would be amenable to wardship, marriage, and escheat.

It was a great many years before the new system was per-

fected, and in the meantime Henry VII was forced to depend on other devices to eke out his resources. Very frequently he was forced to borrow from his councillors and from the great merchant companies, who used their opportunities thus created to get charters and concessions. Still more significant, he had to fall back upon taxation, even though it was unpopular with the class which he represented. He coated the pill, however, by allegations of great national emergencies, such as the danger of invasion and the necessities of foreign wars; and, to give substance to these claims which were generally recognized as legitimate reasons for the levying of direct taxes, Henry insinuated himself into continental affairs. An opportunity offered itself in the question of the succession to the Duchy of Brittany and its annexation by France, a matter in which Henry had no viral interest, but which could be made the basis of a popular anti-French appeal. During the three years from 1489 to 1492 in the face of the threat of war, tax after tax was voted by Parliament, while an additional tax, called a benevolence, not voted by Parliament, was also assessed. In 1496 and 1497 the foreign situation again made it possible for Henry VII to ask for taxes, and on this occasion he seems to have collected £120,000 to meet actual expenses of very much smaller sums. But all these grants, even when made for war purposes, were difficult to collect and led to two revolts against the government. Only once after 1497 did Henry VII collect a direct tax, and that was offered to him by Parliament in 1504 in place of the two feudal aids which Henry requested in order to be able to examine every man's titles. Until late in the Tudor period taxation was never again thought of as anything but an extraordinary source of revenue, and long periods passed in which no tax was voted or collected in England.

There was another kind of profit which Henry VII made out of foreign affairs besides taxes. This was the French indemnity, or as it was then known, the French pension. In 1474 Louis XI of France and Edward IV had made the treaty of Picquigny, in which Louis XI promised to pay certain war expenditures of Edward IV's. A large part of the sum acknowledged by Louis XI remained unpaid when Henry VII came to the throne. When Henry interfered in the Breton question, he stipulated with Duchess Anne, whose cause he espoused, that she should repay all his expenses. In 1492 the whole Breton incident culminated in war between England and France, and an English invasion of France was carried out. Henry VII

had no intention of fighting; he knew he was safe because Charles VIII, King of France, was eager to be free to begin his projected invasion of Italy. After a military parade by the English and the French armies, the two Kings signed the treaty of Étaples, in which Henry VII insisted that the King of France acknowledge the unpaid debts of Louis XI, together with the obligations assumed by Anne of Brittany, a total of 745,000 crowns (£155,000) to be paid in half-yearly installments of 25,000 francs each, or about £5,700 a year.

From these various sources, together with the receipts from fines and fees in the royal courts, Henry VII built up a revenue of over £100,000 a year, while his expenditures were as economical as ever. As early as 1492 he was beginning to save money, and in the course of his reign accumulated nearly £1,000,000, the greater part of which was invested in loans to merchants. He was rightly regarded as the richest king in Christendom and was so eager to swell his treasure that he resorted to mean and humorous devices. For instance, when his wife Elizabeth of York died, he bethought himself of the possibility of making money out of a second marriage. He instructed his ambassadors, accordingly, to make out questionnaires on all the eligible princesses of Europe, with some attention to the features, their breath "whether it be sweet or no," but with most detailed information about their fortunes. He finally determined upon Margaret of Burgundy, the sister of Philip, the Duke of Burgundy, as the richest match; but she replied that having already had four husbands she did not care to venture again. Fundamentally, however, Henry must not be considered as a miser for all this care of his to accumulate surplus treasure; he realized the importance it gave him in the eyes of other rulers; and he used it as a diplomatic weapon to gain recognition and standing for himself and to enhance English prestige in continental politics.

The matter of recognition by other rulers was a subject of great importance for Henry and his dynasty. On his accession he was regarded as an upstart, and other rulers of Europe did not hesitate to help plotters against his throne. This was particularly true of the rulers of the Netherlands where Margaret, sister of Edward IV, was dowager Duchess, and Maximilian, her stepson-in-law refused to interfere with her activities. She had aided the Yorkists in 1487 when they set up Lambert Simnel as the Earl of Warwick. In 1491 some Yorkists prevailed upon a youth named Perkin Warbeck to assert that he

was Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV. When war broke out between Henry VII and Charles VIII in the next year, Charles invited the pretender to France, received him in Paris as a royal prince, and gave him a guard of honor. When Charles VIII was obliged by the treaty of Étaples to expel him from France, Margaret of Burgundy gave him a warm welcome. Henry protested to Maximilian as ruler of the Netherlands, but Maximilian refused to take any action. Henry tried to put pressure on the Netherlands by banishing all Flemings from London and removing the cloth market of the Merchant Adventurers from Flanders to Calais. This move only hurt English business. The rising English cloth industry was thrown into a panic by the dislocation of trade which ensued, but the Netherlanders, with whom the English cloth trade was only a small part of their business, were less affected. For three years commerce between England and the Netherlands was cut off, while Perkin, alias the Duke of York, traveled over Europe. He was present at the funeral of Maximilian's father in Vienna in 1493 and was recognized as King of England by Maximilian in Flanders in 1494. In 1495 his Yorkist supporters prepared a fleet for the invasion of England, which was, however, unsuccessful in effecting a landing in either England or Ireland. It was now decided to make the conquest through Scotland, whose King, James IV, was friendly to the Yorkist plan. Perkin was received at Stirling Castle, given a Scottish pension, and married to a lady closely connected with the Scottish royal family.

Henry VII had no desire for war with his northern neighbor, for real war was never his policy. As a matter of fact the whole European situation was extremely adverse in 1495 to any success on the part of the Yorkists. They could not hope to succeed without help from continental princes, and the continental princes were themselves involved in difficulties which were soon to enable Henry VII to buy off their aid to the Yorkist cause. The French conquest of Italy, which took place in 1493, had alarmed all Europe, that is to say, had awakened the envy of all those princes who wanted Italy for themselves. In 1495, Ferdinand of Spain, Maximilian, Venice, Milan, and the Pope united in a Holy League to drive out the invader. Both Ferdinand of Spain and Charles VIII of France wanted the aid of Henry VII and his wealth, which had been so carefully advertised by Henry that it was already the talk of Europe. There were disadvantages for Henry if he should break with

Charles, because the "pension" would cease to be paid; but on the other hand, if he joined the Holy League, he could bargain for a restoration of trade with the Netherlands and the withdrawal of Maximilian's recognition from Perkin Warbeck. In 1496 Henry made his first inclination toward the League by negotiating the Intercursus Magnus with Maximilian's son Philip (who now ruled the Netherlands) and soon after he joined the Holy League.

The stability of Henry's position and of his dynasty was now an object of primary interest to the members of the League, since the continuation of his policy could best be assured through the rule of himself and his family The allies were, therefore, willing to offer him the bulwark of a matrimonial union, which would introduce a family or dynastic interest into the new political alliance, join Henry by ties of personal relationship to the families of Spain and the Netherlands, and give to the succession of his son the guarantee of the personal interest of these great houses. Accordingly, in 1496, a definite treaty was signed for a marriage between Henry's eldest son Arthur, the Prince of Wales, and the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Princess Catherine of Aragon, whose elder sister was already married to Maximilian's son Philip. The marriage was actually concluded in 1501. Arthur died shortly afterward. In order to preserve the Anglo-Spanish alliance, which was so valuable to both England and Spain, and also to make it unnecessary to return the great dowry of 100,000 crowns which Catherine brought with her, which was already laid away in Henry's strong box, Henry VII and Ferdinand arranged a second marriage between Catherine and the new heir to the throne, Prince Henry, Duke of York, which was actually consummated in 1509.

When the new alliance between Henry and Ferdinand was first made in 1496, Ferdinand realized that Henry could not be of fullest value to the allies unless he was protected against attack from Scotland, where at that very moment Perkin Warbeck and his Yorkist supporters were engineering an invasion of England with the help of the Scottish King. It was requisite that Scotland be brought into some sort of union with England, and to accomplish this the Spanish ambassador in London, De Ayala, went up into cold misty Scotland to the painful detriment of his gouty frame. He succeeded in persuading James IV to abandon Perkin Warbeck and in laying the foundations of a closer understanding between England and Scot-

land, which led to a marriage between James IV and Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII, in 1502. A hundred years later, incidentally, this marriage placed a single king on both the English and Scottish thrones in the person of James, VI of Scotland, and I of England, and prepared for the eventual union of the two countries.

The Renaissance in England

In the midst of the peace and prosperity which flourished under Henry VII's strict rule, England participated more largely in that great burst of interest in classical antiquity, nature, and the world, which is called the Renaissance. Although Geoffrey Chaucer was influenced by Italy, John Tiptoft and Humphrey of Gloucester had had some contacts with the new enthusiasm for learning which developed there, and William Selling, prior of Canterbury, actually taught Greek in England, it was really with the reign of Henry VII that Englishmen began to visit Italy in considerable numbers, to study Greek and Latin literature, to come into contact with the new interest in the world of nature, and to bring their enthusiasm for the new learning back to England. Thomas Linacre, a fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, visited Italy just at the beginning of Henry's reign; he took the degree of doctor of medicine at Padua, became the tutor of Arthur, Prince of Wales, on his return to England, was later appointed royal physician to Henry VIII, and is famous as the founder of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons. Another remarkable figure, John Colet, went to Italy in 1493, like so many contemporaries, to study Greek. With an attitude which was typical of scholars of northern Europe, he refused to be satisfied with the new learning for the sheer pleasure which it gave. He must needs apply it in an attempt to reform the abuses in society which he saw about him, to make men better, and to hold up higher standards for social institutions, particularly the church. On his return to England he showed this new attitude in a series of lectures on St. Paul's Epistles. He swept away all the scholastic interpretation of the passages and used his new scholarship to call back the times in which they were written, to interpret the texts in the light of the early Christian centuries, and to find a modern lesson. During the course of his discussions he attacked abuses very sharply, especially those which he saw in the church, such as the sale of bishoprics,

pluralities or the holding of several offices by one man, and litigation concerning titles. A contemporary of Colet's was the even more notable Sir Thomas More, whose humanistic activities, which culminated in the writing of *Utopia*, are only less remarkable than his services to the state to be described later.

The interest in new things in England had many manifestations. Outstanding humanists were drawn to visit the island from the continent. Erasmus, for example, came to England no less than three times to enjoy the company of Sir Thomas More and other scholarly friends. At the universities there was new life; the scholars actually went to war with each other over intellectual things, and generous donors founded lectureships and colleges on a magnificent scale. Part of the Renaissance was the new interest in exploration and discovery of the world, and even this was shared in England. In the 1490's many Bristol ships put out for the fishing banks off the coasts of the new continent, and in 1497 King Henry VII actually rewarded John Cabot for his enterprise in discovering a "New Isle" (Newfoundland) for England with a present of £10.

The Early Years of the Reign of Henry VIII

To external appearances the greatness of the early Tudor state reached its zenith under Henry VII's son, Henry VIII, who succeeded to the throne in 1509. Big and blustering, inordinately vain, proud, possessed of his father's great fortune of nearly a million pounds sterling, the richest king in Europe, Henry VIII desired to play a big part in the affairs of Europe and to outshine his two young rivals, Francis I and Charles V, who in the decade after his own accession received the crown of France and the purple of the Empire. His first opportunity to vaunt himself came with a quarrel between the Pope and the King of France, in which the King of France threatened the Pope with a general council to reform the abuses in the church. Among the Pope's allies was Ferdinand, Henry's father-in-law, who wished to use the opportunity of a war with France to win Naples and to recover the little province of Navarre, on the boundary of France and Spain. Henry VIII had no interest in Naples or Navarre, but the threat of a general council put him on his mettle. He stood forward as the paladin of the church, entered the alliance against France, and bound himself to go to war with France in 1512.

English military operations in that year were disgraceful

failures. The transport broke down, there was no beer, dysentery spread in the ranks, and the soldiers all but mutinied to compel their withdrawal from France. Meanwhile Ferdinand had conquered Navarre, the French had been driven from Italy, and members of King Henry's council were eager to make peace. Yet in view of the discreditable performance of the English army, Henry VIII felt that he could not withdraw from the war without loss of prestige until he won some notable victory. So the war had to go on. In the campaign of 1513 signal glory was won by the capture of Therouanne and Tournai, two of the great cities of France, and a Scottish army under James IV, who had again joined with France, was cut to pieces at Flodden Field as it invaded England.

Then presently the Scots did fly,
  Their cannons they left behind;
Their ensigns gay were won all away,
  Our soldiers did beat them blind.
* * * * * * *
That day made many a fatherless child,
  And many a widow poor,
And many a Scottish gay lady
  Sat weeping in her bower.

Some idea of the nature of the luxurious character of the military operations of this period may be gained from the fact that in this campaign Henry VIII had fourteen horses with the richest "housings" or fittings for his own use; and the Earl of Northumberland took with him housings of the richest cloth of gold and crimson velvet with silver gilt bells for his horses, feather beds and mattresses, cushions of silk, hangings of worsted, twelve dishes, six saucers, twelve silver spoons, two or three folding stools, a folding table, a closed carriage with seven horses, four carts, each with seven horses, not to speak of a steward, a chamberlain, a treasurer of his household, a treasurer of wars, a master of horse, carvers and cupbearers, a herald, and a pursuivant. Evidently, mobility was not a prime consideration of camp life.

Henry VIII returned to England the hero of the hour. One Italian said of him that his highness did not seem to be a person of this world, but rather descended from heaven. "Let all other Christian princes take example by this unconquered King and be prepared to pour out wealth and blood as he has done in defense of the church, to gain from God and man the same

reward for their labor." The success of the expedition of 1513 was due less to the valor of the King and his chivalry than to the very careful management and preparations of a man who was rapidly coming to the front as the King's chief minister and adviser, Thomas Wolsey.

Wolsey was the son of an Ipswich grazier and wool-merchant. Destined by his father for the church, he entered Oxford at eleven and was graduated Bachelor of Arts at fifteen. Later he became a fellow of Magdalen College and bursar, in which capacity he acquired that familiarity with the new accounting and bookkeeping systems which were largely responsible for his success in public life. At thirty-two, in 1503, he entered the service of Sir Richard Nanfan, deputy-governor of Calais, and practically took all his duties upon himself. Sir Richard, upon his retirement from active life, recommended Wolsey to the King for a place in the royal service. In 1508 Henry VII sent him upon a mission to the Netherlands in the matter of the marriage between Henry VII and Margaret, and such was the speed with which he dispatched his business that Henry VII took personal notice of him. From then on his rise was rapid, especially after the accession of Henry VIII. "So fast as the other councillors advised the King (Henry VIII) to leave his pleasure and attend to the affairs of the realm, so busily did the almoner (Wolsey) persuade him to the contrary." In 1513 he was placed in charge of the preparation of the campaign of that year. His activity was extraordinary. He worked out the requirements in the way of men, equipment, provisions, and transport; he rounded up the contractors, let orders, and had the proper materials ready on time; he collected the necessary amount of shipping not only to carry the army to France, but to provide constant and steady reprovisioning; he saw to it that the beer and wine for the army were adequate and of good quality, that sufficient gunpowder was on hand and, above all, that the necessary money should be available. So extraordinary was his success in this that after 1513 practically all the business of the state came into his hands. He held the office of Lord Chancellor and was the director of English policy at home and abroad, subject always, however, to the headstrong will of the proud, self-satisfied, vainglorious King. Great honors and wealth were heaped upon him by his royal master, not in direct grants of money or by way of a large salary, but through his appointment to high and rich offices in the church. He was made Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop of Winchester, Archbishop of

York, and Abbot of St. Albans, besides holding the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford in ferme, so that his income far exceeded that of any one else in England except the King himself. Indeed, the magnificence of his new palace at Hampton Court, which was finer than anything Henry himself could afford, excited the King's envy, and his great College of Christchurch, which he founded at Oxford, was so magnificent that Henry did not scruple later to take it over as his own work. In 1519 the Venetian ambassador in England wrote of Wolsey: "He rules both the King and the kingdom. On my first arrival in England he used to say to me, 'His majesty will do so and so.' Subsequently by degrees he forgot himself and commenced saying, 'We shall do so and so.' At present he has reached such a pitch that he says, 'I shall do so and so' . . . He transacts the same business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices, and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal; and all state affairs likewise are managed by him, let their nature be what it may." Whenever he went abroad through the streets of London, he was always preceded by two great silver crosses, one for his archbishopric and the other for his legacy, for the Pope had added to his distinctions by appointing him Cardinal and Legate.

Wolsey's special ability lay in the field of diplomacy and foreign relations. He tried to use the circumstances of European politics of his day to win for England, still a second rate country in comparison with France or Spain, a commanding place in affairs by giving her the position of umpire or arbiter. In 1518 he succeeded in imposing upon Europe a treaty of Universal Peace, binding France, Spain, the Empire, and England to keep the peace under threat of pledging the aid of England against the attacking party. But treaties have never been effectual restraints upon the ambitions and rivalries of growing and developing powers, for the simple reason that the very process of growth and development calls into being new circumstances and conditions not considered when the treaties were made. In 1519, a year after the Universal Peace, the plotting and scheming of old Frederick III, Maximilian, Philip his son, and Ferdinand and Isabella reached its fruition in the election as Emperor of Charles V, already Duke of Burgundy, King of Spain, Archduke of Austria, master of Italy, and ruler of the Americas. Opposed to him was arrayed the house of Valois, represented by Francis I, King of France; and friction immediately developed. Wolsey saw the end of his dream of

universal peace under the presidency of England and turned to the next best line of action. He negotiated separately with both Francis I and Charles V. He had Henry VIII and Francis I meet on the Field of the Cloth of Gold amid the most glittering pageantry of European history, and Charles V and Henry held an interview in England under less public surroundings. In the treaties made at these interviews Wolsey abandoned the position of arbiter of Europe, and tried to keep the peace and enhance England's importance by treaties with each side. Meanwhile, the Empire and France were drifting into war, and Henry VIII was inclining to the temptations of the Emperor. From 1522 to 1525 England was at war with France as the ally of the Empire. In a brilliant campaign Charles V destroyed the French army at Pavia and even captured the person of Francis I, together with many of the great nobles of France. While the Emperor's arms were too gloriously successful, Henry VIII had not been able to strike a vigorous blow, because his preparations were impeded by financial difficulties.

The war brought to a crisis a state of financial stringency which had been chronic ever since the end of the first war with France. During the three years of that war at least £800,000 of the treasure so carefully nursed by Henry VII had been spent, and subsidies to allies and other expenditures in the following years had completely exhausted Henry VIII's inherited surplus by 1519 or 1520. To make matters worse, the ordinary expenses of the state were rising; life at the court was somewhat more luxurious, more money was being spent on royal palaces and on the navy, and more was required for pensions to favorites. Meanwhile, the revenues from the crown lands were falling, because gifts of land from the royal estates to the King's favorites were made more rapidly than new estates could be acquired. The customs revenues were steady, but were incapable of being expanded to meet the new requirements. Wolsey was conscious of this situation almost immediately, but never devised any radical remedies. The confiscation of the estates of the nobility practiced by Henry VII no longer offered many possibilities, because Henry VII had pushed that practice to the limit in his own reign, although it was still occasionally possible to involve in treason some great nobleman, such as the Duke of Buckingham, and confiscate his property. Taxation was not practicable, since the idea still prevailed that the king must live of his own; and Wolsey's experiences with taxation, even for war purposes, during the first

French war had not been very happy. Grants were made reluctantly and incompletely collected. Wolsey sought a way out through an increase of the "pensions" from France. At the end of the first French war he bargained with the French for the surrender of Therouanne for an increase of the pension, and several years later he agreed to return Tournai for another increase. With these payments from France, coupled with economy in the government wherever possible, Wolsey managed to make both ends meet until the second war with France broke out in 1522.

Keeping in mind his hard time with Parliament during the first war and the difficulty of collecting taxes, Wolsey resolved to raise the first war funds by a loan. Every well-to-do man in England was sent a letter under the privy seal, requesting him to lend to the King a certain sum, adjusted to his wealth, with a promise of repayment. Everyone knew, however, that the request was a command, and that the promised repayment could never be made. The loan was a success in that a very large sum was gathered quickly; but when 1523 came around, Wolsey hesitated to use the device of a forced loan a second time in view of the fact that the promised repayment of the first loan had not yet been made. He decided instead to appeal to Parliament for a grant of £800,000. Wolsey went in person to the House of Commons and explained how Francis had broken the League and made war on the Emperor's dominions, how he had withheld the pensions and tributes due to England, how he had despoiled the King's subjects and sent agents to Scotland to induce the Scots to invade England. Sir Thomas More, speaker of the House, likewise spoke in favor of the grant. But the Commons opposed it in a bitter debate. It was argued that there was not so much money in circulation in the realm; "if all the money were brought to the King's hands, then men must barter cloth for victual and bread for cheese." One member, Thomas Cromwell, attacked the tax and the whole war policy in an admirable speech. Wolsey came again to the House to rebuke it, but was received in silence; and, warned by the speaker that it was not the custom of the House to debate with strangers, he retired discomfited. A grant was at last made, but it was so inadequate to the needs of the war that the campaign of 1523 was not worthy of notice, and in 1524 no army was put into the field.

In 1525 came the capture of Francis I at Pavia and a summons from Charles V to Henry VIII that now was the time

to despoil and partition France. England must put an army into the field at once, and the very existence of France would be at an end. The temptation was great, but the money was lacking. Henry, however, announced an expedition into France to "conserve the honor of our realm and recover the crown of France" and commanded Wolsey to raise funds. The Chancellor hit upon the device of the Amicable Grant, a forced loan to be extracted under the influence of an intense and fervid appeal to patriotism. But everywhere there was resistance. When Wolsey summoned the lord mayor and the aldermen of London before him and asked them how much they were prepared to grant, the lord mayor spoke and said, "I pray you pardon me, for if I enter into any grant it might fortune to cost me my life." "Your life!" replied the Cardinal, "that is a marvelous word. For your will towards the King will the citizens put you in jeopardy of your life?" Even though Wolsey threatened the Londoners that resistance might cost some of them their heads, they refused to pay. People generally alleged their poverty, and they spoke "cursedly, saying that they shall never have rest of payments as long as some liveth." In face of the universal resistance to the loan mingled with expressions of sympathy for the poor King of France, Wolsey advised the King that the project must be withdrawn, and that the war must be abandoned.

The Amicable Grant was Wolsey's first great public failure, but it was in reality only the final expression of his inability to solve the financial problem during the past ten years. Moreover, although the failure of the Amicable Grant was a crisis under abnormal war time conditions, the ordinary peace time financial situation was becoming more and more serious; and unless Wolsey succeeded in alleviating it, he could not hope to continue his power very much longer. He himself realized this; but, with his essential conservatism, he could offer no other remedies than renewed economies and retrenchments in expenditure, and increases of the revenues through larger pensions from France. The first he attempted to effect through the Statutes of Eltham, published in 1526, which made such drastic cuts in expenditure in the King's household that contemporary critics did not scruple to say that the new economies were not conformable to the King's honor and dignity; and the second he brought about through new deals with France. Before the end of 1525 he had made peace with France, and in a series of treaties between 1525 and 1527 he succeeded in

getting the sharpest increases in the pensions. Among other things, he even prevailed upon Francis I to make an annual payment in composition to Henry VIII for refraining from insisting upon his title of King of France, which every English king had claimed since Edward III's time. But all these increases were insignificant in comparison with the needs of the government, and within a very short period another financial crisis more serious than the crisis of 1525 would inevitably have developed and brought about Wolsey's fall. Before that came, however, Wolsey was caught up in the whirlwind of the King's "great matter" of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon; and his failure here has obscured his more fundamental failure to deal adequately with the problem of government finance.

With the fall of the Cardinal in 1529 on the pretext that he had failed to get the divorce, the first phase of the Tudor period comes to a close. Certain of the more basic parts of Henry VII's work, notably his restoration of peace and order, his new accounting and reporting systems which gave management of property and control over subjects from a distance, remained intact; but his financial system was not functioning properly and needed a thorough overhauling and rebuilding. Moreover, certain new problems had come into importance since his day and demanded consideration. Of these the chief were the questions of the extension of the powers of the state to include complete control over every department of men's lives, and of the future relations between the political government and the church, which, in theory at least, was not only not subordinate to the state, but shared sovereign powers with it and was even superior to it.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER VI

(See General Works)

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

H. A. L. Fisher, *The Political History of England from 1485 to 1547.*
A. D. Innes, *England under the Tudors.*
F. Bacon, *History of the Reign of Henry VII.*
W. Busch, *England under the Tudors.*
J. Gairdner, *Henry VII.*
A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII.*
P. Smith, *The Age of the Reformation.*
G. Temperley, *Henry VII.*
Tudor Studies, Ed., R. W. Seton-Watson.
R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors.*
J. E. Morris, *Great Britain and Ireland, 1485-1910.*

J. A. Williamson, *The Foundation and Growth of the British Empire.*

THE ARMY AND NAVY.

W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy.*

H. Oppenheim, *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy.*

CHURCH HISTORY.

R. S. Arrowsmith, *The Prelude to the Reformation.*

J. Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary.*

Lollardy and the Reformation.

F. A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation in England.*

H. M. Gwatkin, *Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne.*

A. Plummer, *English Church History from the Death of Henry VII to 1702.*

ECONOMIC HISTORY.

H. Bradley, *The Enclosures in England.*

F. C. Dietz, *English Government Finance 1485-1558.*

C. P. Lucas, *The Beginnings of English Overseas Empire.*

G. F. Steffen, *Englische Lohnarbeiter.*

R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century.*

G. Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*

J. A. Williamson, *Maritime Enterprise 1485-1588.*

G. Wiebe, *Zur Geschichte der Preisrevolution des XVI and XVII Jahrhunderts.*

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council during the Middle Ages.*

C. A. Beard, *The Justice of the Peace in England.*

E. Percy, *The Privy Council under the Tudors.*

A. F. Pollard, *Factors in Modern History.*

R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North.*

LEGAL HISTORY.

F. W. Maitland, *Roman and Canon Law in the Church of England.*

English Law and the Renaissance.

SOCIAL HISTORY.

L. D. Einstein, *Tudor Ideals.*

The Italian Renaissance in England.

H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century.*

BIOGRAPHY.

C. R. Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot.*

G. Cavendish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey.*

E. G. Duff, *William Caxton.*

M. Creighton, *Cardinal Wolsey.*

F. A. Mumby, *The Youth of Henry VIII.*

W. Roper, *Life of Sir Thomas More.*

E. L. Taunton, *Wolsey, Legate and Reformer.*

SOURCES.

A. F. Pollard, *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources.*

C. H. Williams, *England under the Early Tudors.*

R. H. Tawney and E. Power, *Tudor Economic Documents.*

J. R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents.*

CHAPTER VII

ROUNDING OUT THE POWERS OF THE NATIONAL STATE

The government set up by Henry VII and Henry VIII is sometimes called the Tudor absolutism. This phrase implies a large degree of control by the crown over the state resting upon the royal domination of the council and of Parliament. The process of transforming the council from a body of ambitious magnates to a group of devoted bureaucrats had been completed by Henry VII. The time was soon to come when the council was identified so completely with the crown as to be authorized to speak in its name. This development, which will be considered in detail later, really strengthened the crown still further, even though it reduced the personal power of the king. The relations of the crown with Parliament were somewhat more complex. The House of Lords was made up of royal favorites and appointees and, consequently, was easily managed. In the House of Commons there was evident a new spirit of self-assertion, which occasionally led to bursts of independence against the old notion that its function was to approve the royal will and to vote grants of money to the crown. This new note of dissatisfaction with consent without decision was well illustrated in 1523 when the government asked for a grant of £800,000 to meet the war expenses of the year. The bill was bitterly debated, and Wolsey, the Lord Chancellor, came down in person with his retinue to intimidate the House to "be reasoned withal" in the matter. He was admitted, but was received in frigid silence, since "the fashion of the nether House was, to hear and not to reason, but among themselves." It may be that this scene led to precautions in later Parliaments to prevent the repetition of such displays of self-consciousness by the initiation of the process of controlling and influencing elections. This was especially true after the advent of Thomas Cromwell, who developed a system of instructing the sheriffs to see to it that specific persons named by the government were returned in the elections. Even then occasional opposition

was encountered, but this was met in high-handed fashion. On one occasion, the members of the House of Commons were summoned to the royal palace, where, after they had been kept waiting for hours, the King appeared in their midst, and, looking agrily on them, assured them that he would have his bill, "or I will have some of your heads." Another device was simply to lock the doors of the meeting place and permit no one to leave until the bill had been voted.

As a rule, however, the royal control was still very complete during Henry VIII's reign. Often years passed without a Parliament; and when Parliament was in session, the business was guided by members of the Privy Council. All acts were drafted and presented by a royal minister, although private members were permitted to present petitions, upon which the king acted as he pleased.

The power of the crown in the state was, however, but one aspect of the Tudor absolutism. The period witnessed another and more devastating growth in the unfettered control of the state over its subjects. Hitherto, through the division of sovereignty over men's interests and concerns between a church, often negligent and interested in external forms, and a weak feudal king, there had been a good deal of opportunity for local and individual liberty. Through the absorption of new powers and functions by the state, encroachments were made upon the freedom of the individual, even to the extent of claiming the abdication of men's consciences in response to its commands. This issue, that even the control of the individual conscience was demanded by the state, was raised in very clear-cut fashion in the case of Sir Thomas More. Sir Thomas, England's most cultivated scholar, the friend of Erasmus, the boon companion of Henry VIII, the greatest lawyer of his time, the author of *Utopia*, and Lord Chancellor of England after Wolsey's fall in 1529, found that he disagreed with his friend and master, the King, about the King's "great matter" of his repudiation of Catherine of Aragon, his first wife. In 1534 he was required to take an oath giving approval to all that Henry had done, declaring the marriage with Catherine void from the beginning. More was willing to accept the new situation without approving it, but he refused to declare the marriage void, either implicitly or tacitly. He was saved for the moment by his declaration, backed by his enormous knowledge of law, that the oath required of him was illegal under the terms of the statute under which it was demanded.

He likewise refused to abjure the pope, on the ground that the pope had been recognized as the head of the body of Christendom a thousand years past. "I cannot perceive how any member thereof without the common assent of the body can depart from the common head." In this matter, also, he was willing to keep his own counsel and go even to the extent of acknowledging that men of more wisdom and deeper learning thought differently. Yet his timorous conscience "rising happly for lack of better perceiving" again prevented him from giving approval to the King's action, implicitly or explicitly. He was not concerned with impressing his views on others. He was so little interested in "freedom of speech" that he absolutely refused to discuss his own position. At the same time he held it a matter of conscience that he should not openly approve policies of which he sincerely disapproved. Eventually, the oath demanded was legalized, and "malicious silence" was declared to be evidence of evil imagining against the king's titles, which was made high treason. On this basis, More was condemned to be executed. At the close of his trial he stated the irreducible minimum of the rights of conscience. "You say that all good subjects are bound to reply, but I say that the faithful subject is more bound to his conscience and to his soul than to anything else in the world, provided his conscience like mine does not raise scandal or sedition, and I assure you that I have never discovered what was in my conscience to any man living." Henry VIII's reply to More, to Bishop Fisher of Rochester, and to others who were conscientious objectors was the headsman's axe. For him there were no limits to the control of the state. The question of the relations of the state and the individual conscience was not, however, permanently answered, and it was raised again and again in English history.

The process of increasing the control of the state over men's lives through the usurpation of functions was a long development, reaching back into the fourteenth century. National regulation of wages in the Statue of Laborers, the institution of justices of the peace as a combined police and local judiciary shortly afterward, the Navigation acts, first passed in 1381, ordering Englishmen to use English ships, the extension of the protection of the king's courts to serfs in 1467, the examination and approval of gild regulations by the king in 1437 and 1503, the curbing of the great nobles in the Star Chamber, and the abolition of benefit of clergy by Henry VII are steps

in this direction. The most spectacular of the increases in the powers of the government was the transformation of the church of England from its position of degraded coördination, subject nominally only to the pope, into a government department like the Local Government Board or the Board of Education.

The pretext for this procedure was the King's divorce. Henry VIII, after having lived with Catherine of Aragon for eighteen years, was suddenly smitten with conscientious scruples about the legality of his marriage to her. Catherine had been his brother Arthur's wife. After Arthur's death, the old King, Henry VII, to escape the repayment of Catherine's dowry and to keep the alliance with Spain firmly cemented, had arranged a second marriage between Catherine and Prince Henry. There is in the book of Leviticus a sentence which forbids the marriage of a brother's widow to a brother, but Pope Julius II complacently issued a dispensation out of the fullness of his power setting aside the impediment to the second marriage involved in the Levitical sentence. Soon after Henry's accession to the throne in 1509, the marriage was consummated; and now, in 1527, Henry began to wonder whether Julius II had had the power to issue the dispensation. For the sentence in Leviticus was divine law, the law of God, which no papal dispensation could set aside. The King was moved to these speculations, it was said, by the fact that only one child sprung from the union had survived, and she was a girl, Princess Mary. He sincerely desired a son, if for no other reason because of the danger to the peace and order of the kingdom that a woman's rule might entail. Was it possible that he had been living in sin with Catherine all these years past, and was God punishing him for this sin by withholding from him a son and heir? Accordingly, to save his soul from sin and to escape God's displeasure, Henry arranged for an investigation into the matter looking to a divorce. This divorce was not a divorce in the present sense of the annulment of a marriage. According to the law of the church, a marriage once made could never be dissolved save by the death of one of the parties to it; but if some legal obstacle or impediment to a marriage existed at the beginning, a marriage could never be made, and the discovery of the obstacle or impediment would oblige people living together in a supposed marriage to separate. A divorce then was merely a decision that a supposed marriage had never taken place, and that both parties to such a supposed marriage were

free to marry elsewhere where no obstacles existed. While not common, such a divorce was occasionally granted.

The matter was made public in the spring of 1527, when Wolsey called upon the King to appear in his legatine court to answer the charge of living with Catherine of Aragon although certain obstacles to a marriage existed. In his public utterances Henry VIII represented himself as stricken with sorrow at the idea, since Catherine had always proved a most kind, gentle, and loving wife, possessed of all queenly grace and goodness; and it was only the fear of endangering his soul's salvation, if he continued to live in sin with a woman to whom he could not be married because she was his brother's widow, that drove him to consider the question at all. In a remarkable speech to the citizens of London he spoke of Catherine as "a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness, yea, and of all good qualities pertaining to nobility without comparison"; and he declared that, if she were adjudged his lawful wife, "there was never thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing my conscience and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her."

The Papacy stood much in Henry's debt. He had joined in the war with France in 1512 to defend it against France, and in 1521 he had come out very strongly in defense of the pope against the attacks of Martin Luther, the German reformer, in a tract called the *Defense of the Seven Sacraments*. The value of this royal defense, of which the Pope said that many a scholar who had labored in the matter through his whole life could not have written the like (which was probably true), was so great that the Pope bestowed the title of Defensor Fidei or Defender of the Faith upon Henry. Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, Clement VII might easily have quieted Henry's conscience by making the declaration that his predecessor, Julius II, had exceeded his powers, and Henry would have been obliged to separate from Queen Catherine. He would then have been free to contract a marriage with the cause of the sudden excitement to his conscience. For Anne Boleyn, a very vivacious and ambitious black-eyed maid of honor, whose sister Mary had already been the royal mistress, had refused to follow her sister's example until she was assured of the name of wife and queen. Clement VII, however, had recently become the prisoner of Charles V, the nephew of Catherine, when Charles' German soldiers had captured the

city of Rome in 1527; and though he had presently been released, he realized that Charles V, who was still near with his terrible Germans, would not permit his aunt to suffer the slight which Henry was seeking to cast upon her. Moreover, Clement VII was a member of the house of Medici, which had long governed Florence, but had been driven out some years before. He wished to recover the city of Florence for his family and sought to use the request of Henry and Charles' opposition to it as means of furthering his own family interests in connection with Florence. When he approached Henry VIII and asked what he would do for him in the matter, Henry replied in the vaguest terms, offering to induce the Venetians to restore two small cities, Cervia and Ravenna, to the Papacy. Charles V, on the other hand, promised to capture Florence and restore it to the Medici in the person of the nephew of Clement VII, who was to marry a daughter of Charles V; and in return Clement was to settle the divorce question satisfactorily to Charles V. These provisions were finally incorporated into a treaty between the Pope and Charles V, known as the treaty of Barcelona, in June, 1529, which definitely ended any chances of Henry's securing his divorce.

This series of diplomatic negotiations was meanwhile carefully screened by an elaborate process of procrastination on the part of the Papacy in dealing with Henry's request. The Pope announced that an investigation must be held in England to determine all the facts, whether the marriage of Catherine and Arthur had in fact been consummated, for example, before a decision could be reached. To conduct this investigation he named a legatine court, composed of Cardinal Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio, an old cardinal, whose gout was so bad that he could travel only a few miles a day and hence would consume an inordinately long time in journeying from Rome to England.

If the Pope hoped that Henry's passion might cool with the delay, he miscalculated the permanence of Anne Boleyn's influence over the English King and did not understand at all the strength of the influence wielded in the English court by her family. With the failure of the legatine court to announce a decision, as Henry had supposed it was empowered to do after its investigation, and on its declaration that the evidence had been remanded to Rome by the Pope, Wolsey was disgraced; and Henry VIII proceeded to put every variety of pressure upon the Pope to come to terms. Among other things, he ac-

cused the clergy of the English church of being guilty of praemunire under the fourteenth century statute, because they had submitted to the legatine jurisdiction of Cardinal Wolsey. Before they could buy their peace, they had acknowledged Henry VIII as head of the church of England "in so far as the law of Christ do allow." By extorting this title, Henry VIII was not deposing the Pope from the headship of the church, since the qualifying clause about the law of Christ might be interpreted to mean much. But he was giving a very broad hint of his intentions if the Pope continued to refuse to permit the Christian bachelor to marry with the highest sanctions. By the early 1530's the divorce had become a point of honor with Henry, and the Papacy was equally bound in honor not to yield. The Pope, however, did attempt to arrange a compromise, but for his own part, Henry intended to be approved in his stand that he was never married to Catherine. As a method of pressure, payments of annates from England to Rome were cut off, with the provision that the King might compound with the Pope, if it seemed "to his high wisdom and most prudent discretion" meet to move the Pope's holiness in the matter; and all appeals from the English church courts to the courts of Rome were forbidden.

At last, after Henry VIII had married Anne, and an English church court had declared the divorce from Catherine, and a new Pope, Paul III, had not only declared the first marriage legal, but actually threatened to excommunicate Henry VIII, a series of acts was passed through Parliament in 1534, completing the separation from Rome. Peter's pence were stopped, the payment of annates unconditionally forbidden, and the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, falsely called the pope, was declared at an end in England. Simultaneously came the assertion of royal control over the English church to replace the papal authority. This authority, wielded from a distance, had allowed the English church the greatest freedom. The new royal control, by a strong monarch close at hand, stripped the church of all its old liberty. Convocations lost their right of independent legislation, and by the act of Supremacy Henry VIII was declared to be supreme head of the church on earth in spiritual as well as temporal affairs. The church was at once put in charge of a Lord Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Causes, and it members were soon to learn what royal supremacy meant.

The assertion of royal control over the church was probably

inevitable in the sixteenth century, as a concomitant part of the development of the absolute state. The church of England held great powers of legislation in her Convocations; her law courts controlled the probate of wills and settled all cases relating to problems arising from marriages; her priests had the right to certain dues and fees, such as the tithes and mortuary duties; and her bishops, abbots, and monastic corporations controlled in the aggregate more extensive estates than the crown and the nobility. The attack upon these pretensions came at this time in England and was initiated by the denial of all relations between England and Rome because of Henry's necessities in his "great matter" of his divorce. In the process of transferring papal authority to himself, Henry VIII took the opportunity to seize far greater control over the church than any pope had ever possessed.

It is worth while to note that the separation from Rome did not involve a repudiation of the doctrines of the medieval church in favor of Lutheranism, which had recently grown up in Germany under the lead of Martin Luther and predicated not only a denial of the powers of the pope, but a rejection of many of the chief doctrines of the medieval church. Henry VIII was as hostile to Lutheranism as the Pope himself. The reasons for this may go back to an old personal quarrel between the English King and the German reformer, which began when Henry wrote his refutation of Luther in his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* in 1521, in which the King made some remarks uncomplimentary to Luther. Luther replied in language which the proud King must have found it hard to forgive, "that King of lies, King Heinz by God's ungrace King of England, . . . for since with malice aforethought this damnable and rotten worm has composed lies against my King in heaven, it is right for me to bespatter this English monarch with his own filth and trample his blasphemous crown under feet." Nevertheless, when the divorce question was under discussion, Henry appealed to Luther for the decision which the Pope refused, but no comfort could be extracted from Luther's doctrines on marriage. Although approached by Henry on three occasions, he refused to change his first view; namely, that the marriage with Catherine was legal, but if Henry had to have Anne, let him commit bigamy. This was adding insult to insult. Perhaps more fundamental in this matter is the fact that Henry was essentially a conservative. He was not a heretic like Luther, but a Christian king standing on his rights. He insisted that

he and his church were part of the medieval church, stripped of its abuses. He required that the full medieval doctrine must be accepted by all his subjects, except where errors and superstitious evils had crept in, as in the case of the pretended powers of the Bishop of Rome, the abuse of the worship of images, the excess of holy days, and the evil living in the monasteries. His nearest approach to anything like Protestantism was to order the use of the Bible in English in the churches and the preparation of an English primer of prayers and an English musical litany, while Lutheran influences affected the Ten Articles, a statement of doctrine prepared in 1536. Reformist tendencies were soon eliminated, and the fundamental dogmas of Henry's church, as expressed in the Six Articles of 1539, affirmed the acceptance of the mass, clerical celibacy, auricular confession, private masses for souls, communion in one kind only, and the sanctity of vows of celibacy taken by former monks and nuns. While Henry VIII brought about the separation of the English church from its Roman connections, he actually halted the progress of the reformation of the English church in matters of doctrine and ceremonies.

In this subjection of the English church Henry VIII had the support of various elements among his subjects. Certain men, who expressed their views in contemporary pamphlets, such as Simon Fish in the *Supplication of the Beggars*, believed that the English church had fallen into a state of decay and inefficiency and could be put to rights only by the royal authority. In the medieval world the message of the church had been the teaching of peace and order. With the comparatively minor questions of conduct and morality it troubled itself little. When Henry VII established peace and order almost over night, the old message of the church was outworn. Everywhere men were demanding a new evangel, which should concern itself with conduct and morals. This the church did not have the spiritual insight to proclaim, while its priests were not shining examples of good living. They were no worse than other men, but they were no better, and hence Fish likened them to ravening wolves who ate up the kingdom by holding great extents of property without returning any benefits to the country. He wanted to see the King assert his authority over the church, and do away with the distinction between the spiritual kingdom of the church and the temporal kingdom; he wished churchmen to earn their own keep, and superfluous churchmen, such as the begging friars, set to honest work; and he urged that an end be made

of the process of transferring the land of the realm to the church.

From other quarters, too, the King received encouragement. Generally throughout the country there was much complaint about the high probate duties, levied in the church courts for the probate of wills, and about the mortuary or death duties, which the priest claimed on a man's death. It was alleged that the priests were so exacting that they would be satisfied even if the poor widow and heirs were left to starve, taking even one poor "silly cow" if that was all to be found.

The landowning gentry, the class represented by the knights of the shire in Parliament, had a special interest in the matter. In the sixteenth century land was the source of wealth much more exclusively than can be realized now, when railroads and factories and ships are even more important in England than the farm. Advances were being made in agriculture; new crops, new kinds of leases were being used; and the man who could get land on any reasonable terms could make himself rich. England, however, is small in area, and land was not easy to secure, since every man who had land held it closely. If only the vast possessions of the church could be brought into the market! Here would be opportunity, indeed, for the new technique had scarcely been introduced as yet by the sluggish ecclesiastical landlords, and their estates would be as virgin soil to new crops, new leases, and new rents. As a class the gentry had a great deal of knowledge of the monastic estates in particular, since they served as bailiffs and stewards for the monastic houses; and ever since the reign of Henry VII, they had shown themselves eager to secure these lands for themselves. They welcomed the royal supremacy, since they thought it would be a signal for the division of this property among themselves. So it proved eventually, but not quite so directly as they had envisaged it during the parliamentary sessions of the early 1530's.

The subjugation of the church to the royal supremacy not only rounded out the powers of the national state, but enabled the King to secure the sinews of material resources which, during the next three quarters of a century, assured to the crown the maintenance of that control of Parliament remarked in the beginning of this chapter. It is not necessary to suppose that Henry VIII foresaw clearly this achievement or consciously purposed this end. He was led to take action by a very pressing need for money. He began his reign with a substantial revenue, based on the rents of landed estates and customs dues

of various kinds, plus certain payments of the pension or indemnity from France. He also inherited a great treasure chest, accumulated by the thrift of Henry VII, his father.

During the war with France and Scotland, fought in the years from 1511 to 1514, most of the surplus treasure had been exhausted. During a second war with France from 1522 to 1525, it proved impossible to secure taxes or forced loans in amounts sufficient to carry on the campaigns. This curious experience proved to the government that taxation, whether in the form of parliamentary grants or forced loans, was too inelastic to depend upon in emergencies, and Wolsey's attempts to increase the permanent revenues through reliance upon the indemnity payments from France were not really successful.

The critical turn in the divorce case in 1529 made a new solution of the financial question necessary. Charles V seemed to be threatening a war in defense of his aunt, Queen Catherine. To offset this danger, an English alliance with France was carefully cultivated at the cost of the remission of the pension payments. While less money came in, more was needed to prepare for defense and to accumulate a new surplus in the event of a war not of Henry's choosing, from which he might not be able to retire as in 1525. In the remembrances or memoranda of Cromwell, the new chief minister, there are many references "To remember the King for the reparation of his navy," . . . "The King's navy, ordinances, and munitions of war to be provided for," . . . and "What necessity there is to cause treasure to be laid up for all events." Under these circumstances a beginning was made of annexing the wealth of the church to the crown. In the Convocations of 1530, in addition to recognizing Henry as head of the church, the clergy of England promised to pay about £118,000 for their pardon from praemunire. Before this amount was completely paid, the clergy were forced to agree to pay to the King the annates or first-fruits, previously paid to the pope, and the ecclesiastical tenths, or ten per cent of the annual income every year. Previously tenths had been voted occasionally and were paid on the basis of an assessment made in 1291, which took no account of the increase in values since that time. The new tenths were to be paid on an assessment made under the terms of the act, in 1535, and represented an actual ten per cent.

For some years there had been hints in London that a greater annexation of church property was being contemplated. Cromwell's own papers give hints of the formation of new schemes

in his mind, one of them foreshadowing the complete secularization of the endowments and property of all departments of the church. In the early summer of 1535 a less ambitious plan was put into operation for the confiscation of the property of the monasteries. Agents were sent out to visit the monasteries, make inventories of their property, take possession of their jewels, plate, and ornaments, investigate the lives and living of the monks, and lay strict injunctions upon the monks as to their future conduct. So galling were these injunctions as they were propounded by the "satrapike" and officious visitors, that a good number of monasteries asked to be dissolved at once with the surrender of their property to the king, while other houses paid Cromwell handsomely to be relieved of the injunctions. When the findings and reports of the visitors had been completed, they showed such a state of immorality in the monastic houses that, when they were read in Parliament the members are said to have cried out in horror, "Down with them, down with them." It is probable that not too much care was taken in the accuracy of the picture given by the visitors' reports, provided it was lurid enough, for the sole purpose of the reports on the moral conditions in the houses was to provide a protective covering for the confiscation by the crown. At first only the smaller houses, having a clear yearly income of less than £200 a year, were taken, but before 1540 all the monasteries had surrendered their property. In the case of the larger houses the farce of voluntary surrender was carried out, but so reluctant were some of the houses to surrender that strong pressure, such as the judicial murder of the abbots of Reading, Gloucester, and Colchester on trumped up charges of treason, was necessary.

In most parts of England the monasteries no longer served any usefulness or advantage to the common good. Their agriculture was backward, the charity they dispensed was perfunctory and of little social value, and their hospitality, or service as inns to travelers and business men on the road, was declining. In the north of England, as yet more backward than the rest of the country, they were still useful. "Strangers and baggars of corn betwixt Yorkshire, Lancashire, Kendal, Westmoreland, and the Bishopric (of Durham) was in their carriage of corn greatly succoured both horse and man by the said abbeys; for none was in those parts denied neither horsemeat nor man's meat, so that the people was greatly refreshed by the said abbeys where now they have no such succour." It was perhaps

because in the North public opinion would be hardest to influence that the reports of the visitors were filthiest. When the actual confiscation of the northern houses was undertaken, the people of the North rose in one of the most serious rebellions of the sixteenth century, the Pilgrimage of Grace, to defend the monastic houses in their midst. From Lincolnshire and Yorkshire to Westmoreland and Cumberland the country, in the fall of 1536, was up in arms on account of the suppression of the monasteries and rumors of further confiscation of church property. All classes from peasants to the gentry united against the King to check the absolutistic trend of the government. The armies of the rebels so outnumbered the royal forces led by the Duke of Norfolk that, had an engagement taken place, the fate of the Tudor dynasty would have been sealed. The Duke of Norfolk, however, divided the rebels by promising concessions and spinning out negotiations, until the crown could rally its forces; and eventually the government was able to seize and execute the leaders. Before this was done there were many anxious moments, but the final success of the King was a proof that there were no forces in England able to resist the absolutism of the crown.

The confiscation of the monasteries was followed by the suppression of the friaries and, after it had been discovered that the worship of saints was a popish superstition and abuse, by the sequestration of the shrines of the great saints of England. Among them was that of Saint Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, "so preciously adorned with gold and silver and stone that at midnight you might in some manner have discovered all things as well as at noon day"; that at Winchester, where to the dismay of the spoilers "there was no gold nor ring nor true stone in it, but all great counterfeits"; and that at Chichester, where there were fifty-five images of silver gilt, fifty-seven pieces of gold and silver work, and three caskets of jewels.

Under the stress of the continuing financial needs of the government, the confiscation of the chantries or endowments for singing masses for dead men's souls and of the communion plate and ornaments of the parish churches was planned in the last years of Henry's reign, but was not actually carried through until the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, the next King. Edward's ministers eventually determined to take in hand the annexation of all church property to the limits first envisaged by Cromwell. In the last year of the reign they began the attack upon the last important estates of the church, the

bishopries, and had actually begun the transfer when Edward's death and Mary's accession to the throne ended the process. Elizabeth did not revive the plan, but she did compel her bishops to exchange some of their best land for other kinds of property of very much less value. Thus from the fall of Wolsey to the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, the church was compelled to part with a significant part of its property for the benefit of the crown.

It was the original intention of Cromwell to use the newly acquired monastic property as a permanent endowment for the crown. With the rents from such great estates the king could live of his own and yet have sufficient surplus to accumulate a "treasure against all events." This is directly in line with Henry VII's policy of basing revenues on crown lands. Henry VII found his opportunity in the weakness of the nobles; Cromwell, his in the weakness of the church. Circumstances compelled the alienation of about one-eighth of the property between 1536 and 1540, in Cromwell's own lifetime, by way of rewards to those able and unscrupulous men by whose aid alone the changes of the decade were carried through. After 1540 a new policy was begun, of selling extensive areas of the lands for ready money, a practice which was continued through to the end of the century, whenever the financial situation of the government was critical. In 1540 a war with France seemed to be impending over the question of the payment of the pensions, which the King of France had interrupted during Henry VIII's difficulties with Charles V and the Pope as the price of French friendship for Henry. Large sums were being spent for jerry-built "block-houses" or coast-defense forts, which fell into decay almost as soon as they were constructed. The surplus was not accumulating fast enough to form a really substantial war-chest; and, to fill it up quickly, blocks of land were offered for sale. War actually broke out in 1542, with Henry VIII and Charles V in alliance against France and Scotland. The surplus, large as it was, was exhausted in a single campaign, and land was sold in ever greater quantities. Land sales were one of the most important sources of money in this unhappy time, when every device that could be thought of, even to the debasement of the coinage, was used to keep the war going. As in the case of the gifts of land between 1536 and 1540, the sales in this war period benefited especially the official classes and the courtiers, who purchased at what seemed fair market values, based on the rents of 1535, and at once introduced all the new

technical apparatus, already spoken of, to draw great fortunes from their new estates. On the basis of their positions in the government service and their ownership of church land, the aristocrats of ability raised themselves to the peerage. More than that, with their wealth and local power based on land ownership, they assumed a position of partnership with the king in the state. Their ablest figures sat in the Privy Council, which exercised the king's authority, used the king's name by delegation of the king's power, and, during the course of the war with France, rose to a new importance in the state, playing from this time forward a more prominent part in the control of affairs than the sovereign in his own person.

Some Biographical Sketches of the Early Sixteenth Century

Of these able and pushing officials there were scores in the service of Henry VIII, many of whom achieved lasting importance for the families which they founded and so nobly endowed with church land. They numbered among them the names of Russell, Herbert, North, Cecil, Paulet, Paget, Mildmay, Southwell, Dudley, Seymour, Sadler, St. John, Wriothesley, and others distinguished in English history. Most notable were Thomas Cranmer, Thomas Cromwell, and Stephen Gardiner.

Like many others of these men, Thomas Cranmer was a Cambridge man, who received his M.A. in 1515 and then became a fellow of Jesus College. During his time at Cambridge, Thomas Bilney, a member of Trinity Hall, was passing through a series of spiritual struggles not unlike those which Luther was experiencing in Germany. Bilney found comfort in the writings of St. Paul, accepted the doctrine of justification by faith, insisted on the vanity of merely external rites and ceremonies, and held to the nothingness of human effort without faith in Christ, without rejecting the doctrines of the medieval church, such as Transubstantiation. Bilney gathered a number of friends about him in a little society, made up of such men as Latimer, Barnes, Lambert, Matthew Parker, and others; but the general attitude of the student body and of the fellows to him is shown by the popular designation of the place where they congregated as "Heretics' Hill." Cranmer was influenced by Bilney at Cambridge; and in 1532, while on a diplomatic mission for the King in Germany, he had an opportunity to learn more of the reform movement which was sweeping Europe.

On this occasion, he secretly married the niece of Osiander, one of the German reformers; and, according to his enemies, he was obliged to take her around with him packed in a great chest, since the King refused to allow him to show her openly. This little incident gives one of the clues to his character. He was most receptive of currents of new thought, but was timid, had little backbone, and was eager to please those in authority.

While still a fellow at Jesus College, he had made the suggestion that the King should appeal from the decision of the Pope in the matter of his divorce to the judgment of the scholars and universities of Christendom. While this suggestion was of really little value, since the scholars of the world gave their opinions either in accordance with the views of their rulers, or to the side which paid most liberally, it seemed to have possibilities at first; and Henry liked it so well that he rewarded Cranmer for making it by taking him into his service. During the time that Cranmer was abroad on his German mission, Archbishop Warham of Canterbury died; and Henry VIII resolved to secure the office for Cranmer, since he had taken a great liking to him—Henry loved him more than any other man who ever served the crown—and because he realized that Cranmer would make no difficulties about doing what needed doing in the matter of the divorce. Shortly after his election, Cranmer convened an ecclesiastical court and pronounced the nullity of the marriage of Henry and Catherine and the legality of the marriage of Henry and Anne, which had taken place in the previous year. Three years later, when Henry had grown tired of Anne and she had laid herself open to conviction for adultery, Cranmer pliantly announced that the same marriage which he had declared valid in 1533 had never been of any effect and was null and void from the beginning, because of certain impediments which the King had secretly told him of.

For all his subserviency to the King, Cranmer did the English church notable service. As the reign continued, Cranmer became more and more interested in Lutheranism; and, even while Henry still lived, he did much to prepare the realm for Protestantism. After Henry's death he came under the influence of Zwinglianism, the more radical type of Protestantism, and inclined the English church in that direction. He was early interested in giving the Bible to the people in the vernacular and in conducting the services of the church in the popular tongue. It was through his efforts that all parish churches were ordered to possess a copy of the Bible in English in 1538, and the

English prayers and litanies were prepared by him. He had an extraordinary sense of the beauty of language and of the dramatics of ceremonial. In his English prayers and in his later adaptations of the old church service to the needs of the new English church in the Prayer Book, his forms of service and his translations of the Latin service are among the most lovely things of the sixteenth century in daily use among us today. With all his timidity and pliancy, he had a more genuine love of truth and a more eager desire to get at the bottom of religious questions than any other Englishman of his time. His preeminent fault was that he was too stupid, or too idealistic, to realize that his great abilities were being used by other men whose interest in religious changes was not so single-minded as his own.

Stephen Gardiner, the son of a cloth worker, a graduate of Cambridge, entered public service as private secretary to Wolsey about 1526. A few years later he became secretary to the King and was much busied in the divorce. In 1531 he was elected Bishop of Winchester, one of the richest of the English sees; and, from that time forward until the close of Henry's reign, his abilities as a canonist and diplomat gave him a large part in state affairs. He was as pliant as Cranmer, but very hostile to new thought or ideas. The story is told that when he became chancellor of the university of Cambridge, he forbade the new pronunciation of Greek, which was in vogue there, simply on the ground that it was new. Long before, as Master of Trinity Hall, he had driven Bilney from the university. He accepted Henry's renunciation of the papal power, and even wrote one of the best defenses of Henry's right to establish his control over the church. For all that, he was uncompromisingly hostile to any innovation in doctrine. When, in the later 1530's, Cranmer and Cromwell were negotiating with the Lutherans, it was Gardiner who spoiled their plans. He followed up his victory by promulgating the very reactionary Six Articles in 1539, which are supposed to be mainly his work. After Cromwell's fall his influence was very powerful, but his extreme reaction and his enmity for Cranmer seem to have cost him Henry's favor to such an extent that he was not named in Henry VIII's will as one of Edward VI's council. Although his enemies kept him in prison during most of Edward's reign, he was still to achieve greatly when Mary became queen.

Thomas Cromwell, son of a smith and fuller and shearer of cloth of Putney, was trained as an accountant, became a soldier

of the French King, a beggar in Florence, a clerk to English merchants in Antwerp, an employee of a Venetian merchant in Italy, and at last a combination of lawyer, money-lender, and dresser of cloth in London. His pleasing address and conversation, wide experience, and remarkable ability attracted Wolsey, and as early as 1514 he was Wolsey's man of business. Ten years later he got a good deal of first-hand knowledge of the monastic situation in England, as Wolsey's legal adviser on the occasion of the suppression of a number of small monasteries, which Wolsey was planning to use, with papal consent, to provide endowments for his new colleges at Oxford and at Ipswich.

Wolsey's disgrace threatened to involve Cromwell also, but possibly the fact that he alone knew and understood the intricate technicalities of government which Wolsey had been accustomed to handle led to Cromwell's retention in the government service. Soon afterward, getting into the royal presence, he suggested to the King the policy of making himself the head of the English church as the best solution of the divorce question; and at the same time he promised to make Henry VIII the richest king that ever was in England, if Henry would accept his service. A very rapid rise followed. In 1531, he was Privy Councillor; in 1532, Master of the Jewels and Treasurer of the fine which the clergy were paying for their pardon from praemunire, Clerk of the Hanaper, and Master of Wards; in 1533, Chancellor of the Exchequer; in 1534, king's Secretary and Master of the Rolls; in 1535, the king's Vicegerent in all causes ecclesiastical, supreme over bishops and archbishops; in 1536, Lord Privy Seal; in 1539, Lord Great Chamberlain; and in 1540, about a month before he was executed, Earl of Essex.

While in Italy he seems to have absorbed some of the new concepts of statecraft which were in the air there, and three years before Machiavelli's *Prince*—the book summing up the new Italian attitude of the supremacy of the ruler—was printed, Cromwell owned a manuscript copy. He once advised Reginald Pole, who was later to play a leading rôle in English politics, that the old precepts for princes, dealing with the service of the people and the honor of the nation, were applauded in the school room, but were not at all liked in secret councils of princes. Certainly, in his own career, Cromwell never allowed any of the old precepts to stand in the way of setting up the prince as an end in himself, of identifying the prince with the state, of making the state absolute over its subjects, and of acting as

though the ordinary rules of private morality did not apply in the public acts of rulers. The execution of the conscientious objectors, the new legal basis for the English church, the suppression of the monasteries, and the exaction of annates, and the annual tenths from the clergy were his work. Nor did he entirely neglect his own interests. He never hesitated to accept presents and favors from those who asked his influence; and, in the dissolution of the monasteries, he profited handsomely, receiving from the King the priory of Lewes, with lands stretching from Kent to Yorkshire, the house of St. Osith in Essex, of Colchester in Essex, of Launde in Leicestershire, part of the see of Norwich which was surrendered by the bishop, and a long lease on the house of the Austin friars in the heart of London.

Although he probably remained loyal to the old beliefs in so far as he had any religious convictions—in his will he set aside some money for masses for the salvation of his soul—yet he seems to have felt that the old doctrines and the new absolutism were incompatible. He made several moves in association with Cranmer to ease the way for Lutheranism, and at the end of his life he succeeded in arranging a marriage between his King, who was conveniently without a wife at the moment, and Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves, one of the leading Protestant princes in Germany. His hope was to bring England into a Protestant alliance and to usher Lutheranism into England. Unfortunately, Holbein's portrait of Anne, which had been painted to reveal her extreme beauty to the King, more than did her justice; and, after sight of her, Henry could not bring himself to consummate the marriage. More than that, a shift of continental politics made the Protestant alliance undesirable. Cromwell paid for his too lavish praise of Anne's comeliness and for his mistake in foreign policy with his life, much to the relief of the adherents of the old doctrines, such as Gardiner, and to the great joy of the remnants of the old nobles, such as the Howards, who resented the rule of a Putney dresser of cloth.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER VII

(See also General Works and the books suggested for Chapter VI)

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

J. A. Froude, *History of England from the Death of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.*

CHURCH HISTORY.

R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction.*

SOCIAL HISTORY.

P. V. B. Jones, *The Household of a Tudor Nobleman.*

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES.

F. A. Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries.*

A. Savine, *The English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution.*

M. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace.*

BIOGRAPHY.

Dom Bede Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs.*

P. Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn.*

M. A. S. Hume, *The Wives of Henry VIII.*

A. D. Innes, *Cranmer and the Reformation in England.*

R. B. Merriman, *The Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell.*

J. A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction.*

A. F. Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

During the last half dozen years of Henry's lifetime the business of the government, owing to the increased functions it was exercising in religion, in confiscating and redistributing the land and property of the monasteries, and especially in carrying on the great war with France and Scotland, became so great that it was no longer possible for a single minister, such as Cromwell or Wolsey, to oversee all its details. Cromwell's execution in 1540 paved the way for the formal organization of the closest advisers and most trusted friends of the King into the Privy Council. This was a body of about twenty members drawn from the larger and more cumbersome king's council, consisting of the executive heads of the great state departments, who met together a number of times each week to dispatch business and decide upon government policy.

The Privy Council represented the king in the most complete way. It was vested with a delegation of his authority and exercised it in his stead. It spoke in his name and signed documents with a lead stamp, which had all the validity of the king's holographic signature. It was the "crown-in-council," while the king was the "crown-in-person"; but as long as Henry VIII was vigorous and able, he was unquestionably master of the council; and it was utterly subservient to his will. This was vividly illustrated when the terms of the peace with France were being discussed in 1545. Francis I of France demanded the restoration of Boulogne, which Henry had captured. "Every councillor saith 'Away with it,'" but the King said "We will keep it," and there was not "remaining in the council that dare move the rendry thereof" except the old Duke of Norfolk, who represented the old fifteenth century baronial tradition and refused to shut his mouth even in the presence of the King.

In the last years of his life, Henry's powers failed rapidly. His body became so heavy and fat that his legs would not support his weight, and he had to lean upon attendants when he

walked. He was often indisposed by a running sore in his leg and for days left affairs of state entirely alone. In his absence from the council two factions formed, which were already well developed when he fell into his final illness. One was headed by the Duke of Norfolk and represented the conservative and reactionary tradition. It was natural that the conservatives in religion should gather to his support; and, consequently, churchmen who wanted no further changes in religion, such as Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, joined in his following. Because the religious interest veiled all expression and discussion in this age and provided a satisfactory cover for the ambitions of Norfolk and the reactionary tendencies of the group, this party became known as the party of the Old Learning, that is, the old religion and all connected with it. They accepted the separation from Rome and the king's headship of the church, but were opposed to all further changes in religion.

They were still powerful enough to annoy Catherine Parr (Henry's sixth and last queen) with intimations of heresy and to torture and execute the well connected Anne Askew for heresy in 1546. This was, however, the last manifestation of their power. Late in 1546 the strength of their opponents in the council was increased by the return to London of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, uncle of the young Prince of Wales, Edward, and of John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, the most ambitious and unscrupulous representative of the great Dudley family of the sixteenth century. The ascendancy of the new group showed itself when John Dudley dared to strike Stephen Gardiner in full council meeting and received only a short imprisonment in the Tower for his insult; when Gardiner's name was omitted from Henry's will as one of the guardians of the young Prince Edward; and when Norfolk and his brilliant young son, the Earl of Surrey, poet, and hero of the French war, were both arrested on trumped up charges of treason and condemned to be executed on the flimsiest evidence.

Seymour and Dudley headed the party of the New Learning. Its members favored further changes in the forms of worship and in the doctrines of the church than Henry VIII had been willing to make. But there is much reason to think that in their zeal for changes in the forms of worship and in the doctrines of the church they were animated by the basest of motives. This, of course, does not apply to Archbishop Cranmer and other bishops and theologians of the party, but they had

no real voice in determining policy. The responsible politicians who directed the party of the New Learning were generally indifferent to the spiritual values of the new religion, or were even attached in their hearts to the old faith. John Dudley acknowledged on the scaffold that he had never given up his allegiance to the old religion; others, such as William Cecil, were willing to conform to any faith and changed with the current fashions; Seymour was perhaps genuinely sincere in his attachment to the new religion, but when he began to let its idealistic applications interfere with business his colleagues cut off his head.

Forms of worship are in one sense dramatic representations of religious doctrine, and doctrine is an attempt to give an intellectual expression to belief. In the case of the individual, doctrine may be based upon tradition, or intellectual conviction, or it may be accepted because it defines belief about the relations between man and God in terms of greatest material advantage. This last seems to have been the situation of the Protestant doctrine in the case of the politicians of the party of the New Learning. They encouraged popular interest in Protestantism to gain a following, as was clearly recognized by the imperial ambassador in London, Chapuys, when he wrote early in 1547, "to gain a party they drag the whole country into this damnable error" of Protestantism; and then they used the new religion as a justification for their own actions and policies.

The determining factor in the social and political life of this period was the land confiscated from the monasteries by Henry VIII. Circumstances had compelled him to give away or sell seven-eighths of what he had taken. A good deal of this was in the hands of the aggressive agents who had helped him carry through the confiscation; and on the basis of their new wealth they were already being raised into a new nobility under such titles as Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Hertford, Lord of St. John, Marquis of Northampton, and many others, while, incidentally, their great abilities were giving them seats in the Privy Council. The property of the monasteries had been confiscated by Henry as an outcome of the quarrel with the Papacy, but by the end of his reign it was beginning to be clear that justificatory grounds for the confiscation were weak under the Henrician doctrinal system. What had been done might be endangered; and, a matter of equally great importance, further confiscations could have that moral sanction so dear to all men only if fur-

ther changes in religion were made. Once the changes were determined upon by the interested politicians of the council, Archbishop Cranmer and his co-workers were given a chance to expound the truth as they saw it in doctrine and ceremonial forms. There is here no intention to impugn their single-mindedness and zeal for truth; but it should be recognized that they would never have had a chance if their doctrines had not been found useful to the men who, in the last analysis, made the decision.

Before the death of Henry VIII on January 28, 1547, the party of the New Learning had established itself in complete control of the Privy Council by the condemnation of Norfolk and his son Surrey; and shortly after the old King's death, the Privy Council usurped the control of the government. It carried through the coup d'état, which placed the politicians of the New Learning in supreme control of the state by setting aside the will of the dead King, which had appointed the leading members of the council as regents or guardians of Henry's nine-year-old son, King Edward VI, and by constituting Edward Seymour as Lord Protector of the realm, assisted by a council deriving their powers from the new King, and not from Henry's will. On Sunday, February 7, 1547, at almost the first council meeting of the new reign, three members, Paget, Denny, and Herbert, recounted the late King's promises and plans revealed by him to themselves to advance his chief advisers in honors and dignities, and to endow them with grants of land to enable them to maintain their new positions. The council felt it their duty to carry out the wishes of the dead King thus set forth and at once ordered warrants for grants to be issued to the Court of Augmentations, which was in charge of the crown lands. In the first year of Edward's reign, gifts of land with an annual rental value of over £5700 were made by the council to themselves; and during the entire reign by a continuance of this generosity, land to the yearly rental value of over £30,000 was thus distributed. During the same time land renting for over £21,000 a year was sold on such terms that those fortunate enough to be allowed to purchase were nearly as well off as though they had gotten their land for nothing.

Since the government finances ever since 1535 were in large measure dependent upon land rents from the suppressed monasteries, the extensive gifts and sales necessitated further confiscations from the church, which still held a large amount of property. The chantries had already been marked for dissolu-

tion in Henry VIII's lifetime; and after their confiscation and the sale of their land in 1547 and 1548, church plate and goods suggested themselves in 1549. The matter of church plate illustrates very well the connection between Protestant forms of service and doctrine and the selfish aims of the politicians. In 1547 they had repealed all the old heresy laws and ordered certain changes in the church service which implied the rejection of certain old doctrines. Gardiner and Bonner resisted and were put into prison where they remained until the beginning of the next reign. In 1548 the council began to encourage a more positive kind of Protestantism and in 1549 authorized the publication of a book of Common Prayer, prepared by Cranmer. On the ground that the simplicity of the new services made unnecessary the great quantities of gold and silver sacred vessels, which the parish churches of England had accumulated during the past eight or nine centuries, the council ordered the surrender of all excess church plate to the government.

There was one great body of corporate church wealth still intact, the properties of the bishopries. As early as 1546 or 1547 the leaders of the party of the New Learning had thought of confiscating the estates of the bishops, but met resistance from the great nobles who served as stewards of bishops' estates at high salaries. After 1549 John Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, and in control of the council through the deposition of Edward Seymour, began to be very much interested in a type of Protestantism known as Zwinglianism, which rejected bishops in the church as unnecessary. He began to favor Zwinglian theologians and to trump up charges against bishops and imprison them. His growing radicalism is very evident through its reflections in the second book of Common Prayer of 1552, which accepted the Zwinglian theology rather completely and implied it in ceremonial forms. The way was now clear for the great attack upon the bishopries and in 1552 and 1553 Northumberland began to secularize the property of bishops and to annex it as his own property.

It must be realized that the interest of the great privy councillors of Edward VI in church land and property was in tune with a similar interest among the people, that is, the *populus* as distinguished from the *plebs*. What real enthusiasm there was for religion was felt by the poor and lowly, the common crowd of London artisans and workmen, the *plebs;* but the country gentlemen and the rising merchants, men of local weight and influence, the *populus,* were as much without religious zeal

as any member of the council. They too were interested in land; and in Parliament, their especial assembly, they gave cordial support to the continued looting of the church in the eager hope of sharing the crumbs in the form of grants and purchases of rectories impropriate, small priories, and other parcels of landed property. The land sales were their great opportunity; and eagerly did they crowd the sales-commissioners' offices to pick up land assessed at ten or twenty pounds a year in value, which would form the basis of a new family fortune and a new social position.

While the responsible authors of policy were making England officially Protestant and were looting the state to their hearts' content, the great masses of the people, except the town artisans already referred to, were opposed to the new religion. In the southwestern counties they even took up arms against the new Prayer Book in 1549, since it provided for services in English, which took their minds off their prayers and devotions during the service as the unintelligible Latin service had never done. This rebellion spread rapidly through England, and kindled into flame agrarian discontent in the eastern counties, especially in Norfolk. Seymour, the Lord Protector, hesitated to deal with the agrarian revolt with proper severity, because he realized that the rebels had just grievances. Dudley declared that such hesitation was treason, and by pressing this charge he was able to depose Seymour from his office and deprive him of his control of the council. In January of 1552 Dudley was able to bring against Seymour new charges, entirely without foundation, and by fraudulent means to obtain an order from the King for his execution. In this wise Dudley came into complete control of the government. Not satisfied with his present power, he planned to perpetuate it. Knowing that the Princess Mary, Henry VIII's eldest daughter by Catherine of Aragon, and designate-successor to Edward under the will of Henry VIII, was a fanatical Catholic, who would never permit the continuance of Protestantism and would certainly reverse the confiscation of the bishoprics which was then under way, he planned to prevent her accession after Edward's death. On the ground that Henry VIII had provided for the succession by will, Dudley persuaded Edward that he had the same power to do as his father had done. The circumstance that Henry VIII had taken care to secure parliamentary authorization for his will, while Edward had not, was not mentioned. Edward accordingly set aside the succession as determined by his father,

in favor of the beautiful and learned Lady Jane Grey, a descendant of Henry VIII's sister Mary; and to secure his own power, Dudley married Lady Jane Grey to his own son, Sir Guilford Dudley.

Dudley realized that he had aroused strong opposition against himself, because he was trying to make himself the founder of a new dynasty, and, even more importantly, because he was so greedy that he seemed to wish everything for himself. He already was taking the bishoprics into his own possession without going through the formality of having the state acquire them first, and the property of individuals might be marked for seizure next. To save what they had from Dudley, the council united against him when the young King died in 1553; and although Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed in London and held her position as queen for nine days, they soon aided Mary to enter the city in triumph. John Dudley was arrested and soon after executed as a traitor. Some of those who went to Mary's support were animated by the magic of the Tudor name; but most of the really important men in the council declared for Mary because Dudley's overweening greed and avarice convinced them that their chances to keep what they had were better with Mary than with him. It is fair to add that the personal fear of Dudley was coupled with apprehension of French predominance, which Dudley had furthered, and with dread of an invasion by the Emperor Charles V in favor of Mary, his cousin, in case she were kept from her rightful inheritance.

The decision for Mary did not imply that the council and the nobility and gentry had surrendered the government; it was rather a means to keep its control. Some concession was, of course, to be made to Mary's religious prejudices; and to the Catholics at heart, this must have been welcome. But on the other hand, these shrewd, hard, unspiritual men from the first refused to discuss the validity of their titles; and the question of the Papacy was odious to them. They instinctively felt that the papal authority would call their titles into question. "Parliament is not going well," wrote an ambassador in London to his government, "and there is difficulty about religion, the pope's authority, and the restitution of church property; so much so that a conspiracy has been discovered among those who hold that property . . . who would rather get themselves massacred than let go of the abbey lands." In Mary's first Parliament, her House of Commons bargained with her. There should be no difficulty about declaring the legality of the marriage of

her mother, if she would consent to say nothing about the papal authority. Under the persuasions of William Paget, one of the smoothest of the council, and of the Emperor, the Commons even voted back the old doctrine as it had been in the time of Henry VIII by 270 votes to 80. The Emperor Charles V, who took it upon himself to advise Mary, would have been willing to have Mary ascend her throne under a pledge not to meddle with religion; and if Mary had been content to stop with the restoration of the Henrician system, her settlement might have been permanent and lasting. But Mary would not be satisfied with the ousting of Protestantism and the return to the doctrine of the medieval church. She insisted upon the reversal of the separation from Rome and the reaffirmation of the allegiance of England to the Papacy.

The Roman church was somewhat improved over the pagan renaissance institution from which Henry VIII had separated the English church. It was being reconverted to Christianity by a line of genuinely religious popes; it was working out a consistent statement of doctrine and dogma in the Council of Trent and was to publish them authoritatively in 1563; an aggressive body of devoted missionaries, the Jesuits, had come into being to reconvert Protestant lands and to convert heathen peoples in the colonial world to Roman Christianity. These things had, however, no effect upon Mary; and even without them she would have insisted upon a return of England to her obedience to the pope. There came to Mary's aid in this task another single-minded zealot, her own cousin, Cardinal Reginald Pole. He started for England carrying a commission from the Pope to secure the return to the church of the monastic lands and other confiscated property; and this task he was enthusiastically prepared to perform, in spite of the fact that he himself recognized that the nobles were opposed to the restoration of the papal authority because of their holdings of church lands. The Emperor stopped Pole and kept him cooling his heels for many, many months in his dominions until concessions should be made by the Pope.

Meanwhile, the touchiness of the ruling classes in England on the subject of their land titles was shown again in Parliament when it met in April, 1554. A bill for the revival of the bishopric of Durham, recently suppressed by Dudley, and the restoration of its possessions to the revered Bishop Tunstall stuck in the House of Commons, causing great murmur and noise about the restitution of even so recently suppressed an

estate. In the excitement a bill was introduced into the House "that the Bishop of Rome nor any other bishop shall not convent any person for any abbey lands"; and it was laid aside in the House of Lords only after assurance had been given that landowners should not be disturbed. Still more significant, the pliable William Paget seriously opposed a measure dealing with treason against Mary's husband, Philip, "because Lord Rich assured me that the intention of it was to wrest the goods of the church from those who hold them."

In May, 1554, Pole fully realized that "nothing remained but the restoration of church property demanded by the Pope," and that there was no hope whatsoever that this restoration would be made in the last session of Parliament. In October the Emperor clearly told Pole, who was getting very restive under his enforced delay as the Emperor's guest, that Pole and the Pope must consider well how far they could go in removing the impediments to a settlement connected with church property, since this was the most important consideration, as the Emperor knew from his experience in Germany. Men of this sort, he told Pole, cared little about the matter of doctrine, as they had no belief one way or another. A week later King Philip, the son of Charles V, and the husband of Mary, wrote on the subject that the whole difficulty consisted in this, that Pole's powers concerning the disposal of the former church property were not as ample as desired, and that to give universal satisfaction it would be requisite for the Pope to send a new brief to Pole in more ample form. A few days later the imperial ambassador in England went over to the continent to see Pole to ascertain whether he had full power, and was not satisfied until Pole showed him a papal bull in which the Pope guaranteed to ratify anything Pole did. When Pole protested at seeming to buy England's obedience with church property, the ambassador was sympathetic, but insisted that it must be done. Early in November Mary sent an English embassy to Pole, to tell him "that the greatest and only means to procure the agreement of the noblemen and others of our council was our promise that the Pope's Holiness would at our suit dispense with all possessions of any lands or goods of monasteries . . . without which promise it had been impossible to have their consent and shall be utterly impossible to have any fruit and good concord ensue."

After Pole finally reached England, King Philip went to him in person and told him that it was impossible to effect

the return to the obedience unless the holders of this church property were allowed to retain its actual possession; and in their turn Parliament and the Convocation of the clergy petitioned Pole in the same spirit. Finally, the great act of Parliament authorizing the return to Rome, entitled, significantly enough, "An act repealing all articles and provisions made against the see apostolic of Rome . . . and for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity," made every effort to guarantee land titles. It has long and elaborate clauses dealing with lands, including the petitions of the Convocation and of Parliament to Pole, as well as the text of the papal bull of dispensation.

Through all this Pole was foolish enough to think that he might, in spite of everything, recover much of the old property of the church. He steadfastly refused to enter into any compact not to make the effort, in order that, as he told his friend Cardinal Morone, he might later acquaint the holders of their duty in the matter. He refused to insert the words "that they might be able to retain their property without any scruples of conscience" into his dispensation, in order that it might be clear that he gave permission "on account of the hardness of their hearts" and to "leave in their minds a goad." He was as eager as ever to recover the property, the titles to which he had just guaranteed.

Pole had already insisted to King Philip that their Majesties could not allege the reasons which had been urged for the laity for the retention of what church property the crown still enjoyed. Philip replied that it was their Majesties' intention not to retain any part of it unless they could do so with a clear conscience. After the return to Rome had been accomplished and Parliament dissolved, Pole returned to the charge and spoke to their Majesties again about church property held by the crown. Its return was resolved upon at last; and the matter was referred to a committee of the council to decide which lands were suitable to be returned, having regard for the burdens of state expenditure. The Privy Council at once planned to wreck the business. It was four months before any action could be bullied or nagged out of the council, "English noblemen having endeavored to thwart it perhaps from unwillingness to be invited by this example." Some eight hundred impropriate rectories among other things were to be turned over to Pole for the church's use; and holders of this class of

church property, the small gentry especially, were alarmed when asked to sanction the surrender by act of Parliament, lest at some future period they, by virtue of this act of Parliament, should be compelled to make a similar concession. Parliamentary assurance of the royal renunciation was obtained only by the use of strong-arm methods. Fifty members of the Commons were summoned to the royal presence, where Pole assured them and removed "the suspicion of anyone's being ever molested or troubled on account of church property held as private individuals," backing up Gardiner's earlier declaration that the malicious report, that her Majesty insisted on everybody's surrendering their church property as she had done, had never been thought of. Finally, an all-day debate was held in the House of Commons, the doors were closed, and no egress was allowed until the bill had been voted.

The suspicions of the holders of ecclesiastical property, so difficult to allay, had been aroused, in part at least, by the policy of a new pope, Paul IV. Though it was at that time unknown in England, there is a report that he insisted to the English ambassadors in Rome on the entire restitution of church property, since his authority was not so large that he might profane things dedicated to God. Shortly after this he issued a sweeping annulment, in the form of a bull, of all alienations of all church property, even though sanctioned by former popes. This bull created consternation in official England, especially when some English merchants in Italy saw to it that copies for public consumption reached England. Philip, Mary, and Pole were most concerned, even though they held from the beginning that England was not comprised in the terms of the bull. One leading official, however, took care to have his monastic spoils confirmed by special papal dispensation. Eventually in October, 1555, a second bull from the Pope's Holiness was received, which confirmed the "doings of my lord cardinal touching assurance of abbey lands." Much mischief, meanwhile, had been done; and this was not bettered a year and a half later by the "election" of William Peto as Bishop of Salisbury, and his being foisted on England as a cardinal with special powers to take Pole's place. More dissatisfaction was created by the reinstitution, in 1555, 1556, and 1557, of nine or ten religious houses and monasteries, endowed with nearly £4000 of land a year—each new erection a threat to titles—and by the revocation of leases made from the bishoprics by the "heretic" or Protestant bishops of Edward VI's time. On one

occasion Stephen Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, had to cut out a confirmation of such leases from a bill in the Lords with a pen-knife. The whole trend of English history had been away from Rome, and with these measures and events the resumption of the normal course, in spite of Mary's ardent desires, was made inevitable.

The real situation is expressed with extraordinary clarity in a report on the state of England made to the senate of Venice in April, 1557: "It is indubitable that externally and in appearance the Catholic religion seems day by day to increase and take root. . . . These things are done either from fear or to deceive . . . for they would do the like by the Mohammedan or Jewish creed were their king to evince belief in it. . . . On these grounds many persons who are more in their confidence are of the opinion that, could they feel sure of not being molested about church property held by them, when a little more accustomed to the present religion, they would adapt themselves even to that; but they are still afraid of being one day or another compelled to give back all or part of it, the cardinal at the beginning not having chosen to give a dispensation as desired by them, but leaving it to their consciences (early or late) to do what they pleased. This fear is increased by what they see done daily by the Queen, who, on account of such monasteries as are reëstablished and for other religious purposes, unscrupulously gives back this sort of property although incorporated with the crown; so, as most of her subjects are interested in this matter, they think there is no safe remedy than again to destroy the monasteries and return to their former condition." The report goes on to state that Elizabeth, should she succeed Mary, would immediately reverse what Mary had done, and even in case she did not abolish the Catholic ceremonies and use of the sacraments, they would be put back into the state left by Henry VIII, and "above all, she would withdraw the obedience to the pope."

Sterility is the chief note of Mary's reign, according to one great historian of this period; and it was Mary's return to the papal obedience which did much to render the projects of her reign sterile and without power to continue themselves into the future. To reverse the return to Rome and to make any connection between England and Rome forever impossible in the future, because it endangered their property, the leading men of England decided not only to reject the pope again as soon as Mary died, but also to reject the central doctrines of

the medieval church, especially Transubstantiation, upon which the power of the pope chiefly rested.

As in religion, so in foreign affairs Mary's policies were doomed to be short-lived and to have no permanence. The house of Hapsburg was the greatest power in Europe in this age. By a series of marriages carried through by various members of the family (between Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, and their son Philip and Joanna, heiress of Spain), Charles V, son of Philip and Joanna, received the inheritance not only of the original Austrian lands of the family, but the very rich provinces of the Netherlands, comprising modern Holland and Belgium, and Spain, including a large part of Italy, the New World, and northern Africa; and he was elected to the imperial purple besides, which had become practically hereditary in the family. Mary herself was, of course, a Tudor, but she had abiding connections with the house of Hapsburg. Her mother, Catherine of Aragon, was the aunt of Charles V, the Emperor. He had aided her mother in her resistance to Henry VIII's attempt to declare her marriage void; and Mary, out of a sense of gratitude to him and because she felt that a close connection with the powerful Hapsburg house would give permanence to the changes which she had made, wanted to tie England closely to the Hapsburgs by an alliance.

Even more fundamental was the tradition that English business interests were best served by an alliance with the rulers of the Netherlands, the center of the English woolen cloth market of the great company of the Merchant Adventurers. At least since Edward III's reign the importance of England's economic connections with the Netherlands had influenced government policy. Henry VII was concerned with these economic interests, when he negotiated the Intercursus Magnus in 1496; and Henry VIII had them in the back of his head, when he joined the Emperor as an ally in the wars with France. But the trade had often been closed, due to friction between England and the Hapsburg rulers of the Netherlands; and Mary recognized the value of a permanent alliance with the Hapsburgs under the form of a marriage between herself and Philip II, the son of Charles V.

The Hapsburgs, on their side, were eager to make the arrangement also. Charles V's inveterate enemy was Francis I of France; and it was Charles's purpose to check Francis by encircling him with a series of Hapsburg lands under various princes of the family, bound together by the tie of family.

His plan envisaged a ring around France, made up of the Empire and Italy on the east, Spain on the south, and the Netherlands and England on the north and northwest. He was, therefore, actively interested in winning Mary's hand for his son Philip. England was to become a part of the sea empire together with Spain, the Netherlands, and Italy under Philip's control; and, ultimately after Philip's death it was to be joined permanently with the Netherlands under the son of Philip and Mary, while Spain and Italy were to go under the rule of Don Carlos, Philip's oldest son by another woman.

Much as the friendship and trade of the Netherlands were valued in England, the Spanish match, Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain, was unpopular. This was so, first, because all foreigners were disliked in England in the sixteenth century, and secondly, because of the conditions of the marriage treaty under the terms of which Philip was co-sovereign with Mary. He was King of England as long as she was Queen. He would have liked to arrange to hold the crown permanently; but old Stephen Gardiner, who was released from his long imprisonment during Edward VI's reign and made Lord Chancellor as one of Mary's first acts, did not like the marriage from the beginning and insisted on inserting a clause into the treaty stipulating that if Mary died without children, Philip's right in England was to cease, and the union between England and the Hapsburgs was to end. In that way Stephen Gardiner preserved England from following many another country and province into the Hapsburg net. The marriage was so unpopular at the outset that three revolts actually flared up against it; the first, led by Sir Peter Carew to set Mary's sister Elizabeth and Lord Courteney on the throne; the second, led by the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, in her favor; and the third, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, who actually succeeded in penetrating into London. These revolts are an indication of the unpopularity of the marriage of Mary with a foreigner; but the real hostility against Philip really developed later, when he dragged England into a war with France on the side of the Hapsburgs, in which England lost Calais, her last remaining stronghold in France.

There is a most delicious irony about the whole diplomatic situation in connection with this war. In 1555 Giovanni Piero Caraffa became pope as Paul IV. He was eighty years old, and his mind was still filled with the fiery Italian patriotism of his youth. He remembered the time when Italy had not

been subject to the foreigner. He hated all foreign princes who had taken any part in the subjugation of his beloved Italy and, particularly, the Hapsburgs, Charles V and his son Philip, who were masters of most of the country. Now he resolved to use all his powers as pope to expel them. Although Charles and Philip were the two greatest defenders of Catholicism in Europe, the abuse heaped upon them by the vicar of Christ is absolutely classic. They were rogues, heretics, scelerats, heretical tyrants, and enemies of God; Charles was a devilish soul in a filthy body; Philip was a simpleton. They gnawed the vitals and drank the blood of the poor; their people were heretics, schismatics, an accursed race, the vilest nation, the dregs of the world, a mongrel race of Jews christened a week ago. When Philip refused to surrender Italy at the Pope's behest, Paul IV made an alliance with France to drive him out. In the war which followed between France and the Pope on one side and Philip on the other, England was induced to take part. Ten thousand English troops under the Earl of Pembroke joined Philip's army in France. It must have been a curious sight to see the serried English, Dutch, and Spanish ranks celebrate mass in the morning and pray for the safety of the pope, and then march out to battle to smite the Pope hip and thigh.

Paul IV's hatred of Philip was bestowed on his wife Mary also. To annoy Mary, who had just brought England back to the papal obedience, Paul IV revoked the legatine powers of Cardinal Pole and ordered his return to Rome, where a certain charge of heresy awaited him. Mary refused to allow him to obey the summons; and in retaliation, Pole's best friend, Cardinal Morone, was arrested by the Pope and cast into the prison of the inquisition on a charge of heresy. The suspicion of heresy, brought so closely home to Mary, and partly justified in Pole's case, caused Mary and her government to attempt to prove their zeal by redoubling the persecutions for heresy, which, common occurrences in all countries at this time, were already going on in England. In the course of the hideousness of these persecutions, nearly three hundred men, women, and children were burned at the stake, including Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Bishop Latimer as well as artisans and agricultural laborers. These burnings at the stake have earned for Mary, in later times, the sobriquet of "Bloody Mary" and have been used by historians to explain the future hostility against Spain and the reaction from the Marian reli-

gious settlement. Englishmen would not tolerate the church, they say, which sanctioned Mary's inhuman cruelty; and they hated a country like Spain which supported such a church. In Elizabeth's reign people actually did rationalize their hatred of Spain on these grounds, but there is no contemporary evidence to show that the persecutions of heretics were unpopular in Mary's own time. The Privy Council, the House of Commons, and the local authorities took eager part in hunting out and burning heretics; they were as deeply involved in the cruelty as Mary; and yet it was they who led the cry against the Marian settlement. They were influenced not by horror at Mary's executions, but by the fear of the loss of their monastic and church lands.

During the course of the war English arms were not particularly glorious. In 1558 the French stormed and captured the city of Calais, which had been in English hands ever since its capture by Edward III in 1347. The news was received in England as the tidings of a great national disaster. The loss of Calais, which was a real gain because of the heavy national expense of maintaining the garrison there without any return, was considered the direst calamity which had ever befallen any country. There was a very widespread feeling that England had been made to suffer in the interests of Philip and the Hapsburgs, and that England's future policy must be directed by herself, free from any foreign alliances or entanglements. The men who stood ready to conduct the government as soon as Mary died made independence from Philip and the Hapsburgs almost as important a part of their program as the rejection of the Papacy.

Mary's passionate hope was for an heir born of her body to carry on her work; and had the child, which she confidently announced after Philip's last visit to England, been born, it would have been more difficult for the council to carry through their plans to renounce the Spanish alliance and to separate anew from the Roman church. For Philip would have been regent in England, and he would have acquiesced only after a defeat by arms. But the swelling of her body, which Mary had accepted as proof of her coming motherhood, was really the dropsy, which presently caused her death. By a strange coincidence, her decease was followed within a few hours by that of Cardinal Pole and, within a few weeks, by that of a number of the Catholic bishops.

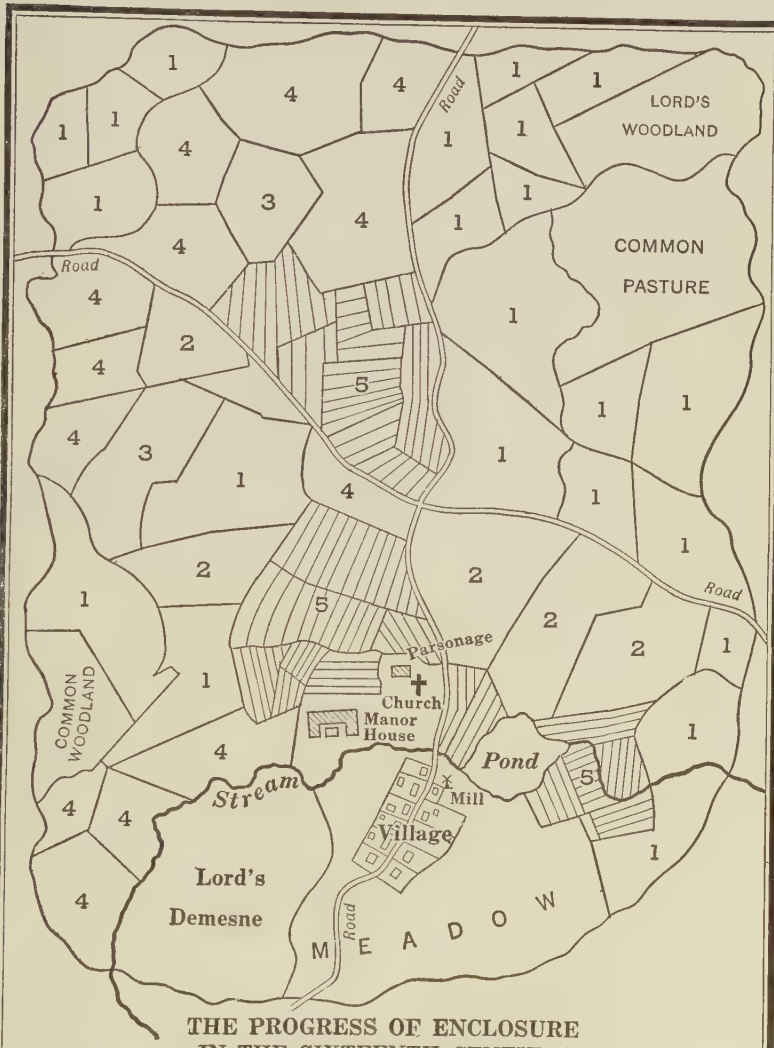
Elizabeth, Henry's second daughter, was Mary's successor

under Henry VIII's will. Because she had been suspected of being implicated in the early plots against Mary, she had long been in disfavor, but later Mary treated her, if not with sisterly love, at least with consideration. As it became certain that Mary would have no heir and that her death was approaching, certain members of the council and a number of the leading men of England, especially William Cecil, who had been out of public life in Mary's reign because she distrusted him, went to Elizabeth and explained to her the things that were necessary in religion and politics. So amenable did she prove under their instruction that her accession was welcomed by the council and by all the great magnates, while the populace acclaimed her as they would have any Tudor prince. The accession of Elizabeth under the auspices of William Cecil and his friends meant the continuation of the great monastic beneficiaries in power, and the adoption of those policies in religion and politics suited to their interests.

Economic Changes and Social Reactions in the Sixteenth Century

While the political classes were concerned with the problems of religion and foreign relations, the working classes or "the poor" were falling into the most fell clutches of circumstance. In part as a result of the working out of the policies of Henry VIII's and Edward VI's governments, and in part as a result of the economic changes by which the great landowners were enriching themselves, they were becoming utterly wretched and miserable. In this connection first certain changes in agricultural life must be considered.

Agriculture was the business of the great majority of the people. Land was still cultivated, as in earlier times, by a great variety of tenant farmers and owned by a comparatively small number of landlords. There was this difference over the preceding century, that for the monastic corporations and the feudal barons had been substituted the aggressive, greedy "new men" of the Tudors. They were not interested in political power given by the system of retainers, which had fallen before the centralizing tendencies of the Tudors. The widespread peace and order within the land gave scope for a new spirit of commercialism, the use of the land to its fullest advantage for making money. A series of important developments tending toward greater net production had come to fruition, adding new



THE PROGRESS OF ENCLOSURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Showing (a) the enclosure of the waste and common pasture by the lord for arable and sheep farming; (b) the enclosure of strips in the open arable fields by the lord for sheep farming; (c) the enclosure of strips in the open arable fields by peasants for improved arable farming; (d) survival of strips in the open fields not yet enclosed.

1. Enclosed arable farms } on Lord's Demesne
2. Enclosures for sheep }
3. Enclosed farms held by Robert Johnson, a peasant
4. Other enclosed fields for either arable or pasture farming held by peasants or by the lord
5. Strips in the open fields not yet enclosed

wealth to English society. The benefits were reaped chiefly by the upper classes, and certain of the changes reacted disastrously upon some of the tenant farmers.

A hundred years before, perhaps about 1450, a movement had begun among the villagers in some parts of England to break down the old communal rights of all over the meadows and pastures, and over the plowed fields during that part of the year from harvest to seedtime. They often exchanged their strips in the arable fields with each other, so that compact holdings were formed, and then agreed that in the future these new compact farms should not be subject to any of the old rights of pasture after harvest, and enclosed them with hedges. In this way an escape from the old collective husbandry was made in some villages in certain parts of England, especially in those districts where there was a growing industrial population, which created a demand for larger amounts of food, such as Somerset, Wilts, and Norfolk with their woolen cloth manufactures. The more aggressive spirits, freed from the old restrictions, could experiment with new methods and new crops. Often the lords themselves, especially the new men more affected by the commercial spirit, took the lead here and not only made great improvements in agriculture, but opened up trade across country by river, tried new inventions, and sunk mines for minerals upon their land.

Changes of this sort were strides in progress and never occasioned wretchedness; but a more important aspect of the commercialization of the land was the substitution of the raising of sheep for their wool in place of the growing of grain, or the conversion of arable land to pasture. This was a process which had begun much earlier on many manors where the lords' demesne lands could be consolidated into single fields.

Conversion of land from arable to pasture was marked by the disappearance of the old communal rights of the village to use the fields as grazing grounds during part of the year for their cattle. The outward symbol of this change was the planting of a quick-set hedge to keep the flocks in, and the neighbors' cattle out. Through the loss of grazing rights hardship often came to the poorer villagers, who had eked out part of their livelihood during the summer months through the pasture of their cattle on the common waste, and during the winter months on the open village fields.

A cognate development was the growing tendency of the lord to appropriate the common waste, set aside for the use of the

whole village, as sheep grazing ground and the deprivation of the villagers of their rights to cut wood and pasture cattle there. It is fair to note, however, that much land hitherto uncultivated was brought into use and plowed to wheat to make good the losses of the old arable area. Pasture farming required less labor than was needed in arable farming. There seems to have been a labor shortage in some parts of the country, which led the landlords to take the easiest way; but in many districts laborers were displaced and forced to leave the village. In some cases they found work in the growing woolen cloth industry, which was spreading from cottage to cottage in East Anglia and the southwestern counties; but in others they became beggars, roaming over the roads.

Another factor in the development of the extensive sheep-walks was the lords' practice of increasing their own holdings by refusing to renew leases to their tenants, except at much higher rents. The tenants were often forced off the land to join the jobless agricultural laborers, their cottages pulled down, and their fields enclosed and added to the pastured area. While the landlord who followed this device stood to gain much, those who did not do so, lost. For the value of money was decreasing, that is, prices were rising rapidly in England from the latter 1530's onward, as will be explained more fully later in this chapter; and everywhere landlords were finding that though they had the same money income from their rents, its value was less. Therefore, "gentlemen doe so much studie the increase of their landes, enhauncing of their rents and so take farmes and pastures into theire owne hands." It was their only escape from a fixed income in times of rising prices.

The lord's seizure of the waste as his exclusive property, his withdrawal of his own demesne lands from communal use after harvest, and the eviction of tenants in order to provide more land for his sheep were bitterly resented. Moralists, such as Sir Thomas More and Bishop Latimer, spoke of the ill-fated land, where sheep ate men. In nearly all the popular risings of the early sixteenth century the agrarian note is very strong, especially in the Norfolk rebellion of 1549. The attitude of the government to these changes is curious. Long lists of statutes all through the sixteenth century, ostensibly forbidding enclosures (as the process was called), show a very active interest on the part of the government in the matter. This interest is explained by the fact that enclosures furnished materials for discontent and rebellion, against which the Tudor state

was ever on guard. But apart from its interest in internal peace and order, the government was interested in preventing changes and maintaining things as they were, because on stable social arrangements rested the machinery of the government. For example, the new landlords were interested in the largest net income, but the government in the largest gross product for purposes of taxation. At the same time the Tudor state was the political expression of the landowning interests, and the government had to consider their advantage. It happened, therefore, that while the government tried to restrain the changes in agriculture and to mitigate cases of individual suffering, it could not seriously even try to check or stop them. So it satisfied itself with periodically forbidding any further enclosures in the future and ordering a restoration in case of such changes as had been made during recent years, a provision which in fact legalized all previous changes. In the middle of the century after the fall of Edward Seymour, the Lord Protector, the lords of Edward VI's council went back on Henry VIII's agrarian policy, which had sought to slow up or discourage the transformation of the ancient manors from arable farms into sheep-walks. After the agrarian revolt in Norfolk in 1549, Dudley and his friends gave unrestricted facilities to the landlords to proceed with such changes; and as a result hundreds of agricultural laborers and small farmers were expelled from their native villages and compelled to flock to the slums of the large cities, or to wander over the country as beggars for whom there was no work, before Mary resumed the more usual government policy.

Of even more acute effect upon the poor was the debasement of the coinage. In 1544 Henry VIII began the systematic debasement of the English coinage, in order to make a profit from the transaction, to help to pay the great war costs of the war with France. The value of gold was raised by proclamation from 45 to 48 shillings an ounce, that is to say, that henceforth an ounce of gold was to be coined into 48 instead of 45 shillings. At the same time the fineness of the gold in the coins was lowered from 24 carats to 23, then to 22, and finally to 20 carats. The existing coinage of the country was called in to be recoined, and new money was issued out of the mint in exchange containing from one to four carats alloy. The gold replaced by the alloy was the king's profit. It amounted to as much as 94 shillings and 6 pence on every pound weight Troy of gold recoined. The silver coinage, which was in more

common use, was even more debased, until it contained four ounces of silver to eight ounces of alloy in every pound Troy.

By this process Henry VIII made a profit of £363,000 during the remainder of his own reign, while Edward VI's government by the progressive continuance of the business made a profit of £650,000 before the end of 1551. In all over £1,000,000 were taken out of the English people in this dishonest way between 1544 and 1551, an amount greater than the revenues of the monastic estates and the crown lands in the same period.

The evil did not stop with the original robbery. The first great result was a universal rise in prices of commodities. Merchants and tradesmen refused to accept the debased coin at former values and raised their prices in such degrees as enabled them to receive approximately the same amount of fine gold or silver for their wares. Thus an article costing one silver shilling before 1544 would probably cost three shillings, containing each four parts of silver and eight parts of worthless alloy in 1546. This rise in prices reacted seriously upon the government, which was a great purchaser of commodities. It had to accept its revenues in debased money, since unlike the tradesmen and merchants, it could not revise its tax schedules and rent rolls except by cumbersome processes taking a long time. Its payments for purchases had to be made on the new scale of prices almost at once. The only remedy was further debasement, until public opinion became so hostile that the government of Edward VI feared disturbances and revolt. Mary's government did not renew the process of debasement. It even contemplated the restoration of the coinage to its former value, but this was not actually carried out until Elizabeth's reign.

To recoup itself for the higher prices, the government of Mary began to raise the rents of the crown lands as leases fell in and thus initiated a movement of keeping up the crown rents to the real levels of the real value of the land, which was followed all through Elizabeth's reign and was one of the devices which kept Elizabeth's financial problem from becoming acute until very late in her reign. Mary's councillors also revised the official values upon which customs duties were levied and, by virtue of the royal prerogative, imposed new duties, called imposts, upon the most important commodities of English commerce, beer, wine, and cloth. This method of raising and increasing the revenue was used not only by Elizabeth, but by James I. It was in the field of government finance that the most constructive and lasting work of Mary's reign

was done; and while her successors rejected her religious and foreign policies, they followed the lines of her financial reforms closely, which helped to keep to Tudor revenue system functioning for another half century.

The worst reaction of the debasement of the coinage was not upon the government, but upon the working classes in town and country, who formed the great bulk of the population of England. They had to purchase their food, clothing, and other necessities at increased prices, but they had to accept their wages in debased money. Unlike the merchant who could keep his wares until he got the price he wanted, the laborer could not withhold his perishable labor from the market with any success. In later centuries working men learned to combine into trade unions to withhold labor *en masse* through the device of the strike and to stipulate for higher wages through collective bargaining. To the sixteenth century laborer, however, there was no recourse except to accept what was offered. When this became so small in terms of real value as no longer to give a livelihood, many workers simply left their jobs and became beggars, in the feeling that they could at least get as much by begging as by working.

The effects of the debasement of the coinage were very sharp and acute (comparable with the effects of the currency inflation in Europe after the end of the Great War), but they probably ceased to operate after the restoration of the coinage by Elizabeth. Prices did not, however, fall to their old levels, because, even before the debasement took place, there was already beginning to be felt in England another set of economic phenomena, slow, gradual, and irresistible in their action, which permanently and completely revolutionized the medieval levels of prices all over Europe. It is because of this development that it is so hard to form any idea of the meaning of prices in the Middle Ages in terms of modern money. The whole matter is closely connected with the exploitation of rich gold and silver mines, first in Germany, and then in Mexico and Peru. It has been estimated that in 1500 the stock of gold in Europe was worth $475,000,000, and the stock of silver was worth $300,000,000. Between 1500 and 1600 there was mined $300,000,000 worth of gold, and $875,000,000 worth of silver, which was added to the existing stock. Such an increase in the precious metals, in days when gold and silver were almost the only form of money, meant a great decrease in the value of money and a sharp increase in prices. The new gold and silver

showed their influence first in Spain; but as they were carried northward through Europe along the avenues of trade, they had the same results in France and Germany. A little later, in the late thirties and early forties, the first effects of the new bullion began to be felt in England. In the most general way prices rose from this cause from an average of 100 in 1500 to 105 in 1550, to 199 in 1600, 331 in 1650, and 363 in 1700; and those commodities which entered most largely into the cost of living advanced even higher, to nearly 400 in 1700. Wages, however, lagged behind, so that their purchasing power in 1600 was only 47 per cent of what it had been in 1500, and only 40 per cent in 1650.

These price increases entailed the gravest social consequences. They were advantageous for some classes and disastrous for others. Until a new equilibrium was reached between the cost of living, wages, and commodity prices, merchants, farmers, and landowners were enabled to make large profits through low wages, high prices, and high rents. They were enabled to transfer a more considerable part of England's wealth into their own control than ever before, to embark in new commercial ventures on a grand scale, and to display an ostentation and magnificence in their lives unknown in earlier times. It is not an accident that the first modern large scale commercial enterprise, the Muscovy Company, began in Mary's reign, or that noblemen and gentlemen began to build country houses rivaling royal palaces of former times, and that farmers built good houses and lived well.

The Tudor governments were much concerned by the problems of poverty created by the economic developments of the century. The Tudor state grew up out of the disorders of the fifteenth century; and the great evil to be avoided, in the eyes of Tudor sovereigns, was the resumption of local disturbances. This feeling was given reasoned expression in the ideal of the "well-ordered state," in which every individual fitted into a certain place into which God had called him. The social organism functioned perfectly only so long as every individual was properly adjusted and, as soon as maladjustments occurred, it was incumbent upon the government to interfere to set things right. In this way the government became responsible for the individuals of the state and their welfare and was obliged to alleviate wretchedness and suffering.

The substitution of sheep-walks for farms and the great rise in prices brought the Tudor governments face to face with two

great social problems; first, the sturdy valiant beggar, rogue, and vagabond, who would not work because it was not worth while, and secondly, the unemployed villager, for whom there was no work on the sheep-walk which had once been a farm. From the latter part of Henry VIII's reign to the end of Elizabeth's reign parallel series of laws dealt with these problems. In general they endeavored to relieve the impotent, sick, and aged by alms, to provide employment for the able-bodied who honestly wanted work, and to compel the vagrant beggars to accept employment. As a first step funds were ordered to be collected in every parish church by the church wardens in alms-boxes on Sundays, and from these funds materials were to be purchased to set the unemployed to work, and alms distributed to the aged and infirm. As for those who refused to work and preferred to beg, they were soon ordered to be reduced to involuntary servitude, either for life or for a certain time, and to be branded with a "V" for vagrant in case of temporary duress; or "S" for slave in case of life-long slavery. In 1552, inasmuch as the collections in the alms-boxes were not large enough, two collectors in each parish were appointed to have lists of needy persons in the parish and to "gently ask and demand" regular gifts from the well-to-do. Those who refused to contribute were to be exhorted by the parson and, if still obdurate, were to be sent for and admonished by the bishop on the duty of Christian giving to the poor. In 1555 Christmas was selected as the season when promises or pledges of the annual contributions to the poor fund were to be made. At the same time the problem of finding work for all paupers was so great (especially in view of the bad seasons and crop failures of this year) that it was provided that, if the parish could not support its poor or provide work for them, they might have licenses and badges for begging. Each parish was to be responsible for its own poverty; but, if begging was necessary, it must be under government authority. All other beggars were most severely dealt with by whippings, the stocks, and other forms of discouragement.

The legislation of the middle Tudor period formed the ground work for the more elaborate Elizabethan laws on the same matters, which found their most complete expression in the Statute of Apprentices of 1563 and the Poor Law of 1601. These statutes regulated the labor supply and assured an adequate number of laborers in agriculture, in preference to the less important commerce and industry of the time; they provided

for the training of workers by apprenticeship; they fixed maximum wages; they forced vagabonds and sturdy rogues to compulsory employment when there was need for their work; and they dispensed relief to the impotent poor, and endeavored to provide work for the unemployed. These provisions remained the basic laws of the English labor code until the early part of the nineteenth century and carried on and safeguarded the tradition of the well-ordered state of the Tudor period.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER VIII

(See also General Works and the books suggested for Chapters VI and VII)

Political and Narrative History.

A. F. Pollard, *The Political History of England 1547-1603.*
R. Davey, *The Nine Day's Queen, Lady Jane Grey.*
M. Haile, *Life of Reginald Pole.*
C. Markham, *Edward VI.*
A. F. Pollard, *England under the Protector Somerset.*
J. M. Stone, *Mary I, Queen of England.*
R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century.*

CHAPTER IX

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

England in the latter part of the sixteenth century presents a colorful and brilliant picture. At the head of the state and of society stood the red-headed queen, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII, with her father's shrewdness, violence of temper, tact, and instinct for popularity, surrounded by the youth and beauty of the realm. In her court only a few of the pre-Tudor noble families were represented, owing to the decay of the old houses and the activity of Henry VIII's headsmen; but their absence was more than compensated by the new nobility that was being created from the Russells, the Dudleys, the Herberts, and other scions of those aggressive lawyers who had done so much to aid Henry VII and Henry VIII to create the modern national English state. No country or noble family, but felt itself honored to have its sons and daughters at court as pages and maids of honor; no nobleman, but felt his fortune made if only the Queen gave him favor. Often frivolous, often shilly-shally in her policy, giving her personal affection to worthless scapegraces, such as the Earl of Leicester of the Dudley family, who is suspected of having caused the death of his wife, Amy Robsart, in order to be able to marry Elizabeth, she yet had the wisdom and loyalty to follow the guidance of great councillors. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was Lord Treasurer during most of the reign, Francis Walsingham managed Irish and foreign affairs and the intelligence department, and Nicolas Bacon held the lord chancellorship. Elizabeth might swear like a trooper and kick off her slipper into Walsingham's face, she might hold up state business for a week at a time in a fit of pique with Burghley, but she always respected their advice, and most of her policies seem to have been originated and decided by them. Among them Burghley was the leader. In his plans Burghley was often hindered by Leicester and was perhaps too passive to suit Walsingham's aggressiveness in foreign policy, but by and large his was the policy which guided the English government through the Elizabethan period.

Burghley, Walsingham, and Bacon were all members of the Privy Council, a body of twenty or more heads of the departments of state. They were the most regular attendants at the council meetings, and through the council they worked their wills in the state. Their great objects of policy in foreign affairs were the assertion of national independence from Spain and the protection of the independence of Scotland from France, and in internal affairs, the rehabilitation of government finance and the establishment of a basis of thought for domestic unity. England was not safe if all Englishmen did not believe the same thing and did not share one common interest in religion, the great unifying force in life, as was believed in the sixteenth century, without which the country would be given over to internal brawls; England was not safe if Scotland went to France, or if the Spanish connection were resumed.

The Establishment of the Anglican Church

Caring little about religion one way or the other, Burghley and his fellow members of the Privy Council were chiefly concerned that the civil dissensions of Germany, growing out of religious differences, should not be repeated in England; that the rich loot of the church which they had acquired should rest securely in their own possession; and that such restorations of property as had been made to the church by Mary should be recovered by the crown, so as to help the government revenues. The two last considerations made a continuance of the restored papal authority impossible in England, as had been amply proved by the events of Mary's reign. On the other hand, the belief of perhaps a majority of the people in the old faith made a thorough-going Protestantism impossible also. A compromise solution had to be found, which would reconcile the financial needs of the government, the material interests of the holders of monastic estates and church property, the devotion of great masses to the Roman Church, and the fanatical zeal of the various types of Protestants, who persisted in spite of Mary's persecutions and were constantly increasing in number even during her reign.

The new government proceeded rather slowly, as if feeling its way to find the necessary solution of its problem. The Protestant leaders who had been in exile on the continent during Mary's reign were permitted to return almost at once and to sow such "bad seed" in their sermons, that at least ten

Protestant sects developed in London in a short time, all bitterly opposed to one another. In several churches the practice of celebrating the Mass under the forms used in Edward VI's time was adopted, and the litanies were sung in English. Though these changes were unauthorized, the government did not stop them, perhaps because it wished to study the popular reaction. Elizabeth herself, in so far as she had any religious interests, liked the beautiful ceremonies of the Roman church, had Mass said in her private chapel, and even had a crucifix there before her accession. Since the dogma of Transubstantiation, the Roman doctrine of the Mass, was so directly connected with the papal control of the church, it was natural that the government should make its first move against the Mass in its Roman form, with its doctrinal implications. In the Mass, the host (the sacred wafer) was elevated by the priest at a certain point in the ceremony; and by this act, if the host were the actual body and blood of Christ, as held in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, Christ was crucified anew for the remission of the sins of the congregation. The omission of the elevation of the host implied a rejection of the belief in the miraculous transformation of the sacred wafer at the hands of the priest. In Elizabeth's chapel, therefore, at the beginning of the reign the host ceased to be elevated; and, in the public services, Elizabeth left the service at the Mass as showing her renunciation. She also permitted sermons against the pope's power to be preached in her presence. These were full of arguments proving that the pope had no authority and their purpose was to convert the people to this view by the denunciation of the Holy See. The Roman bishops and other church officials of Mary's time continued, however, to carry on their duties; and the government, taking the public stand that it was eager to determine the fundamental truth in religion, even called a public conference or debate between the leading Roman bishops and doctors and the Protestant theologians in the end of March, 1559.

Meanwhile, the Privy Council, now reorganized with seven new "Protestant" members in addition to eight "Catholic" members who continued from Mary's time, was considering how far it might safely go in the matter of establishing religious changes. It finally decided to introduce three bills into Parliament; one, restoring to the crown the first-fruits and tenths and the monastic property returned to the church by Philip and Mary, the second, reëstablishing the royal supremacy over the church, and the third, ordering uniformity in services. The

act restoring first-fruits and tenths was voted in the House of Lords unanimously except for the bishops, and later the government had no difficulty in securing the passage of another act enabling the Queen to exchange certain less valuable crown properties for any property of any bishopric which happened to fall vacant. Owing to the number of vacancies in the bishoprics in 1559, since ten bishops died between September 1557 and the end of 1558, Elizabeth was enabled to unload a mass of undesirable and unproductive crown property upon the bishoprics in exchange for good estates. On the basis of these, incidentally, together with the tenths, first-fruits, and the recovery of property surrendered by Mary, the use of the new customs revenues instituted by Mary, and subsidies from Parliament when they could be secured, Elizabeth was able by dint of economy to stall off any financial crisis until after her death. The act of Supremacy was opposed by two temporal peers in addition to the bishops, and the act of Uniformity was opposed by nine temporal lords besides the bishops. In other words, while there was a very general unanimity of opinion about the settlement of former church property and the rejection of the Papacy, there was real opposition to any new forms of worship, or their imposition by the government.

In matters of belief the government did not even attempt to come to any conclusion at this time. Immediately, in 1559, the only doctrinal stand taken by the government, apart from the renunciation of Transubstantiation by the Queen, was implied in the enforcement of public worship under the forms of a revision of Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer, the theological connotations of which, however, were so ill-defined and vague that a man could determine them almost as he wished. It was not until five years later that a doctrinal statement of the state religion was set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles. Even then, these were so loosely worded that nearly all varieties of Christians could accept them.

The act of Supremacy was perhaps the best illustration of the compromising temper of the government. Instead of the title of Supreme Head which her father had assumed, Elizabeth was given the title of "Supreme Governor as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes as in temporal," and an oath of allegiance to the Queen in that capacity was required. Accompanying the instructions issued for the taking of the oath, there was a note explaining that this title did not give to the Queen the ministering of God's word or sacraments, but only the

prerogative that she should rule all estates and degrees committed to her charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil. In other words, the Queen did not deny any powers to the pope which ancient church councils and notably the 217 bishops of Africa including St. Augustine did not deny to the Bishop of Rome in the fourth century, but the spiritual power was subordinated to the civil state, and in purely temporal concerns the pope was to have no further rights in England. In view of this explanation, many good Catholics, including John Feckenham, abbot of the newly established monastery of Westminster, took the oath and accepted the new religious settlement as in no way incompatible with their Catholicism. It was not until 1570, when instructions to this effect were issued by the Pope, that the best Catholics found the oath intolerable and the new settlement obnoxious.

In general, the widest latitude was allowed in matters of belief. Much more stress was put upon the observance of the national forms of worship and submission to the national sovereign in the interests of unity than upon any dogma or article of belief. Persecution of those who refused to conform was not punishment for disbelief, but punishment for treason. Religion was merged with patriotism, and disobedience was "not a singular sin," but "the whole puddle and sink of sins against God and man." All but the extremists on either side could accept the Elizabethan formulae and service, and the government did not "make windows into men's souls." Though few concerned with the establishment of the Anglican church had much real zeal, there developed in the next generation of Englishmen a genuine devotion and love for the new church.

More than any other country in Europe, England had rest from religious brawls in this time. Some extreme Protestants refused to wear the gowns and vestments provided for by the church, until Archbishop Parker exhibited life-sized models showing how preachers ought to be robed and issued a book of *Advertisements* stringently ordering the observance of the forms to which objection was made. Other extreme Protestants disliked the current interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles and the episcopal form of church government. Their leaders, Cartwright, Dering, and Charke, were professors in the university of Cambridge in the years after 1570, and while they made no headway against the bishops in favor of Presbyterian church government, they did succeed in introducing the Calvinist theology in the explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles. The Protes-

tants who refused to accept the Elizabethan settlement were relatively few in number during Elizabeth's lifetime. Such as were obnoxious to the government were dealt with by a body known as the Court of High Commission, which exercised in the name of the sovereign the powers conferred upon her by the act of Supremacy. Their real importance is in the next period, and this fact has led to an overemphasis upon their activities in Elizabeth's reign.

Catholics were at first little interfered with. Recusancy laws provided for fines upon those who refused to attend the services of the Anglican church, but these were not enforced, and Catholic services were winked at. As the new generation grew up which looked upon the Prayer Book with a reverence unknown to Burghley and Russell, it became apparent to the more fanatical Catholics that unless they were willing to be lost in the mass of Anglicans, they must strike for the restoration of their ancient faith. The first attempt was made by the northern Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland in 1569, who were, however, merely using the protective coloring of religious zeal among great numbers of people in the north of England to further certain economic and social aspirations. In a sense the Earls desired a return to the conditions of the fifteenth century, before the growth of the royal power had reduced their local importance, as much as religious changes. Even among the mass of the rebels there were economic grievances, which played as important a part as religious motives. The spirit of revolt was aided by the Pope, who actually declared Elizabeth deposed in the famous bull, *Regnans in Excelsis,* and made it impossible for the loyal faithful to continue to abide by the oath of allegiance and remain good Catholics. Some promise of help was given by the King of Spain in retaliation for English aid to his own rebel subjects in the Netherlands; but this did not materialize, because Philip II was occupied with the Dutch and the Turks. Elizabeth was successful in crushing the revolt. She nipped later plots, such as that of 1572 to marry the Duke of Norfolk to Mary Stuart, her cousin and rival, and to place Mary on the English throne. Foreign intervention to bring about Elizabeth's deposition was frustrated also.

The small Catholic party was more determined to save its religion than ever. An English Catholic seminary had been founded at Douay in the Netherlands in 1568 to train priests for service in the English church. On its expulsion from the Netherlands by the Spanish general, Requescens, who sought

the friendship of Elizabeth through this act, it removed to Rheims in 1578, where it developed a new activity and sent forth many priests to reconvert England. In the next year Pope Gregory XIII founded the English College at Rome, soon afterwards William Allen was appointed cardinal, the Jesuits joined the seminary priests in England, and a very determined effort was made to win the land back to the old religion. The Pope did his best to aid the movement by stirring up the Irish to rebel against English misrule and actually sent about eight hundred soldiers to Ireland. In Scotland, during the same period, Esmé Stewart attempted a Catholic revival by gaining a personal ascendancy over the young King, James VI, and executing Morton, the Protestant regent. The English government adopted repressive measures to deal with the situation. Many of the priests and Jesuits were executed, new recusancy laws were passed imposing a fine of £20 per month for refusal to attend the Anglican services, and a new intolerance against Catholicism was developed among the people. The collapse of the whole Catholic movement was so complete as to reveal how few men there really were in England who cared anything about the pope or even the old faith. Something of the same thing is true of Scotland. The net result of the Catholic movement of the early 1580's seems to have been to create a new hatred of Catholicism, which was so intense and lasting that for more than a century afterward it was possible to disguise any bad cause with the cloak of religious hatred.

Foreign Relations

Very intimately connected with the internal problem of the settlement of religion was that of foreign policy and English independence. National states were not yet firmly established institutions in mid-sixteenth century Europe. The traditions of universal or at least international sovereignty were too old and too strong not to be reasserted, and the attempt to do so was made by the Hapsburg dynasty and by the house of Valois in various forms.

The aspirations of the Valois house, which ruled in France, directly affected England. Not satisfied with the traditional alliance between France and Scotland, the dominant French statesmen had married Mary of Guise, a leading French princess, to James V of Scotland. After the battle of Pinkie in 1547, which was the culmination of a campaign to reduce Scotland to a

union with England, the young daughter of Mary and James was taken to France to be reared and married to the dauphin, who was to become king as Francis II; and Mary of Guise took over the regency of Scotland. There seemed to be danger that Scotland would become a vassal state of France, a French point of attack upon England. This danger was rendered the more serious by the fact that Mary Stuart, the Queen of Scotland, and Queen of France as wife of Francis II, was also, in the eyes of some Catholics, the rightful Queen of England. She went so far as to call herself Queen of England on the ground that she was the nearest legitimate successor to Queen Mary Tudor, through her grandmother, Margaret, daughter of Henry VII and mother of James V. Opposed to the rule of the French interest in Scotland were the poor Scottish nobles, who wanted to plunder the church in imitation of every other country affected by the Reformation. They colored their anti-French nationalism and self-seeking greed under the name of Protestantism. Led by John Knox, they organized a formidable rebellion against Mary of Guise and her French advisers. Although the English government was poverty stricken, the removal of the Catholic French influence in the northern part of the island was so much desired that Elizabeth agreed to aid the Scots in expelling the French, provided that the Scots should continue to recognize their Queen. Elizabeth had no intention of setting an example of aiding subjects against their rightful rulers. The revolt against the dominant position of the French succeeded, partly because the very able regent, Mary of Guise, died in June, 1560, and partly because civil war broke out in France in March, 1560, and prevented effective French action against the rebels. Mary Stuart, the Queen of Scotland, refused to accept the treaty of Edinburgh made in her name by the rebels, under the terms of which the French troops were withdrawn; but the death of her husband, Francis II, and the civil wars in France made it impossible for her to revive the French interest. Shortly afterward she returned to Scotland and assumed her kingdom, but the real power in Scotland was John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation. They carried out the terms of the treaty, completed the Reformation in Scotland, and gave England a national Protestant bulwark against French and Catholic intrigue from the north.

The frustration of the Valois ambitions was a major factor in Hapsburg policy. Charles V, the great Hapsburg Emperor of the first half of the sixteenth century, recognized clearly

the impossibility of his own international state; and when he resigned his many crowns in 1556 and entered the monastery of St. Just, he left Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands to his son Philip, who was already King of England as the husband of Queen Mary. On Mary's death without heirs of her body, Philip's rights in England ceased; but he returned to the charge, and about six weeks after Elizabeth's accession, he proposed marriage to her. Though very profitable in some ways because of the intimate relations thus established with the Netherlands, the great market for English goods, the union with Spain under Mary had involved England in a war with France, in which Calais had been lost. Although Calais was of no use to England, and its loss was a great saving to the national treasury, contemporary opinion regarded its capture by the French as one of the greatest calamities which had ever befallen England. It was not desired to continue the union which had brought such disaster. Moreover, such a connection with Spain might make effective a bar across the seas against the expansion of English trade into the New World, which was already interesting the Carews, the Dudleys, the Tremaynes, the Killigrews, and other west-country families. Philip was accordingly rebuffed by Elizabeth, but was not permanently discouraged in his plans by Elizabeth's refusal. There remained all through the reign the danger that Philip might try to establish a Hapsburg control, not from any mere love of conquest, but because England occupied a strategical geographical position. Philip had originally married Mary to complete the Hapsburg encirclement of the Valois; and as long as England was situated as she was in relation to France and the Netherlands, Philip was interested in her affairs, and even at times in conquest.

Elizabeth was saved from an immediate struggle with Philip by circumstances which tied Philip's hands in Europe, and Burghley's careful policy of peace with Spain and cultivation of the national resources made it possible for England to fight on more equal terms when the struggle came.

The Middle Period of Elizabeth's Reign

Peace abroad and internal quiet were the positive concerns of the government during the middle period of Elizabeth's reign. Yet with these very policies the interests of the most influential classes in the state conflicted, and certain commercial developments stood in their path.

The rising prices of the century were affecting the wage-workers more and more as the reign of Elizabeth went on. Unlike the landlords, the wage-earners had no way of compelling a higher money wage to meet advancing costs of living. Under these circumstances many joined themselves to wandering bands of vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and puissant rogues. They could at least steal enough to eat, and they could not earn more. Their vagrancy not only alarmed the government of Elizabeth because of the possibilities it afforded of riots and disorders, but, as the century advanced, it seriously threatened the labor supply in agriculture. Antivagrancy laws with whipping at the cart's tail, antiloafing laws compelling any man to work for him who offered work, maximum wage laws to ensure that wages could not be raised, poor laws to keep the population in being, apprenticeship laws to provide trained workers in agriculture in preference to any other craft or profession were expressions of the government's concern with the agricultural problem. While the situation never became critical, it did require constant attention and drew to itself an enormous amount of energy which might have been used otherwise. The enclosure movement also continued and occasionally required consideration. Far more perplexing to the government than agricultural problems, however, were certain activities in overseas trade.

The capital of the nation was London, a city with over ninety thousand inhabitants at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. It had entered upon a period of remarkable growth in the beginning of the century, and this continued so rapidly that two years after the death of Elizabeth the population of the city and its suburbs was nearly two hundred and twenty-five thousand. Many of the inhabitants were craftsmen, and it was due to the desire of great numbers of them to escape from the old gild restrictions which prevailed inside the city walls that the suburbs were settled. These industrial workers, together with thousands of others scattered in small industrial villages in East Anglia and in the southwestern counties of Somerset, Gloucester, and Wiltshire, were engaged in large measure in making goods for the export trade conducted by the great London merchants. Long before the reign of Elizabeth the merchants of London had ranked with the nobles and talked on equal terms with kings, and ever since the reign of Edward III they had known how to use their power to advance their privileges and rights. For the most part they were engaged in

legitimate trading ventures, not as individuals, but organized into powerful trading companies, such as the Muscovy Company, which had the monopoly of trade with Russia, the Baltic Company, which traded with the Baltic lands, the Levant Company, which traded with the Turkish Empire, and the British East India Company, formed on the last day of the sixteenth century to trade directly with India. Older than these companies were the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers. The Merchants of the Staple declined in significance as the export of raw wool decreased through its use in home manufacturing; and their rivals, the Merchant Adventurers, engaged in exporting partly manufactured cloth to the continent, grew constantly richer. So powerful did the Merchant Adventurers become in Elizabeth's reign that, in 1578, they succeeded in breaking up all the privileges of the Hanseatic Merchants of the Steelyard in London; and so extensive was their export business in cloth that, it may almost be said, the whole industrial life of the country depended on it. The individual members of the company were also members of the Muscovy Company, of the Levant Company, which met in the Merchant Adventurers' hall, and of the British East India Company, whose first minutes were written in an old letter-book of the Levant Company.

The Netherlands, where the Merchant Adventurers conducted their sales, were subject to Philip II when Elizabeth came to the throne. In 1568 trade between England and the Netherlands was ordered suspended by Philip II's government, and for some years trade was at a standstill. There was brought home to the English ministers anew what had long been known, the importance of the Netherlands for English commerce and industry; and there seems to have been the beginning of the realization that Philip II must be driven from these countries, if he were hostile to England.

The prohibition of English trade to the Netherlands in 1568 was closely connected with another set of overseas activities, engaged in by adventurous west-country men from the small seaports of Devon, in which the courtiers and even the Queen herself had a share. For a quarter of a century past, these coasts had been the refuge of pirates who preyed upon the rich Spanish ships which approached the channel. While some of these daring men still continued their piracies in the channel, against which the Spanish ambassador protested continuously only to receive vain promises of suppression from Elizabeth,

the most daring of them all, John Hawkins, set out in 1562 to explore the possibilities of taking slaves from Africa to Spanish America. This was a trade monopolized for fiscal and humanitarian reasons by the King of Spain, Philip II, who was also the ruler of the Netherlands. The Spanish planters in America were eager to buy slaves from anybody; and Hawkins' right to sell to them was incontrovertible in his own eyes, because of the Intercursus Magnus, a treaty negotiated in 1496 and amended in 1499 between Henry VII and Philip II's grandfather, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, by which all subjects of the King of England were given access to the lands of Burgundy. It is evident that the treaty, made before the Netherlands (the lands of Philip, Duke of Burgundy) had been joined to the dominions of the King of Spain, had no application to the Spanish Americas. Relying on his asserted rights, however, Hawkins went out and returned with enormous profits. A second voyage was undertaken in 1565 with equally good results; and in 1567 a third voyage set out, in which two of the ships, the *Minion* and the *Jesus of Lubeck,* were supplied by the Queen from the royal navy.

Meantime, a patrol service under Admiral Menendez had been established in American waters by the King of Spain to intercept Hawkins. Hawkins eventually came to San Juan de Ulloa, the port of Vera Cruz, and entered, making his usual request to refit and to be allowed to sell his slaves to pay for provisions. Knowing that Menendez was watching for him, Hawkins set up batteries to command the town. Before long, ships came in view, which the English thought were the patrol squadron, but which in reality were a lightly armed fleet carrying the new Viceroy of Mexico. Hawkins refused to allow the Spaniards to enter the harbor until an agreement was made giving Hawkins the right to remain safely and refit; but after the Viceroy had landed, he treacherously broke the truce, set upon Hawkins, while many of his men were ashore, and forced him to flee with the loss of the *Jesus of Lubeck.*

Public opinion in England, specially in the influential court circles which had invested heavily in the expedition, was deeply stirred; and there was talk of war with Spain. Elizabeth recouped herself and satisfied public passion by seizing a consignment of treasure which was being forwarded by Genoese bankers to the Duke of Alva, Philip's general in the Netherlands. The treasure ships had put into an English port under stress of weather; and Elizabeth immediately ordered the treas-

ure to be taken into safe custody, to prevent its falling into the hands of the French pirates who infested the channel! Philip protested through his ambassador, who received no other reply than that the Queen had protected the treasure from French pirates and, therefore, had the right, under the law of nations, to borrow it for herself. Philip replied by ordering the seizure and confiscation of all the property and goods of the Merchant Adventurers in the Netherlands and the prohibition of trade between the Netherlands and England.

In this way the main lines of the antagonism between England and Spain were developed. A few Englishmen insisted on trading with the Spanish possessions in the New World, where the King of Spain claimed the trading monopoly. To protect this monopoly he put pressure on the English government, to induce it to keep Englishmen at home, by cutting off the English woolen cloth trade in the Netherlands. Either the English west-country rovers and their friends at court must keep out of the Americas, or the Merchant Adventurers must withdraw from the Netherlands. There was a third alternative, that Philip must be driven from the Netherlands.

The taste of the wealth of the New World, which Hawkins had sampled and the channel pirates had come to know, was too rich and satisfying for either the courtiers or the adventurers to relinquish at once, even in spite of the pressure of the Merchant Adventurers. The transfer of the cloth trade to Hamburg in Germany did something to keep business normal, and the west-country captains continued to visit the dominions of the Spanish King in America. The story of Francis Drake is characteristic of the activities of many others in these years. He had lost the whole of his little fortune on Hawkins' third voyage, and he dedicated the remainder of his life to collecting from the King of Spain. In May of 1572 he sailed to seize the treasure which the Spaniards carried annually from the great silver mines of Peru to Panama, transported across the isthmus to Nombre de Dios, and then shipped to Europe. He failed to get the treasure, although for a moment he was master of Nombre de Dios; but he seized huge quantities of loot and booty on the Spanish main, which he carried home in frigates captured by his little pinnaces.

Ventures of this kind, which made famous the names of John Oxenham, John Ranse, and many another captain besides Drake, had the support of a powerful war party at court, led by Francis Walsingham and the Earl of Leicester, who were confident that,

if they could bring about a war with Spain, Philip II's pretensions and power would be ended. Burghley, however, was opposed to war, because he felt that England's resources were still too meager to wage a war; on the other hand, Philip II chose to prevent an open rupture because he was too much involved with other problems throughout his empire. Eventually, in 1574, a truce was patched up between England and Spain in the Convention of Bristol, which endured for four years.

During this time the adventurers transferred their attention to the discovery of a Northwest passage to India around North America, and a number of expeditions were sent out commanded by Martin Frobisher and financed by Michael Lok. Frobisher had just brought back a quantity of black rock, which an Italian expert declared gold; and two new expeditions, in which the Queen and the courtiers invested largely, were sent out to bring the precious material home to England before it was discovered that it was worthless. In view of the failure to find the Northwest passage, however, and of the absolute lack of profits so far made out of the expedition, the temptations of America became too strong to be resisted any longer. There was, moreover, a fear in certain quarters that Burghley would soon succeed in making a lasting peace with Philip, unless some new difficulty intervened; and a strong war party, gathered about Walsingham, determined that it should.

In 1577 a syndicate of courtiers and councillors, of which the Earl of Leicester and Francis Walsingham were members, aided by the Queen, equipped Francis Drake with a new fleet to attempt a more daring raid upon the King of Spain's wealth and possessions. Sailing ostensibly for Alexandria to keep Burghley from discovering his project, Drake crossed to South America, made his way through the tortuous Straits of Magellan, and found the whole west coast of South America lying open and unprotected before the only ship which remained of his squadron, the little *Pelican*, of 100 tons and 18 guns. Rechristening her the *Golden Hind* in honor of Sir Christopher Hatton, a patron of the expedition, whose shield bore a golden hind, Drake proceeded north in her as far as 42° or 43° north latitude, capturing Spanish prizes as he went. From one ship alone, the *Cacafuego*, he took 13 chests of money, 80 pounds of gold, 26 tons of silver, and many jewels besides. Loaded down with his treasure, he set out to cross the Pacific with the guidance of some Spanish maps, and at last after many adventures he

rounded Africa and arrived in Plymouth in September, 1580, nearly three years after he had sailed.

The peace party in England had grown stronger during his absence, and on his return a council meeting was held which decided to have the whole of his vast loot registered and returned to its owners. But Drake had the wisdom to bring several horse loads of gold and silver and his finest jewels up to London; and the sight of this dazzling wealth, only a fraction of what was in the *Golden Hind*, was too much for the Queen and for Drake's supporters. Leicester and Walsingham refused to sign the order for restitution, which Burghley had secured at a council meeting from which they were absent; and the Queen supported them, even though the King of Spain's ambassador was demanding Drake's head. Finally, in April, 1581, Elizabeth threw off all disguise, paid a state visit to the *Golden Hind*, which had been brought around into the Thames, and knighted Drake on his quarter-deck. In vain did Burghley work for peace with Spain, with the restitution of the plunder as the first step. Drake was the great popular hero, the public was dazzled, and the war party in the ascendant.

The influence of the war party grew with the realization that now, if ever, was the time to strike at Philip. For Philip II was on the point of strengthening his already extensive power by the annexation of Portugal, since the death of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, with the flower of his chivalry in battle against the Moors at Alcazar Kebir in 1578, and the death of his successor, the aged Cardinal Henry, in 1580, left Philip as King of Portugal with only a bastard, Don Antonio, to dispute his claims. Any peace with Philip now, based upon an admission of Philip's monopoly in the Spanish parts of the New World, could be used to justify the exclusion of English traders from the Portuguese possessions, especially along the Guinea coast of Africa, where English merchants were developing a very brisk trade. The war party threw down the gage before Philip on several occasions after the knighting of Drake and tried to force the inevitable war. Don Antonio, for example, was received in London and open aid was extended to him against Philip by the great courtiers, though Burghley was able to stop an expedition in his favor which Drake sought to organize and command. Later a second enterprise under Captain Edward Fenton was actually launched against the Spanish-Portuguese power in the Indies by Walsingham, but after an engagement with the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Santos the ex-

pedition, large and strong as it was, returned to England without success.

In the face of all these English moves, Philip II still openly preserved peace with a persistency which, it has seemed to some writers, can only be explained by weakness. His weakness lay in several circumstances. In the first place, his subjects of the Netherlands had revolted against his authority in 1569 and were not yet returned to their allegiance; and indeed it seemed unlikely that the seven northern provinces could ever be reconquered. In the second place, if he should make war upon Elizabeth and conquer her, he would be forced to supplant her on the throne of England by Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland. This was due to the fact that Mary Stuart was looked upon in Catholic Europe as the rightful sovereign of England, and Philip II was the leader of Catholic Europe. On the other hand, Mary was not altogether acceptable to Philip II as a successor to Elizabeth because of her French traditions. More than that, she was in Elizabeth's duress. After a rather scandalous career in Scotland, during which a second husband had been murdered, and his murderer accepted as her third, Mary had been forced to flee from Scotland and had thrown herself on the protection of her dear cousin Elizabeth, who had at once clapped her into prison and kept her there.

It may be that what has been called "weakness" was merely reluctance on Philip's part to increase his many activities, since time would take care of things. And certainly time seemed to be on Philip's side. For in the year 1580 all things seemed to be working together for Philip's good. The Irish were carrying on a great rebellion, Esmé Stewart was restoring Catholicism in Scotland, the Catholic party in England seemed on the point of seriously embarrassing the government. The crown of Portugal had come to Philip, and success seemed to be approaching in the Netherlands. He would soon be able to turn his energies and attention to the effective control of the New World, and the permanent exclusion of the Merchant Adventurers from the Netherlands would so weaken the strength of England as to make her easier to bring to terms.

In the years which followed 1580, Burghley realized the critical position into which England had been forced by the exuberance of the war party and their hostility to Philip II, and by Philip's growing strength. The whole council acted together to take steps to give security to the English interests. The fangs of the Catholic movement at home were drawn by

hanging every seminary priest and Jesuit that could be found and by new severity against Catholics in general. While open war against Philip was still impossible, "underhand" war could be waged safely enough, and Elizabeth waged it with a vengeance. One freebooter after another was launched against the Spanish main, large sums of money were lent to the Dutch, and the aid of France was enlisted for the rebels by a very curious courtship which Elizabeth carried on with the Duke of Alençon, the brother of the French King. Even though the Duke was small, mis-shapen, pock-marked, with a huge swollen nose, twenty years younger than the Queen, Elizabeth invited him to London, exchanged rings with him, discussed the marriage contract, and shed tears at parting from him, as he betook himself overseas to place the resources of France, now England's ally, at the disposal of the Dutch rebels. At last, Philip's successes, culminating in the assassination of the Prince of Orange, the great leader of the Dutch rebels, the death of Alençon, and the threatened collapse of the whole Dutch rebellion, together with the realization of the meaning of all this for English interests in commerce and industry, resolved Elizabeth to open war. The Earl of Leicester was sent to the Netherlands with a force of six thousand English troops—not many, but more than Elizabeth could afford. Francis Drake was sent to plunder the Indies, and Mary Stuart, implicated in a plot against Elizabeth, was beheaded. Exasperated by these events, Philip at last resolved to strike and prepared the Great Armada to end English interference with his interests and opposition to his power.

Philip's preparations were on the most magnificent scale, but before they were completed, Drake, who had spread terror through the Spanish main in 1585, was loosed with a squadron to check him. He plundered Cadiz, burned part of the Spanish fleet in Lisbon harbor, intercepted some transports from the Mediterranean off Cape St. Vincent, destroyed the tunny fishery on which the Spanish fleet was mainly dependent for its supplies of salt fish, and captured the *San Felipe*, the King of Spain's own East Indiaman, valued with her cargo at £114,000. At the same time the English merchants led by the Greshams bought up bills of exchange against Spain on the Bank of Genoa to such amounts that Philip found credit so tight that the completion of the expedition had to wait until next year. In May, 1588, the Great Armada was ready. It consisted of about 130 vessels, registering nearly 58,000 tons, carrying 2,500 guns,

19,000 soldiers, and 8,000 seamen. Its object was to force the channel, destroy the English fleet, and cover the landing of a great army gathered for this purpose under the Duke of Parma in the Netherlands. In spite of its size this fleet contained but thirty-two major ships which were exclusively naval vessels, while forty large merchantmen fitted with temporary castles were joined to these to make the main fighting force. The English navy was far superior, not in number or size of ships perhaps, since the Spaniards had four more capital ships than the English and a larger tonnage of merchantmen and auxiliaries, but in the fact that for many years past, under Hawkins, Gonson, and Wynters, the English admiralty had been building up a very efficient fleet of the latest types of fighting units, equipped with all the improvements which the experience of the freebooters brought into being. In speed, for instance, the English ships outclassed the Spaniards. In the matter of guns the English navy, which under the influence of Drake was abandoning the secondary batteries, used for boarding, in favor of increased main batteries, had a very heavy preponderance over the Spaniards in the weight of metal that could be thrown. This was true in case of both the capital ships and the auxiliaries. Besides all this the English had the advantage of proximity to their base and knowledge of the terrain.

On July 19, 1588, the Armada was sighted off the Cornish coast, and a running fight ensued, in which the Spaniards were decidedly worsted in the engagements near Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight and finally took refuge in Calais roadstead. Driven from their anchorage by fire ships, the Spaniards retreated northward into the North Sea; and before they could re-form, they were attacked by the combined English fleets off Gravelines. The whole Spanish fleet was in danger of destruction or capture, in spite of the fact that the Spaniards fought with great heroism against superior guns and superior organization, when a squall blew up, followed by torrents of rain, which made further firing impossible. The squall lasted but a quarter of an hour; it foundered at least one great Spaniard, but gave the main body of the fleet time to reorganize their formation and to fly to the leeward of Dunkirk. The English did not attempt to follow. Their munitions were exhausted, but their victory was won. To the lee of Dunkirk, Medina Sidonia, the Spanish admiral, could not form a junction with Parma; and, above all, the English fleet was still in being. Driven northward by the gale, with the English hanging on their flanks, the unfor-

tunate Spaniards seemed to be given over to destruction. Some foundered on the Zealand banks; and it seemed that all must be destroyed there, relentlessly driven by the gale, when the wind eased, and the remnant of the fleet came together again and stood out for the deeps of the North Sea. As they returned around the back side of Scotland and Ireland, other ships were wrecked, their unfortunate crews were slaughtered by the natives or hanged by the authorities; and only half of the Great Armada ever got back to Spain.

All Europe was astounded by the greatness of the English victory, while in England itself a new national spirit of unity and pride appeared, with Elizabeth as its personification. English independence was assured. There was no danger that Philip II would ever try to recover that throne which Mary Stuart, disinheriting her own son James, had bequeathed to him in her will. The defeat of the Armada did not, however, completely end the sea power of Spain, and it did not usher in a period of unbroken English victories. The English war party, headed now by Leicester's nephew, the Earl of Essex, clamored for the destruction of the Spanish colonial empire, and in face of his zeal even Walsingham seemed timid. An expedition of 1589 urged by Essex's party to restore Don Antonio was a failure. Walsingham's death in 1590 left Burghley in supreme control of the state, and the war languished. An expedition led by Hawkins and Drake to the West Indies in 1596 (on which both these great sea-dogs died) was a disastrous failure, and Elizabeth's nomination of Burghley's son Robert as Secretary of State definitely ended the hopes of Essex for a renewal of active fighting, even though a last brilliant dash was made to Cadiz to destroy the shipping in the harbor. Although actual warfare now ceased, peace was not made until after Elizabeth's death. Meantime, the Irish, taking advantage of England's necessities, had renewed their rebellion, which they had begun under Philip's tutelage back in 1579, when Philip, taking a leaf out of Elizabeth's book, waged underhand warfare on her through her Irish subjects and taught the Irish the meaning of national united action against their English Queen. This Irish rebellion held the Elizabethan government by the feet and completed the financial bankruptcy of the government, which the Spanish war began.

The stakes of the war with Spain were somewhat different from what is generally assumed. It had not been planned far in advance by Philip to restore England to Catholicism, or to

make England a province of Spain, as is often asserted. His only concern with England was to keep her traders and freebooters out of the colonial world, to protect the ships of his subjects against her pirates, and to stop the assistance which was being given to the Dutch rebels. It is probably true, that once the war was begun, Philip did resolve to stop all further trouble from the side of England by annexing the country as a Spanish province and by restoring Catholicism; but there is no evidence that these things were objects in themselves; they were only means to the end of protecting his rights in the Netherlands and America. The conquest of England and the suppression of Protestantism would never have entered Philip's plans, if he had not been provoked by what seemed to him the audacious English presumptions. It is worth noting that, while Philip was unsuccessful in subduing England, he did not open Spanish America to English traders; and the monopoly of the Spanish crown was recognized in the treaty of 1604, by which the war was concluded. The Merchant Adventurers were readmitted to the trade of the Netherlands, but during their absence there had come into existence a cloth-manufacture which seriously competed with their product for the markets of Europe. England gained nothing which could not have been gained by negotiation after the expiration of the Convention of Bristol, and at the same time the nation had been compelled to spend immense sums to pay the costs of warfare. These were so large that, taken together with the costs of the Irish rebellions which ensued during the course of the war, they wrecked the financial system which Elizabeth had inherited from Henry VII and Cromwell. As a result, she bequeathed to her successor, James I, a financial problem which he found impossible to solve.

While no material advantages can be laid to the credit of the war, and while national independence and the Protestant religion were never really at stake in the sense that war was necessary to their preservation, the war did have certain very important psychological reactions on the English spirit. The victory over the Armada and other spectacular exploits released a feeling of self-confidence and exultant courage and provided legends and heroes of national strength and power. Under the force of this new spirit, the finest cultural contributions of the age were energized into being, and the High Renaissance ushered in. Edmund Spenser, Christopher Marlowe, and William Shakespeare, together with a host of men who, in any other age, would be illustrious and are less remembered only because the

greater lights dim their own, caught the new consciousness of victorious national pride and produced their great works under its spell. The sons of country gentlemen went to Europe to be educated by a grand tour of Italy and brought home, not only better table manners, but the taste for beauty, which made artistic work possible through their patronage, subsidized poets, and built country houses so magnificent that they are still used as models in this later age. But it must not be forgotten that the spirit of pride and exaltation does not grow in a milieu of poverty. The abundant wealth and leisure, which nourished culture, came from the increased product of England's fields, the growth of her woolen manufactures, and the activity of her merchants in overseas trade in Russia, in the Baltic, in the Netherlands, and, at the very end of the reign, in India.

The Elizabethan age is a notable period. As part of its development there came new problems of finance, religion, politics, and society, which were postponed in their solution to bear bitter fruit in the next age.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER IX

(See also General Works and the books suggested for Chapters VI, VII, and VIII)

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

E. P. Cheyney, *History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth.*

M. A. S. Hume, *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth.*
Treason and Plot.

CHURCH HISTORY.

H. N. Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement.*

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CHAPTER X

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

With the death of Elizabeth in 1603, the Tudor dynasty came to an end. The crown passed to James VI of Scotland and I of England, the first King of the Stuart line in England. The kings of this house were

James I, 1603-1625
Charles I, 1625-1649
Interregnum
Commonwealth and Protectorate, } 1649-1660
Charles II, 1660-1685
James II, 1685-1688
William III and Mary, 1688-1702
Anne, 1702-1714

James VI of Scotland and I of England was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the great-grandson of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, who had married James IV of Scotland in 1502. Although the will of Henry VIII, approved by Parliament, provided that the succession should go to the descendants of Henry's sister Mary in case Elizabeth died without children, Elizabeth was much opposed to the Earl of Beauchamp who represented that claim and probably regarded James of Scotland, her first cousin twice removed, as the best person to succeed her. She did not, however, arrange for any one to take her place, but is said to have whispered James's name on her death-bed. Whether she did or not makes little difference; the crown of England is not disposed of by death-bed whispers. Before Elizabeth died, the Privy Council seems to have decided upon James as Elizabeth's successor, in spite of Henry VIII's will with all its force of law; and on the day after her death it extended a formal invitation to James to become King of England. Charles I was the son of James I. On the execution of Charles I in 1649, a period known as the Interregnum set in, which was ended in 1660 by the return to the throne of Charles II, the son of Charles I. James II was the brother of Charles II. William III was the son of the Prince of Orange and Mary, the daughter of Charles I, and sister of Charles II and James II. He married Mary, the daughter of James II, who was joint sovereign with him. Anne was the second daughter of James II.

The Development of Constitutional Theory and Practice from the Region of Henry VIII to That of Elizabeth

In the days of the Tudors there had grown up in England a feeling of the identity of interests of all classes in society, so

that all the people who counted politically looked upon themselves as members of a single "body politic." In this "commonwealth" the king was the head of the state. He was "annointed to be a defense unto the people, that they be not oppressed nor overyoked, but by all godly and politic means to seek the common wealth of his people." He had "universal dominion," that is, vast and undefined powers, but these could rightly be used only for the common good and not for the advancement of the crown as an end in itself. The king was the greatest single individual in the state, but though "major singulis," greater than all individuals, he was still "universis minor," less than the whole body of his people.

The institutional expression of the state was the "crown-in-parliament," or as we say, Parliament, where the king as head and the lords and commons as members were conjoined and knit together in a great assembly or court to determine the common interest. It should be noted that the king was as necessary a part of the Parliament as the House of Lords or the House of Commons, and no one of the three parts could act without the others. Since every Englishman was intended to be present in Parliament either in person or by representation, from the king down to the lowest person in England, the consent of Parliament was, therefore, every man's consent. It was the seat of the national sovereignty, the most high and absolute power of the realm, and could do anything that ever the people of Rome might do either in the *centuriatis comitiis* or *tributis*. It was by act of Parliament that Henry VIII had secured the separation of the Church of England from the Roman jurisdiction and transferred it to himself; it was by act of Parliament that the suppression of the monasteries was begun; and, when the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace protested against the suppression, Henry VIII's indignation against those who could question proceedings authorized by act of Parliament was superb and magnificent. Parliament rendered "the absolute and royal power legitimate."

This feeling about the nature of the English state, that it was a single body politic of which the king was head and the people members, all bound together by identical interests, corresponded to the facts as they were especially in the period from the beginning of the revolt from Rome to the beginning of the great war with France and Scotland in the early fifteen forties. The simplicity of the situation lent itself well to exposition, and long after other developments had brought changes, the theo-

retical writers expounded the constitution in terms of the identity of interests of all classes. Very important among these changes was a growing separation in the ranks of the "people" into groups moved by various considerations, so that an identity of interest was no longer possible among all classes who counted politically. The "people" of the early Tudor period were preeminently the country squires and town merchants, who were often related by ties of marriage or business. In many cases the country gentleman was himself a rich merchant who had bought an estate in the country, approximated to the ideals and traditions of the social code of the gentlemen, and made a place for himself in country society. This class had provided Henry VII and Henry VIII with councillors and advisers, and the "popular" character of the government was due to this fact. With the destruction of the monasteries these advisers had been enriched by their skill in annexing confiscated estates and had been ennobled by Henry VIII or by themselves after his death, so that neither in wealth nor in social rank were they any longer on the same plane as their old friends and relatives. They were conscious of themselves as a distinct class, and while the country gentlemen looked upon the House of Commons in Parliament as the institutional expression of their interests, the new *arriviste* nobility had in the Privy Council a body through which they could run the government very effectively for themselves.

Since the crown-in-council, that is, the Privy Council, had the same powers as the crown-in-person, and no distinction was made in law between the acts and decisions of one or the other, it is hard in certain periods, especially in Elizabeth's reign, to distinguish the work of Elizabeth from that of her advisers. Closer study, however, shows that in the whole Tudor period after 1540 many of the acts and policies of the sovereign were in reality the acts of the council speaking in the name of the crown. This is no less true for the reign of Elizabeth than for the reigns of Edward VI and Mary. It was an inevitable development in the growing complexity of government, since no individual could know all the details of government and decide on specific policies requiring a large fund of technical knowledge.

The council not only spoke in the name of the king, but it guided and directed Parliament. Legislative programs were discussed and drafted in the Privy Council in advance of Parliamentary sessions; and care was taken to create favorable sentiment and to rush government measures through Parliament as

quickly as possible through the personal influence of the Privy Councillors, who were members of the House of Commons or the House of Lords. Opposition was sometimes encountered in the House of Commons even as early as the reign of Henry VIII, especially when subsidies were demanded; and there was a good deal of restiveness all through Elizabeth's reign. Yet the council kept the whip hand and gently or firmly enforced its views. This was the easier to do since Parliament was in session only for short periods at long intervals. In Elizabeth's long reign there were thirteen sessions of Parliament, meeting on the average once every three and one-half years, while on one occasion nearly five years elapsed between sessions. The aggregate of the sittings was three years, or an average of about three weeks a year. During the rest of the time the council was the government.

Apart from the shortness and widely separated nature of its sessions, there were other reasons for the weakness of Parliament against the council. The bishops and the temporal peers of the House of Lords generally had the same interests and saw problems in the same light as the council. The control of the House of Commons was simplified by the fact that as a general thing the greater part of the members of each successive House was new and without experience, the sessions were so short as to prevent any organization on the lines of modern parties from coming into being, and the practice of royal interference in elections perfected by Cromwell still continued. Lord Burghley developed an elaborate system of maintaining the government's preëminence and leadership. Privy Councillors who sat in the House and prominent members collaborated to introduce measures, to make speeches in their favor, to give the right tone to the debate, and to nominate the proper person for speaker. Since the speaker could recognize members who wished to address the House, favor the reading of certain bills, hear the desirable motions, determine which of a number of committees was to report, put the question, and declare the vote, he wielded great power. In the later years of Elizabeth's reign, the rise of the committee system lessened the prestige of the speaker; but the council still kept its influence through the membership of councillors on the committees, where they generally dominated the situation.

Freedom of speech was not yet vindicated in the House of Commons, and any attempt of an unusually bold member to take the initiative with certain forbidden subjects was rebuked

with the warning that certain matters concerned the prerogative which must not be meddled with. The royal prerogative was "the aggregate of official rights and powers possessed by the crown." It was recognized that the defined powers of the crown did not exhaust its rights, because circumstances might arise for which neither law nor custom made any provision, in which the national safety required immediate action. Under these exceptional conditions, the king acted "out of the ordinary course of the common law" for the general welfare, and in the right to act in this way lay the essence of the prerogative. Elizabeth and her council began a very subtle exaltation of these undefined and extraordinary powers of the crown. Early in the reign they began to allege that "matters of state," such as the question of Elizabeth's marriage, were strictly matters for the prerogative. By the prerogative, they claimed, the crown might set things at liberty restrained by statute, or restrain things which be at liberty. Laws might be set aside or special regulations made at the royal pleasure. Near the close of the reign Elizabeth spoke of her prerogative as "the chiefest flower in her garden and the principal and head pearl in her diadem," which she hoped her subjects would not take away and intended they should not discuss.

The four questions of most vital interest to Englishmen in Elizabeth's reign were religion, trade, the succession to the throne, and foreign policy. Although Henry VIII had settled the first three of these matters with the consent of Parliament, the tendency in Elizabeth's reign was to regard them as questions which were reserved for the crown, in which the people even in their Parliament should not meddle. When Parliament discussed the question of Elizabeth's marriage and the succession to the throne, the Queen either returned a vague answer, or sent "her express inhibition" to proceed, or even went so far in 1593 as to imprison Peter Wentworth and others for raising the question. In matters of religion, the Queen held that all religious changes and settlements were matters for the crown-in-council, and not for Parliament. Time and time again, the crown called the prerogative into the issue to stop parliamentary action in religion, and those who introduced the obnoxious bills were often imprisoned. In 1593 the Queen actually sent a message to the House of Commons, "That no bills touching matters of state or reformation of causes ecclesiastical be exhibited," and she directed the speaker, "if any such bill be exhibited, not to read it." In trade, the chief

activity of the government was in connection with the creation of monopolies, or the exclusive grant by the crown to single individuals or corporations of the right to make or deal in certain commodities. The number of such grants was greatly enlarged during the last years of the reign, and the grievances of the people against them grew apace with the increasing prices which, it was believed, they caused. In 1601 the public resentment burst into a heated debate in the Commons. One member recounted the list of the new monopolies granted since the last Parliament; currants, iron, powder, cards, ox-shin bones, train-oil (for lamps), transportation of leather, ashes, aniseeds, vinegar, sea-coals, steel, aqua-vitae, brushes, saltpetre, lead, calamine stone, oil of blubber, dried pilchards in the smoke, and many others. Upon this recital one member stood up and asked, "Is not bread there?" "'Bread,' quoth one. 'Bread,' quoth another. 'This voice seems strange,' quoth a third. 'No,' quoth Mr. Hakewell (the original questioner) 'if order be not taken for these, bread will be there before the next Parliament.'" So great was the confusion which followed, with the crying and coughing down of speakers, that Mr. Secretary Cecil got up and lectured the House, stating that their conduct was more fit for a grammar-school than a Court of Parliament. But the Queen, hearing of the disorder in the House, gave a great example of that Tudor tact which so endeared her to her subjects. Instead of standing firm on her prerogative and lecturing as her secretary had done, she yielded so gracefully as to seem actually to be doing the Commons a great favor. Ending the debate, the House of Commons humbly craved pardon for the extravagant speeches which had been made and voted an address of thanks to the Queen,—and left the prerogative unimpaired. When the speaker of the House accompanied by some seven score members presented the vote to the Queen, she removed the last touch of ill humor by her graciousness: "You give me thanks, but I doubt me I have more cause to thank you all than you me. And I charge you to thank them of the House of Commons from me, for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of error for lack of true information. . . . Above all earthly treasure, I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit."

Such a scene was unusual, even though it was symptomatic of a growing feeling of independence in the House, which the Queen and the Privy Council noted with distress and sadness. A little group, gathered about Peter Wentworth, was gradually

forming a real opposition to the government; and, although the movement was small and uninfluential even to the end of Elizabeth's reign, its rise augured ill for the continuance of royal control. Yet as long as Elizabeth lived, the mere mention of the Queen's displeasure against a measure was generally enough to stop obnoxious legislation. If this failed, the recalcitrant members who urged or spoke on such legislation might be prohibited from attendance or committed to prison, or the bill might be sent for, or the speaker forbidden to read it, as in the case of the measures of religion in 1593. Finally, there was always the absolute veto power of the crown to destroy any undesirable bill which might possibly have passed through Parliament in spite of the will of the government.

For the most part the assertion of the power of the crown was not opposed by the great body of Englishmen in Elizabeth's lifetime. They felt that Elizabeth had identified herself with their interests, and that in her hands, or in the hands of her council, those interests were even safer than in the keeping of a representative assembly. This sentiment Elizabeth cultivated and increased by her gracious little speeches to her subjects, like the one just quoted, which were made on countless occasions in Parliament, on her progresses or visits to the various parts of England, which took place every year, and in great national crises, like the eve of the Armada. The popularity of Elizabeth was raised almost to a reverence and worship of her person, as is shown very amply in the literature addressed to her by poets, such as Spenser in his *Faerie Queene*. A second factor which favored the Queen was the long war with Spain, from 1585 to the beginning of the next reign. The conduct of the war inevitably strengthened the executive, and during the national emergency there was no wish to question the rights, powers, or policies of the government. Even in Parliament there was little inclination to resent or question the growth of the powers of the head of the body politic, that is, the crown, in spite of occasional flurries like those just instanced.

The reasons of this will be clearer when it is understood that Parliament in the sixteenth century had no modern notions of the supremacy of the legislature in the state. Among political theorists Parliament was not even a *law-making* body; it was a *court* where the final *interpretation* of the law was given. In the eyes of ordinary men Parliament was the great bulwark against high taxation, and its chief business was to prevent them from being overmuch vexed with contributions to the state.

Men still held the medieval notion that the king should live of his own resources. Only when extraordinary situations, such as foreign war or invasion, impended, could the king ask his subjects for taxes; and it was the great function of Parliament to see to it that those taxes were not excessive. During Elizabeth's reign Burghley succeeded in bullying successive Parliaments to increase the annual tax grants from an average of £35,000 a year in the early period of the reign to an average of £100,000 a year during the last twelve years of the reign. Yet even he could not induce the ready and willing payment of what had been voted. After the question of taxes had been disposed of, most men had no further interest in Parliament. Occasionally a high-minded devotee of liberty appeared in the House of Commons, but he found himself in uncongenial company, and his subsequent enforced stay in the Tower attracted little attention either in Parliament or in the country.

James I's Claim of Absolutism

Under such conditions the crown, either in-person or in-council, was almost absolute in the reign of Elizabeth. But with their common-sense English attitude, the Queen and her councillors were satisfied with the substance of power and did not insist upon defining it or explaining its origin. Above all, the divergency of interests between the gentry and the council was still so little noticed that the gentry made no serious effort to oppose conciliar absolutism. Conditions were changed by the death of Elizabeth. She was succeeded by her cousin James VI, King of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, and great-great-grandson of Henry VII through his daughter Margaret. He was a considerable scholar along several lines and a notable student of political theory. He had written on the power of kings even before he came down to England; and, as soon as he mounted the throne of England as James I, he insisted upon defining his authority in terms which went beyond anything even the council had thought of. The king was "Dominus omnium bonorum" and "Dominus directus totius dominii," the whole subjects being but his vassals. "Kings are justly called Gods . . . God hath power to create, or destroy, make, or unmake at his pleasure, to give life, or send death, to judge all, and to be judged nor accountable to none: To raise low things, and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings: they make

and unmake their subjects: they have power of raising, and casting down: of life, and death: Judges over all their subjects, and in all causes, and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things, and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men at the Chess; a pawne to take a Bishop or a Knight, and to cry up, or downe any of their subjects, as they do their money. And to the King is due both the affection of the soul, and the service of the body of his subjects: . . . For to Emperors, or Kings that are monarchs, their subjects' bodies and goods are due for their defence and maintenance." While this is very extravagant verbiage, it must be remembered that it is the extension of such power as the crown of England really had to its logical conclusion by a rather narrow and pedantic mind. James I affirmed not only that the state was absolute over its members as Henry VIII had claimed, but far more, that the king controlled the state. With such a declaration the Tudor idea of the "body politic" was destroyed, and the king was set far above his subjects. James even went on to assert that he was the "rex legibus solutus"—the king raised above the law and not bound by it except as he chose to be bound. This is a claim which no Tudor would ever have thought of making or even practicing openly.

All this represents James I's theory of his power, but not his habitual practice. In the everyday business of government the King was ready to admit to his subjects the right to present their grievances, and to the crown-in-Parliament the right to alter the laws, while the actual work of running the state passed more completely than ever into the hands of the council. Yet in critical cases the King was always ready to assert and insist upon his absolute power before his Parliament or his judges and browbeat them into submission.

James I's Theory of Absolutism

James I backed up the extreme statement of his sovereign rights, which corresponded somewhat to reality, with a curious theory of their origin, called the Divine Right of Kings. This theory had no relation to facts, but was made necessary by counterclaims of the King's opponents and enemies. The rise of the Protestant sects and of national states, which took over functions of the medieval church, brought about active inquiry into fundamental principles to give theoretical justification to the new churches and the new governments. Since the pope

claimed his power in the medieval world by direct grant from God, Luther was forced to claim just as valid a legal basis for his work; and, accordingly, he likewise asserted a divine right of power from God for the princes who helped his cause. Thus both Protestant rulers and the Papacy in the sixteenth century claimed their power by direct grant from God, and this theory of the divine origin of the power of Protestant kings was preached in England as early as the beginning of Edward VI's reign by Bishop Latimer in Edward's coronation sermon.

During the reign of Elizabeth the Jesuits had developed the theory of the divine power of the Papacy in important respects. They were the aggressive missionaries of the Papacy, who were seeking to win the revolted countries back to Catholicism, not only in England, but all over Protestant Europe. They admitted that the power of the civil rulers was of divine origin, but asserted that the will of God in choosing a ruler manifested itself through the voice of the people. The ruler or king was not subject to the supremacy of the pope; but the pope had an "indirect power," by virtue of which he had a right to intervene in the affairs of any state to correct an erring ruler. By the pope's direction the people could be called upon to rebel against their sovereign who had proved wicked and to elect a new ruler; or they might even remove him by assassination. The Jesuits developed this theory, because in most countries in which they worked the ruler was opposed to them and their religion; and they felt the necessity of justification for any efforts at rebellion or tyrannicide which they might make. They actually attempted to give practical effect to their theory in England in the plots in which they took part against Elizabeth's throne and life. Long before James came to England many Englishmen accepted, by implication at any rate, the only counter-theory which could defend the Queen from the Jesuits, the divine origin of the royal power, and its hereditary succession in the reigning family. Catholic plotting, sanctioned by Jesuit theory, continued against James I, culminating in the Gunpowder Plot to blow up the King, his family, and the Lords and Commons of the realm assembled in Parliament on November 5, 1605. The plot was foiled because one of the conspirators warned his brother-in-law not to be present at the opening session of Parliament. The nation was horrified at the proximity of the possibility of the murder of the royal family and the nobility and leading citizens all at once, and more completely espoused the doctrine of the divine origin of the royal

power, which had gradually been finding acceptance as a counterbalance to the Jesuit theory.

From the government's point of view the need for the assertion of divine right was increased by the rise of Puritanism. Ever since the Elizabethan settlement of religion there had been a few extremists on the Protestant side who objected to the conservative and moderate character of the Anglican church. In the earliest days of Elizabeth's reign, they were distinguished by refusing to accept the wearing of the white surplice over the black gown by the priest while officiating at church services. Because no one then or for years later conceived of the possibility of allowing these men to leave the church and start churches of their own, they attempted to change the church to their way of doing and thinking. They had so much influence that their motion in the Convocation of 1563 to abolish saints' days, to omit the sign of the cross in baptism, to remove organs from churches, to make kneeling at the communion service discretional, and to omit the surplice was rejected by only one vote. Within a few years those among them who continued to refuse to wear the surplice in spite of Archbishop Parker's *Advertisements*, became interested in another and more serious problem, that of the government and discipline of the church, with a view to the introduction of Presbyterianism as practiced in Scotland in place of episcopacy in the Anglican church. This movement was closely related to the interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican church in the light of the teachings of John Calvin, the great Genevan reformer. The Calvinistic views were so largely furthered by the teaching of four Cambridge University professors, Cartwright, Dering, Charke, and Sampson, between 1570 and 1574, that practically the whole clergy of the Anglican church came to accept Calvin's theology as the basis of their beliefs. While Calvinism is a system of theology and not of church government, and while bishops were perfectly compatible with the Calvinist dogma, yet Calvin himself had organized the government of his church at Geneva under elders or presbyters, one of whom in each congregation was the preaching elder or minister. The elders of all the congregations met together in synods and assemblies which ruled the church. The Scottish church as established by John Knox was Calvinist in theology and Presbyterian in government. In the period following 1572 many of the restless English churchmen urged the introduction of Presbyterianism into England.

Presbyterianism had, however, a political philosophy which

was anathema in Elizabeth's eyes. When the reformed religion was first established in Scotland, it found the government of Mary of Guise, James's grandmother, hostile; and to justify its existence against the will of the ruler, the Scottish reformers, John Knox and George Buchanan, had to invent a theory of government which made it lawful to oppose the rulers. Like the Jesuits, they became republicans, asserting that a monarch might be disobeyed by his people or even dethroned if he were not of the right mind in religion. This republican bias came down to England from Scotland in the period of the 1570's and made Presbyterianism specially obnoxious to Elizabeth. Under the stern, repressive measures of John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, this Presbyterian movement was suppressed, and not until the last years of Elizabeth's reign did discontent with the usages and practices of the established church again become important, in a revival of Puritanism.

While James I was on his progress from Scotland to his new capital, he was met by a deputation of the Puritan ministers, who presented him with a petition, called the Millenary Petition, because it was said to have the signatures of a thousand ministers, asking that certain Romish superstitions, such as the use of the ring in the marriage ceremony, the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, and the wearing of the surplice, should be given up; that holidays be decreased and the Sabbath be better observed; that abuses like nonresidence and pluralities, which still existed in the church, be abolished; that oppressive customs in the ecclesiastical courts, such as excommunication for trivial offences, be remedied; and that more attention should be paid to learning and ability to preach on the part of a candidate for the ministry. The clergy of the established church ordinarily put very little stress on preaching, but the reformers held it the most important part of the service. The Bible was, of course, the source of all truth; but this truth could not be comprehended rightly by the unlearned, but must be expounded and explained by ministers in their sermons. On the other hand, Bishop Bancroft declared that sermons were all right among the heathen as a means of conversion; but in an entirely Christian nation like England sermons were not only not necessary, but might even be harmful by stirring up doubts and differences of opinion.

James received the petition and arranged for a conference between the Puritan and the more regular divines under his own chairmanship at Hampton Court palace. After much long

oratory, Dr. Reynolds, the Puritan protagonist, made a statement in which he admitted that, like the earlier Puritans, his friends had predilections for Presbyterianism, and that the changes they asked for might be only the first step in the introduction of a Presbyterian system into England. James, who knew a good deal about Presbyterianism in Scotland and was thoroughly aware of its dangerous republican political philosophy, burst into a wild exclamation, "If you aim at a Scottish Presbytery, it agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the Devil." Picking up his hat as a sign that the assembly was dismissed, he went on: "How they abused the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it . . . no bishop, no king. Well, Doctor, have you anything more to say?" "No more, if it please your Majesty." "If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else will harry them out of the land."

James I's phrase, "No bishop, no king" contains much of his political philosophy. The alternatives to bishops were Presbyters or Jesuits with their republican theories of the fundamental sovereignty of the people, the separation of the ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions, and the strict limitation of the crown even to the point of deposition. Like the Jesuit cause, Puritanism, in spite of the enormous self-advertisement given by the fanaticism and zeal of its members, was numerically very weak. In the next year, in 1604, when stricter canons ordered conformity to the established practices of the church, only three hundred out of eighty-six hundred priests were forced from their churches or livings because of their Puritan principles. Exhaustive study shows that between 1600 and 1610 there were only about three hundred known Puritan clergy in the church, less than three per cent of the total number; the Puritan laity may have included from two to six per cent of the population. The great majority of the people were hostile or indifferent to both extremes in religion, Jesuit Catholicism, and Puritanism; and the theory of the divine right of kings was a great buckler of strength against these unpleasant innovators. The established church to which the bulk of the population adhered went beyond even the King in its assertions of his absolute and divine power, because of the recognition that in the alternative condition of republicanism under either Presbyterian or Jesuit auspices, there would be no Anglican church. "No king, no bishop" was just as true as "No bishop, no king." Fuller, in his *Church History,*

declared that "the pulpit will ever be of the same wood as the council board"; the homilies or sermons of the church taught divine right and nonresistance to royal authority; and the universities declared that even to petition for changes, however small, was the mark of a rebellious spirit.

Protests Against the Royal Absolutism

Among the country gentlemen, the two thousand or more landowners in the country who stood below the nobles, there was early a tendency to question the extreme assertions of royal power. During the reign of Elizabeth, they had grown very wealthy owing to changes in agriculture and to increases in rents and prices. They attended the universities at Oxford and Cambridge, and they traveled widely and studied public affairs and problems of government in Europe. When James virtually announced the end of the Tudor commonwealth in which the sovereignty of the state lay in the crown-in-Parliament, that is in the king and the Houses of Lords and Commons, they were inclined to resent the disregard of their representative assembly. As early as the Parliament of 1604, they protested against the new allocation of the sovereignty to the crown alone. Yet these vague sentiments were not fully developed until the exercise of absolute power by divine right threatened enough special interests, raised enough particular objections, and created enough local irritations to lead to fundamental examination of its pretensions, beginning with peculiar force in the Parliament of 1621. Effective utterance of their protests was made possible at this time by the growth of a very marked freedom of the House of Commons from royal control which had proceeded during the first twenty years of James's reign. The Privy Councillors attended the House in lesser numbers and seem more and more to have lost their hold; over against them there had appeared a group of able men, such as Coke, Sandys, Phelips, Noy, Hakewell, who, always on the offensive, were gradually getting the management of the House into their own hands, not in order to give consent to royal measures, but to obtain a hearing for their own and the nation's grievances.

Some of the first special protests against the truth or desirability of the king's absolute power by divine right came from the common-law lawyers and judges. In his native country of Scotland, James had been familiar with the Roman law, which, besides exalting the absolute power of kings, was in the seven-

teenth century a much more highly developed system than the English common law. In private conversations, he seems to have praised the Roman law to the disparagement of the common law, which was used in the ordinary English courts. In the Court of Chancery, in the prerogative courts, the Star Chamber, the Court of Requests, the council of Wales, and the Court of High Commission, and in the special commissions created by prerogative for special judicial investigations, a form of Roman law was used; and it seemed to the common-law judges that James was consciously and purposefully increasing the business of these courts to the neglect of the common-law courts. This led to an effort in 1610 on the part of Sir Edward Coke, chief justice of the Common Pleas, and other judges to claim authority to fix the bounds of all jurisdictions. Later in the same year the judges' claim to limit the prerogative took a new turn. Coke, who had become Lord Chief Justice, advised the King that he could not create a new offense by proclamation, nor make an offense punishable in the Star Chamber not by law within its jurisdiction. In other words, Coke and the other judges challenged the right of the King to alter the common law at his own pleasure and thus set himself above it. Over against the sovereign king, they set the supremacy of law, by which even the king was bound. Their efforts were due in part to a narrow and even superstitious reverence for the common law of England, with which they were familiar, in part to the fear of the loss of business and fees in their own courts, but also to the fear that the king's interference with the law would, unless challenged, destroy the greatest protection against royal tyranny. During the next six years Coke repeatedly resisted the attempts on the King's part to interfere with the administration of justice on the ground that such attemps were contrary to the common law, by which the king was bound as well as his subjects. But the judges were appointed by the crown, and were removable at pleasure; and after several direct encounters with the King, in one of which Coke fell "flat on all four," and James became so angry as to threaten to strike him, "looking and speaking fiercely with bended fist," because he had "humbly prayed the King to have respect to the Common Laws of his land," Coke was dismissed from his office. From the bench he carried his opposition to James to Parliament, where he appeared in 1621 as one of the leaders hostile to James. Here he was to develop his idea of the supremacy of law in a most favorable atmosphere. In an assembly already antagonistic to

James, his implications that the true ruler of the kingdom was not the king but the law, by which the king was bound and limited like everybody else in England, that James was not a king raised above the law, but subject to it, fell upon willing ears.

Another matter which directed public opinion against the exercise of the king's absolute power was the question of monopolies, which hung over from Elizabeth's reign. After the great debate of 1601 Elizabeth had revoked a few of the most objectionable monopolies; and immediately on his accession James I issued a proclamation recalling all patents to individuals then in force, although patents to corporations were continued on the opinion of the Attorney-general that they were not monopolies because enjoyed by more than one person. With the ground thus cleared, James immediately began to issue new patents of monopoly in quantity. The men who most vociferously opposed the King's right to issue monopolies do not seem to have had any genuine objection to monopolies on principle, but apparently wished them to be issued by Parliament. In the Parliament of 1604 Sir Edwin Sandys led an attack upon the monopolies of trading companies of which he was not a member with the purpose not of destroying their monopolies, but of changing their organization so as to admit him and his friends into the business which they controlled. Sandys later sought a monopoly of tobacco in England for the Virginia Company, of which he was treasurer. The Parliament of 1606 discussed some twenty patents of royal creation, but at the same time confirmed the monopolies of the Merchant Adventurers of Exeter for the French trade and of the Gild Merchant of Southampton. In the later years of James's reign the question of monopolies became entangled with government finance; and the danger that their extensive multiplication, besides ruining certain existing interests, would lead to royal freedom from the possibility of parliamentary control, led to renewed interest in the question in the Parliament of 1621.

The Weakness of James I's Position: Financial Problems

The fundamental weakness of James's position, which made the irritation of various groups and individuals among his subjects important, was that he had insufficient resources under his own control to carry on his government and meet its expenses. An absolutism without money was an impossible situ-

ation in seventeenth century England. At the basis of this condition were several factors, entirely outside James's control. The first was the rise in prices, which had begun in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign and was still under way. It was affecting the government in much the same way as it had in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the second place, new functions performed by the government, the costs of warfare, and raids upon the treasury by favorites increased expenditures still more greatly, even before the end of Elizabeth's reign. So heavy were the expenses of the war with Spain and the outlay for the suppression of the revolt of the O'Neils in Ireland that, despite her parsimony and carefulness, Elizabeth was spending £500,000 a year on a revenue of £400,000 when she died. She left to James a debt of £100,000 net, which was at once increased to £300,000 by the expenses of her funeral, the recoinage of the Irish coinage, and the charges of James's coronation. James himself was personally more extravagant than Elizabeth. The extra expenditures at court were perhaps £20,000 a year more than Elizabeth had spent, but this matter of James's personal extravagance is of less importance than is generally supposed. Far more serious was the looting of the treasury by rewards and pensions to favorites. This began under Elizabeth, when Burghley's restraining hand was removed by death in 1598, and the Privy Council fell under the control of the rapacious family of the Howards. They used their control of the council to plunder the state in the most thorough fashion, and their policy of rewards and pensions became one of the crying scandals of the early Stuart period. There was, of course, no question of royal interference with this practice, because, in the first place, in spite of James's high-flown assertions, it was the Privy Council which ruled England, and not James I, and in the second place, James himself had favorites. These were more notorious than those of the council and include such men as Robert Carr, who became Earl of Somerset, but was at last degraded for being involved with his wife in a terrible murder, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who won the affection not only of James, but of his son Charles.

Had the crown continued to own even an appreciable part of the landed estates which Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth had seized from the church, it might have increased its revenues through the simple process of raising the rent on its tenants. This method had been used ever since Mary's reign and was applied by James on all the land which the crown

continued to own. Since James's predecessors had sold the crown lands on every financial emergency down to the very end of Elizabeth's reign, James could place little reliance on the rents of what was left. The Tudors had also collected an extensive revenue from customs dues, and Mary had begun the policy of increasing these by changing the official values of goods on which the duties were paid and by imposing new duties or imposts on articles of growing importance in trade. Unable to increase his land revenues, James I and his government were forced to fall back upon the customs. In 1606 they levied a new impost on currants and were sustained in their right by a decree in the Court of the Exchequer, following the suit of a certain merchant, named Bates, who sought to have the new duty declared unconstitutional. Two years later, the government revised the book of rates, or official schedules of prices, and raised the official values of goods very sharply to correspond with the present market figures. London merchants were so much alarmed at the reaction upon their business that the matter was taken up in Parliament in the session of 1610. In spite of his opinions about divine right, James was so much in debt that he was willing to have his treasurer, Salisbury, the son of Lord Burghley, who dominated the council in England from 1604 to 1612, arrange a financial settlement with Parliament, under the terms of which James was to surrender his right to change duties and rates and to levy imposts, in exchange for a substantial increase in the revenue. But increases in revenue could come only through direct taxation; and the prevention of direct taxation was the *raison d'être* of Parliament. At a critical moment the treatment of the Puritan clergy who had been ousted from their churches in 1604 was brought into the debate, and Parliament was adjourned without action.

In the years which followed 1610 the council used many devices to make both ends meet. Expenses at court were sharply curtailed. In 1611 a tariff of honors was published. Any man with an annual income of £1,000 could buy a new title, that of baronet, for £1080, payable in three installments. In 1614 letters of privy seal were sent out, demanding forced loans from wealthy subjects; and in 1616 the towns in Holland which Elizabeth had taken in pledge of the Dutch debt of £600,000 were returned to the Dutch for £225,000 in cash. This was, incidentally, a good bargain, since the Dutch were originally obligated to repayment in forty years without interest, and the

maintenance of the garrisons by the English government took a large part of the annual payment.

Meantime monopolies were issued more lavishly than ever, partly for revenue directly, and partly to satisfy favorites and stop their demands for money grants from the treasury. One of the most foolish of the projects at this time was an undertaking to take from the Merchant Adventurers their monopoly of the export of unfinished cloth to the Netherlands, where Dutch workers dyed and sheared it, and to give to a new company the exclusive right to export completely finished cloth. By this means an extra annual profit of from six to seven hundred thousand pounds would be made on the cloth trade, of which the King was to have £300,000 a year. The Dutch refused the finished cloth; but before the new company was dissolved, the cloth industry had been completely disorganized in England, the Dutch had begun to manufacture their own raw cloth, and even as late as 1620 the Merchant Adventurers, restored to their old monopoly at a cost of between £60,000 and £70,000 in bribes to the proper government officials, were exporting only one-half the cloth exported by them in 1613. Not only were the powerful Merchant Adventurers incensed by this whole scheme, but widespread discontent and hard times throughout the whole cloth-working area of England followed the failure of trade to resume its normal volume.

In spite of the fact that all this time James's debts grew no smaller, and that the interest on borrowed money piled up each year and was set down by the government clerks only in the interests of completeness, and not because there was ever the slightest chance of its being paid, the government involved itself in difficulties in foreign affairs. These opened up the flood gates of extravagance, accentuated the financial straits of the government, and compelled resort to Parliament for taxes. The dislike of taxation, together with the accumulation of grievances, precipitated a great constitutional struggle between the crown and Parliament.

The Struggle of the Crown and Parliament, 1621-1629

In 1604 James I had wisely ended the Elizabethan war and made peace with Spain. The war seemed to have reached an impasse; Spain was defeated on the seas, but the Spanish armies could not be reached on land, and the Spanish colonies could not be conquered. James himself had some thought of greater

friendship with Spain, even to the point of an alliance, which should be cemented by a marriage between his son Henry and the daughter of the Spanish King. The matter was dropped when the Spaniards insisted that the English prince should be sent to Spain to be reared as a Spaniard and a Catholic, but James never really gave up the thought of its desirability. In the course of time his daughter Elizabeth was married to Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the leading Calvinist prince of Germany. In 1618 Frederick interfered in the affairs of Bohemia, where the subjects of the Emperor Matthias had revolted against him; and in the next year Frederick accepted election as King of Bohemia at the hands of the Bohemian estates. He went to Bohemia, was crowned, and shortly afterwards was driven from his new kingdom by the forces of the new Emperor. While he was in Bohemia, his own ancestral lands of the Palatinate had been overrun by Spanish troops from the Spanish Netherlands, and Frederick was without lands or territories.

James had refused to sanction his son-in-law's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia, because it involved rebellion against Frederick's lord, the Emperor, but he did believe that Frederick was entitled to recover the Palatinate, which was his own hereditary province. To aid in recovering the Palatinate for Frederick, James renewed the proposal of an alliance with Spain, based upon the marriage of Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain, but he realized that this offer to be effective must be backed up by the alternate threat of war. Such a war could be prepared for only at great expense. To provide money the Parliament of 1621 was assembled. For a moment there was the wildest enthusiasm in the House of Commons for a war in defense of the Protestant religion against Spain. Yet when Secretary Calvert asked for a grant of £500,000 to equip an army of 30,000 men (which, as Calvert was afraid to explain to the House, would cost £250,000 to raise and £900,000 to maintain for a single year), Parliament voted £160,000 and began to debate the public grievances, especially the hard times and the trade depression.

The cause of these conditions, it was soon discovered by the amateur economists of the House of Commons, was the extortions of the monopolists and the undue use of bullion by those who had the exclusive right to make gold and silver thread. While the monopolists were being hunted down, and the royal grants denounced, Sir Edward Coke saw a chance to attack his

old enemy, Francis Bacon, formerly Attorney-general and now Lord Chancellor, and to drive him from office. Bacon stood as the chief defender of the prerogative, and his fall was the first victory for Parliament as against the King's absolute power. During the course of the debates, Coke had opportunity to assert the grounds on which Parliament was justified in its stand against the King, that England was a government of law, by which the King as well as his meanest subject was bound, and that the defender and interpreter of the law, in the last instance, was the High Court of Parliament. These attacks upon the absolute power of the King by the lawyers and merchants under the guise of constitutionalism met a ready response among the country gentlemen with their traditions of participation in the government, and they rallied to the attack upon the King's power.

At the second session of the Parliament in April, 1621, James announced that the first grant of £160,000 voted in January had been spent, but Parliament went on with the discussion of grievances and did not make another grant. At the next session, in the autumn, the leaders of the House of Commons began to abuse Spain, urging the immediate declaration of a war which they had already shown they had no willingness to pay for. James ordered the House not to debate foreign affairs, since they fell within his prerogative. The House entered into its journal "the Great Protestation," affirming the privilege of freedom of speech, including the right to debate any subject, even foreign policy. Yet foreign policy was not within the scope of Parliament, and the House had not yet clearly won the right of freedom of speech. As the custom of the constitution stood, therefore, James was within his rights when he commanded the House to avoid foreign policy in its debates. He sent for the journal and with his own hand tore out the page on which the protest was entered. Shortly afterwards Parliament was dissolved.

During the next two years the absurdity of the marriage project was demonstrated. Charles, the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the favorite Buckingham, had undertaken a rather romantic journey to Spain *incognito* to plead his cause with the Infanta in person. Once in Madrid, Charles was annoyed with the Spaniards because they spoke Spanish and not English; he was embarrassed by the excessive etiquette of the court and was amazed by the fact that when he tried to surprise the Infanta by an informal approach over the garden wall, she

merely fled. While in Madrid, Buckingham had shown decidedly bad manners and had been snubbed by the Spanish grandees. Like Charles, he felt disgusted with Spain; and, when the pair returned to England, they put themselves at the head of the war party.

For a moment the court and Parliament were in accord with each other for war with Spain, but the constitutional struggle broke out with renewed bitterness before long. With their traditions of war on the seas and victories over the Spanish fleet, with the possibilities of plundering and privateering at the expense of Spanish ships to their own profit, the country gentlemen in Parliament criticized the government's attempts to wage a land war on Spain, by which alone, incidentally, the Palatinate could be restored to Frederick. Because Parliament was so niggardly with appropriations, six English armies failed of victory in four years. The burden of the nation's disapproval rested not on Parliament, but on Buckingham, who had charge of the conduct of the war. He was not very efficient, but no one could have succeeded with the resources which Parliament was willing to provide. Before making further grants, the parliamentary leaders resolved to punish Buckingham; Charles, now King, loyally stood by him. Parliament consequently refused taxes altogether for the war in which it had been eager to involve the nation. The blaming of Buckingham was only a rationalization of the refusal to vote heavy taxes. Parliament was not yet ready to accept the obligation to support the state, although it was eager to assert its rights to control the conduct of the government. It was still believed that the king should live off his own, and even in extraordinary circumstances Parliament could not be asked for excessive contributions. When the demands of the king became too heavy, there was no other course but to refuse taxes and grants altogether for the best reasons available at the moment.

Under these circumstances Charles had no other alternative in the face of a foreign war but to attempt to get money by arbitrary methods, such as forced loans. In the winter of 1626-1627 the King issued writs of forced loans to the extent of £350,000. Many paid their assessments, but some eighty gentlemen resisted in order to make a test of the King's rights. They rightly felt that if the King's claim to collect these loans was unchallenged, he was indeed absolute ruler, and that, in spite of parliamentary protests and refusal to vote taxes, he actually did control foreign policy. Five gentlemen, led by Sir

Thomas Darnell, sued out their freedom by writ of habeas corpus. In court, their counsel asserted that the cause of their committal must be expressed; the Attorney-general declared that they were imprisoned for matters of state, and no more definite charge was necessary. This was, indeed, a dangerous doctrine, which would enable the King to arrest any leader of opposition at his pleasure and keep him in prison indefinitely. At once there arose a determination throughout the country that this right must be taken from the King at once. In the same winter of 1626-1627 soldiers were billeted in citizens' houses, because the King had no money to provide them with quarters in the public inns. Since the seventeenth century soldiers were the riff-raff of the population, secured by impressment (forced enlistment), they were exceedingly unpopular in the houses where they were quartered; and the people felt that they must protect themselves against a recurrence of this practice in the future. To maintain discipline among these troops, the council proclaimed martial law, and while historians see the true import of this move, men living at the time thought it was a new and strange device to coerce the people into paying the forced loans.

When the expedition of 1627 ended in the usual disaster, the King resolved on a new appeal to Parliament, which met in January, 1628. As soon as the members came together, the first concern was the events of the previous year, and it was resolved that such things must not be again. A petition, known as the Petition of Right, was accordingly drawn up, in which Charles was asked to promise to abstain from forced loans, arbitrary arrest without cause stated, billeting of soldiers, and proclamation of martial law. After several attempts at evasion, Charles yielded in the face of new disasters abroad and a determined opposition in the House of Commons led by Sir Edward Coke, who went so far as to denounce Buckingham by name. By accepting the Petition of Right, Charles and his council permitted the assertion of some of the most fundamental protections of the liberties of Englishmen and virtually resigned their claim to absolute power in foreign affairs. Without the right to levy forced loans, which was now entirely renounced, the crown could not conduct a foreign war.

Charles and his advisers still hoped to keep their control of domestic or internal policy; and, before a year had passed, a new quarrel had been raised between the King and his Parliament over domestic matters. The most important interest in

the twenties of the seventeenth century in England was religion. While James was king, most people were Calvinist in doctrine without any very definite sympathy for the Puritans, who desired simpler services in the established church. At the same time, among the clergy of the establishment there grew up a small minority group of very able, saintly men, who, as early as the last years of Elizabeth's reign, asserted that truth was not revealed by Scripture alone, but was supplemented by the conclusions of human reason. In the course of their studies into the history of the church, they came to attach especial importance to the elaborate ceremonies of the medieval church, to the sacraments as means of grace, and to the episcopacy as a divine institution. It was inevitable that in their substitution of reasonableness for dogmatism, they should find Calvinism especially repellent; and for Calvin's dogma of predestination, which seemed especially harsh to them, they substituted something very similar to a doctrine taught by a Dutch theologian, Arminius. Calvin taught that salvation was confined to the "elect," those chosen by God's good pleasure for that great boon, independently of any merit, or faith, or good works on their part. If a man was not elect of God, nothing could win salvation for him. Arminius, on the other hand, asserted that grace was universal and could be attained by any man; and, while God decreed men's election beforehand, he did so in accordance with his pre-knowledge of how they would act in this life.

This minority which rejected predestination attracted little public attention in James's day, but in Charles's reign it came under the leadership of William Laud, a very forceful divine of Oxford university. Before long the nation began to grow alarmed, as it saw Laud bringing the King completely under his influence. In 1628 the King issued a declaration forbidding any future dispute on church questions, indicating that such would be decided by himself. In the next year when the bishopric of London fell vacant, William Laud was given the see. It was clear that Laud dominated the King's mind in religious matters, and Englishmen began to fear that by the exercise of the royal prerogative Laud would compel them to accept the more elaborate church services, which he loved, but which smelled of Rome in their nostrils, and to give up their belief in predestination. It must be noted that while predestination was a cold, bitter dogma in the eyes of those who rejected it, it was very comforting to those who accepted it, be-

cause all of them believed themselves among the elect and therefore very superior even in this life. Because the minority at one extreme seemed to be gaining control of the church and to be reaching a position in which it might coerce the majority, the majority was inclined to go over into the Puritan camp to protect its rights to believe as it pleased. The liberties of Englishmen were thus bound up with Puritanism and were involved in a common fate.

Charles could hope to control the domestic policies of England and determine the religion of the people only if he succeeded in getting sufficient revenues to meet the costs of the government independently of Parliament. To restore peace conditions, he virtually abandoned the war and soon afterwards formally made peace. For money, his chief reliance was upon the customs dues. Among these were tonnage and poundage, an old grant originally made to Edward III and given by Parliament to every sovereign for life since the battle of Agincourt in 1415. Realizing its importance, Parliament had granted it to Charles on his accession for one year only, although precedent was certainly against such action. After the year expired, Charles continued to collect tonnage and poundage on the basis of the decision in the Bate's case of 1608. He refused the parliamentary plea that he had given up the right to collect these taxes in the Petition of Right, since the taxes there referred to were direct taxes; and he proceeded to arrest and imprison London merchants who refused to pay the duties.

When Parliament assembled in 1629, the fate of those who refused to pay was discussed, and the effect of the King's control of these revenues upon free will and predestination was fully set forth in the debates. At last the House of Commons decided upon three resolutions, linking Arminianism with the paying or collecting of tonnage and poundage as treason. While the King's troops were outside the doors to force an adjournment, the speaker of the House was held down in his chair, and the resolutions were passed. By these resolutions the House of Commons advanced the struggle between the King and Parliament several grades, for in them the House virtually asserted a theory just as novel as the theory of royal absolutism, the theory of parliamentary absolutism. The House of Commons had to rest satisfied with assertion as yet; for the King was strong enough to force a dissolution of Parliament and to do without calling another until the spring of 1640.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER X

(See also General Works and books suggested for Chapter IX)

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642.*

F. C. Montague, *The Political History of England 1603-1660.*

L. von Ranke, *History of England.*

G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts.*

R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts.*

G. O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century.*

THE THEORY OF DIVINE RIGHT.

J. N. Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings.*

G. P. Gooch, *Political Thought in England from Bacon to Halifax.*

C. H. Mellwain, *The Political Writings of James I.*

CHURCH HISTORY.

(See under Chapter IX)

SOCIAL HISTORY.

Lady Brilliana Harley, *Letters.*

(Bedford, Jessie) Elizabeth Godfrey, *Home Life Under the Stuarts, 1603-1649.*

Social Life under the Stuarts.

R. M. Bradley, *The English Housewife in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.*

A. Clark, *The Working Life of English Women in the Seventeenth Century.*

E. Trotter, *Seventeenth Century Life in the Country Parish.*

BIOGRAPHY.

E. Edwards, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.*

W. B. Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, 1540-1646.*

W. H. Hutton, *Laud.*

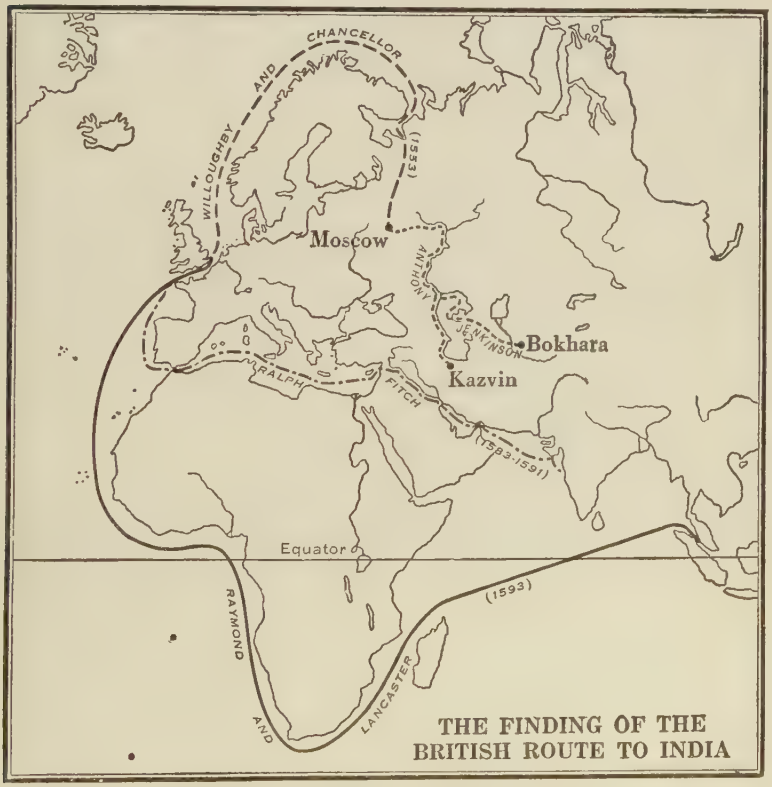
J. Spedding, *Life and Letters of Francis Bacon.*

CHAPTER XI

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1553-1640

While the politicians of Elizabeth's and James's time were hammering out the practices of statecraft and were inventing theories to fit their needs, business men were laying the foundations of the British empire. The lure of overseas trade with distant lands, where profits of as much as twelve hundred per cent on a single voyage could be made, gave the first impetus to their enterprise. One group of ambitious adventurers, such as Captain John Hawkins, desired to break into the rich trade of Spanish America, and their operations were often rather those of brigands, freebooters, and pirates than of merchants. Beyond Spanish America lay the fabulous Indies, the East Indies, the goal of many a London merchant's hopes. The way to the southwest was barred by Spain; the way to the southeast, by Portugal, which claimed the control of all the coasts of Africa and the Indian ocean. But without doubt there was a passage to the north, either around America or Europe, by means of which the markets of the Indies could be reached without antagonizing either Spain or Portugal. In 1553 Sebastian Cabot, son of that John Cabot who had discovered Newfoundland in 1497 (and received £10 in reward from Henry VII) came back to England after a long absence in Italy and began to promote a company to discover the Northeast passage around Europe to the Indies. London merchants subscribed £6000 in £25 shares to send an expedition under the command of Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor to explore the passage. Willoughby was wrecked on the coast of Lapland and died of his privations; but Chancellor reached the White sea and made his way overland to Moscow, where the Great Duke of Moscow granted him wide trading privileges. On his return to England these privileges were taken as the basis of the organization of the Muscovy Company, which, in addition to its exclusive rights to European trade in Russia, received from Philip and Mary the exclusive

rights to bring Russian goods to England. Many of the members of this company were also Merchant Adventurers and members of the Mercers Company of London. It may be, because they were personally engaged in business in the Netherlands and consequently could not go to Russia in person, that they organized this new company as a joint stock company, in



which every member invested a certain amount, while trained agents or factors carried on the actual business operations. The joint stock form of organization became common after this in trading companies and enabled the same groups of Merchant Adventurers and Mercers of London to control many of the great new overseas enterprises.

One of the most extraordinary factors or agents of the Muscovy Company was Anthony Jenkinson, who tried to reach Persia and India overland from Moscow. While he never

reached India, he did open up a trade with Persia, which was regarded as having tremendous possibilities. Here men might learn to forge Turkey swords, temper iron and steel for light armor, cut bow staves from the yew forests of the Caspian, and learn how the thick felted Russian cloth was made. The old arquebuses and shirts of mail lying in the Tower might be sold there; and war could be stirred up between Persia and Turkey, which would give places in the armies for the sons of gentlemen who could find no occupation at home. The Persian trade by way of Moscow was, however, very precarious and became impossible after 1581 because of a war between Turkey and Persia.

Several years before this, however, agents of London merchants had begun to negotiate for another opening to the East, through Turkey; and in 1581, the same year in which the Persian trade was closed, a company was chartered to trade between England and Turkey. This was the Turkey or Levant Company. Incidentally, Walsingham and Burghley were much interested in this company because of the possibilities of a political alliance between England and Turkey against Spain, which might come from the opening of commerce.

In spite of the enterprise of London merchants in the Muscovy and Levant Companies, eastern goods were still for the most part supplied to Europe by Portuguese merchants, who brought them to Lisbon, where they were purchased by the Dutch for distribution through Antwerp. In 1585 Philip II closed Lisbon to the Dutch merchants, Antwerp was ruined, and new pressure was created by the sharp increases in prices of the precious eastern spices, silks, carpets, jewels, and other articles for more direct communication between northern Europe and the Indies. Six years later London was astounded by the amazing report of Ralph Fitch, who had been sent in 1583 by Osborne and Staper, two of the most prominent merchants in London, to India through Asia Minor, the Tigris valley, and the Persian Gulf. Fitch was overwhelmed by the wealth and civilization of India, which was much in advance of that of Europe. He could not sufficiently express his wonder at the fine silks, the huge idols of solid gold and silver, the elephants, the gorgeous native courts, the trade in precious stones. The Levant Company at once secured a special clause in its charter giving it a monopoly of the trade with India over the route followed by Fitch, on the ground that the route began in its own trade area. The route, however, proved impracticable for

trade because of increasing Spanish power in the Mediterranean.

Already before Fitch had returned, London merchants had sought from Elizabeth permission to send ships directly to India, and in 1591 she authorized them to send an expedition commanded by Raymond and Lancaster. They reached the Malay peninsula with their company reduced to thirty-three men and a boy, with eleven sick. Here extraordinary good fortune placed four great Portuguese ships in their way, which they promptly captured. Later, they met with the 700 ton ship of the Portuguese governor of Malacca. After ordering the whole company of three hundred men, women, and children to take to their boats, they plundered the vessel and set it adrift. Lancaster now planned to intercept the whole Portuguese fleet on its way home from the east, but the men mutinied and turned back towards England. Terrible distress followed them. Though their hold was filled with treasure, they were reduced to eating hides. Finally, while the captain and eighteen men were ashore, the carpenter, four men, and the boy cut the ship's cable to return to England and were never heard of again. Lancaster and his men who were left behind were picked up by a French ship and returned home. The English had demonstrated that they could reach the Indies directly by sea in spite of Portugal, which claimed to control the route around Africa; but perhaps because the hardships were so great, the loss of life so heavy, and the returns of the voyage nil (thanks to the carpenter, four men, and the boy), nothing further was done for several years.

In 1595 a remarkable book was published in Dutch by Linshoten, a Dutchman who had lived in India for many years as the secretary of the Archbishop of Goa. This book stimulated the merchants of Holland to take action. Between 1595 and 1601 at least fifteen Dutch expeditions went to the Indies, and in 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed by the association of all men interested in the Indian trade. In 1598 Linshoten's travels were translated into English, and new interest in the east was aroused in London. English pride, too, was stirred by reports that the Dutch were buying ships in London for their own voyages. Moreover, the Muscovy trade was going down hill, and the Levant trade was being made more and more difficult by the Spaniards and the Corsairs. In 1597 merchants of London, the same individuals who were already interested in the Muscovy Company, the Levant Com-

pany, and the Merchant Adventurers, subscribed £30,133 to organize an expedition to the Indies. Before long they enlarged their scope; they planned a company to trade on the joint stock principle and asked Elizabeth for a charter giving them a monopoly of the Indian trade. This charter was granted by the crown on the last day of the sixteenth century, and the British East India Company came into existence, and began its great career.

The company had a monopoly of trade between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn; but its first intention was to carry on trade between England and the Spice Islands, which were considered the most valuable part of the eastern world. The whole region had been claimed by Portugal, as has already been pointed out, but the Dutch had shown the hollowness of that claim, and the real rivalry in the East was between the English and the Dutch. What pretensions the Portuguese had left were shattered by several naval engagements, especially one lasting through December 1612, a running fight fought out under the eyes of the natives on the shore. As a result of the victory, Portuguese prestige was destroyed, and the English company secured permission to build factories or stations on the mainland at Surat and three other places. In 1622 an English fleet ousted the Portuguese from Ormuz on the Persian Gulf and really ended Portuguese interference. Against the Dutch the English company was less successful. At home there was a long series of negotiations, in one of which the Dutch proposed a union of the English and Dutch companies, so as to get help in the support of their garrisons, and in another of which in 1619 certain categories of the trade of the Spice Islands were actually divided, with an apportionment of the charges for defense. In the Spice Islands, however, there was constant dispute and even actual warfare between the two companies, which finally made the Dutch governor general, Coen, the greatest man in the East in the seventeenth century, resolve to oust the English completely, in spite of the treaties made at home. An excuse came in 1623, when the English residents of the island of Amboyna were accused of plotting with the natives against Dutch rule. Ten Englishmen were executed by Coen; and when the company at home sought James's help, he could do almost nothing, because Holland was needed as an ally in the war with Spain which was just beginning. Eventually in 1654 the Dutch made payment for the "massacre"; but meantime the English had been completely excluded from the islands,

except one little island called Pularoon, and confined to continental India.

In this fashion the beginnings of the modern British empire in India were laid by a group of London merchants in their long-continued desire to get nearer to the source of eastern products. The real goal was the Spice Islands, but the second best, the mainland of India, eventually became the richest jewel in the imperial crown. It should be remembered, furthermore, that all through the first sixty-eight years of the seventeenth century the company exercised no political rights and governed no territory in India. It was a commercial company exclusively, owning private property by the permission of the native rulers; and the thought of founding a vast imperial control over India was foreign to the minds of officials and servants of the company until later developments brought a new policy.

Another approach to the trade of the East was believed in Elizabeth's reign to be by way of the Northwest passage around North America. Nothing of great importance for commerce ever came of the attempts to discover this passage, but the names of Davis Strait and Frobisher's Bay on modern maps attest to the heroism of English sailors in Elizabeth's time in their battles with ice and cold. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, wrote a little pamphlet to prove the existence of a Northwest passage, in which, incidentally, he made the suggestion of the desirability of founding a home for needy Englishmen beyond the seas, an idea which he may have had even two years earlier, when he had applied for a charter for land "by God's providence preserved for England." The settlement of the poor beyond seas was an object which would win wide approval among all classes. There was a general feeling that England with her four and one-half million inhabitants was overpopulated, and that the poor, congregated in the slums or roving about the country as sturdy beggars, might give rise to civil disorder. Other equally popular reasons for founding colonies overseas were soon advanced in contemporary pamphlets; that colonies would be English trade centers and naval stations; that they would encourage English shipping and mariners; that they would be a source of raw products, especially timber, which could not be procured at home; that they would be a market for English goods; that they would serve as new centers for attacking Spain; and that they would be stations in a widespread missionary enterprise for the conversion of the heathen. It is rather interesting to note that

the really important raw materials which were afterwards obtained from the colonies, coffee, tobacco, sugar, and furs, were never mentioned; that it was never dreamed that the colonists might some day begin to manufacture goods for themselves; and that the conversion of the heathen was generally forgotten as soon as the colonists stepped aboard ship to leave England. Of more fundamental importance than these reasons in stimulating actual colonial enterprises were the chances of immense profits on the part of the organizers of colonial schemes and the hopes of an easier and more prosperous life in America on the part of the colonists, exactly the same as the expectations of bettering their conditions which bring the Swedish and Slovak immigrants to America today. In the next place, there was the land hunger of the country gentleman class, especially among the younger sons who had no inheritance in England, who saw estates in America, compared with which their brothers' and fathers' acres in England were as nothing. And, finally, America offered a refuge from religious persecution and an escape from the necessity of conforming to Laud's Anglican church with its elaborate ceremonies and its rejection of predestination.

The beginning of English colonization in America dates from a charter to Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578 and the first expedition in 1579. This first expedition, however, turned warlike against the Spanish West Indies and accomplished nothing. In 1583 Gilbert himself led another expedition to Newfoundland, on which he lost his life. In the next year his half-brother, Raleigh, received a renewal of his charter and sent out Captains Amadas and Barlow to explore the country. On the basis of their glowing reports, Sir Walter appointed Sir Richard Grenville and Ralph Lane to head a new attempt, to make a settlement on Roanoke Island. But Grenville harried the red Indians (accounts of whose guilelessness had been brought back by Amadas and Barlow), while Lane drilled them into gangs for gold-seeking expeditions; and in the following year Drake, coasting along what are now the Carolinas, picked up the survivors. Undaunted, Raleigh sent out one hundred and fifty men in 1587, of whom seven were found alive, living with the Indian tribes, when twenty years later the first permanent settlement was made at Jamestown.

Early in the reign of James I interest in colonization in America was revived, and much interest was taken by the King himself in the matter. James and his council had a keen

realization of the necessity of widely extended territories as a material basis for national power. Even before James became King of England, he had shown his interest in extending the territorial limits of his country. A century before, the King of Denmark had turned over the Orkney Islands to the King of Scotland as a pledge to secure the payment of a debt. To prevent the question of their return from ever being raised, James had married Princess Anne of Denmark and stipulated the Orkneys as a dowry. In connection with the policy of building up England's territorial possessions in America, the logic of the theory of the divine right of kings compelled a recognition of Spanish control over the territories already occupied by Spain; and James accordingly restrained his subjects from attacking Spanish possessions in either the East or the West Indies, Florida, Mexico, or South America. But he also asserted that America was not reserved for Spain, and that, seeing that Spain had discovered and occupied so many regions, England had like liberty. In 1606 he very definitely asserted the right of Englishmen to colonize the Atlantic coast of America between 34° and 45° north latitude, from the Cape Fear River to Halifax. In spite of his truckling to Spain in many other matters in pursuit of his policy of peace and alliance with Spain, no amount of Spanish protest could induce him to withdraw his claims, or to order English settlers in this region to withdraw. He further announced that all Englishmen settling in the New World were to have all the rights and privileges of Englishmen and were to enjoy the protection of the common law precisely as Englishmen at home did. This attitude towards colonists was a new one, and under it the English colonies in America developed concepts of liberty quite impossible under the Spanish, Portuguese, or Dutch systems. A more fundamental reason for this development may be that the English government was not as strong as the Spanish, Portuguese, or Dutch government, and its weakness prevented much real concontrol, in the absence of which liberty developed. Had the English government had the power to exercise strict control three thousand miles from home, it would probably have done so in spite of this provision in King James's patent.

Two companies were chartered to settle Virginia, as the country claimed by England in America was called. In 1606, one of these, headed by Chief Justice Popham, backed by Plymouth, Bristol, and other west country merchants, attempted a settlement on the coast of Maine, which resulted in failure, and

this company soon went out of business. The other organization was the Virginia Company. It was backed by Robert Cecil, the Lord Treasurer. Its guiding spirit was Thomas Smythe, the most prominent merchant and company promoter of his day. Smythe was the governor of the British East India Company from its foundations to 1621 except for one year, the governor of the Muscovy Company, a member of the Levant Company, and the organizer of exploring expeditions to penetrate to the East by a shorter route around America. His chief interest in Virginia lay in the possibility of discovering gold there and in the exploration of the passage to India which might proceed by one of the rivers, such as the James or the Potomac.

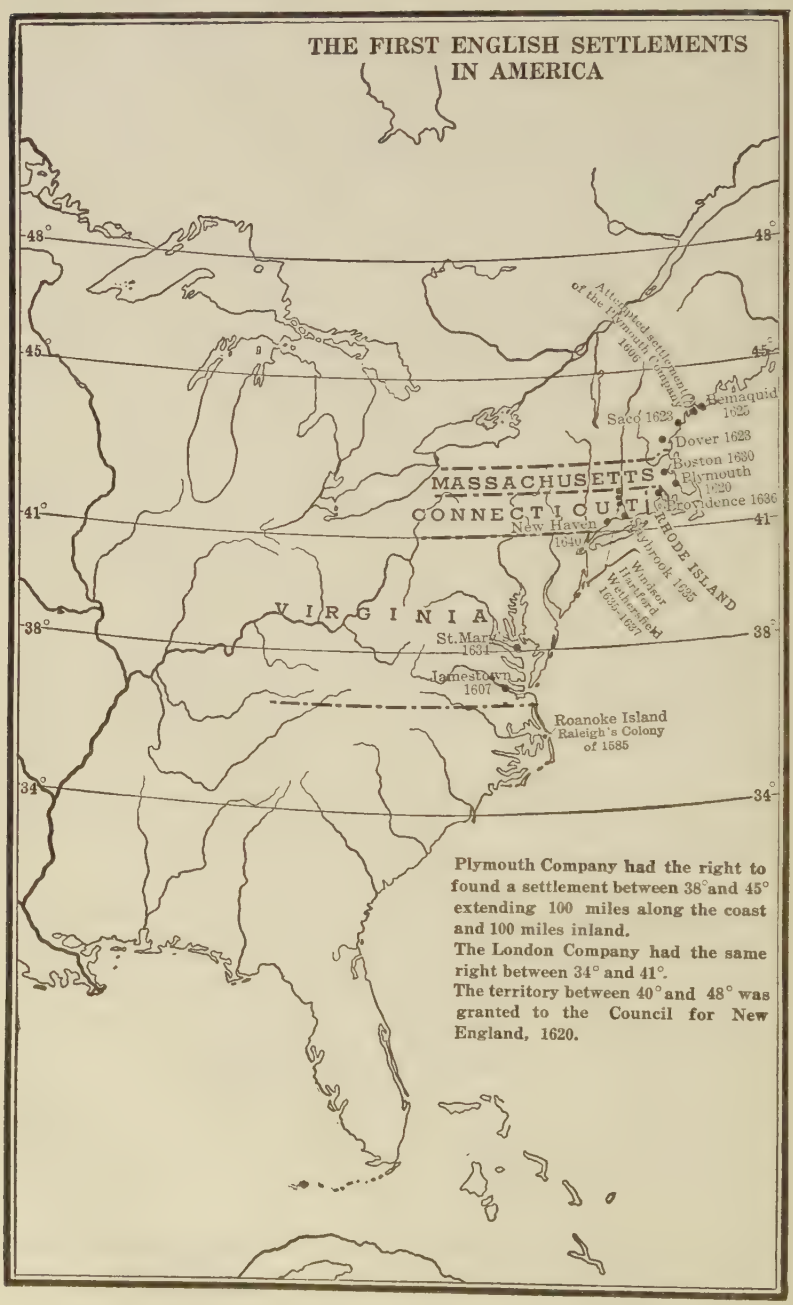
In 1607 this company succeeded in making a permanent settlement at Jamestown. During its existence the company spent two hundred thousand pounds without much return and took six thousand persons to Virginia, of whom only ten hundred and ninety-five survived in 1625. There was the greatest difficulty in raising more capital to keep the company going after its first subscriptions were exhausted; even lotteries were used to raise money. In spite of the fact that England was overpopulated, it was hard to get settlers. A number of gentlemen's sons went over, who took up estates as planters and became the founders of the leading Virginia families. Servants or redemptioners were sent under various agreements to work out their passage money by working for the company, or by being sold to planters for certain terms of years. To get settlers at one time the poor starving children of the London streets were sent over, and it was even proposed to send a certain number of paupers from every workhouse in England. In its efforts to make the colony self-supporting and dividend-earning, the company showed extraordinary enterprise. Digging for gold was abandoned after the first year when the valuelessness of the iron pyrites or "fools' gold" was demonstrated. The culture of the silkworm, the raising of vines and the making of wine, the growing of sugar cane, lemons, oranges, and madder (for dyes) were all tried. German workmen were sent over with sawmills to utilize the timber, Polish experts were employed to teach the people the secrets of making pitch and tar, and ironworkers and ship-carpenters came. Tobacco, however, proved to be the colony's salvation.

In the face of a high tax which James had clapped upon the filthy weed, and in spite of a vehement pamphlet, *A Counter*

blaste to Tobacco, which he wrote against it, in which he called smoking "a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless," tobacco had become very popular in England. Practically the whole supply came at first from Spain. Because of the rankness of the first tobacco planted in Virginia even the settlers refused to use it. By 1616 John Rolfe, one of the earliest settlers (who had married Pocahontas), succeeded in curing the Virginia tobacco so as to make it acceptable in the English market. His first consignment in 1616 sold at a good price in London, and the material basis of the colony's prosperity was found.

The company never made any profit for those who invested in it. To secure some return on its outlay of £200,000, it urged that it be given a monopoly of the importation of goods into the colony, and that Virginia tobacco should be given a monopoly of the English market to the exclusion of the Spanish article, the company and the government handling the crop and sharing the profits. But the planters in Virginia protested the monopoly of imports; at the same time the Spanish ambassador in London, Gondomar, protested the exclusion of Spanish tobacco from England. The company was insolvent; and in addition Sir Julius Caesar, one of the most prominent members of the Privy Council, took the side of a brother-in-law, John Martin, in his quarrel with the company. To secure justice for his brother-in-law, Sir Julius Caesar determined to destroy the company by calling in its charter. After vain attempts to protect its charter by an act of Parliament, the company came to an end in 1624. Virginia became a crown colony, governed by a royal governor sent out from England. There had already come into existence in 1619 a local assembly or legislature, and this was allowed to continue to act as the legislative authority, while the governor acted as the executive.

Among the powers of the Virginia Company was the right to authorize smaller companies or associations to purchase parts of its territories, conduct settlements there, and carry on their local government subject to the laws of England. Sometime before 1620 a little group of Separatists, people who had much the same objection to the ceremonies of the Anglican church as the Puritans, but thought it best to separate from the church entirely instead of trying to reform it, became interested in some such scheme of a particular settlement within the territory


THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA
48°
45°
41°
38°
34°
Attempted settlement of the Plymouth Company 1606
Saco 1623
Pemaquid 1625
Dover 1623
Boston 1630
Plymouth 1620
Providence 1636
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
New Haven 1640
Saybrook 1635
Windsor
Hartford
Wethersfield
1635-1637
VIRGINIA
St. Mary's 1634
Jamestown 1607
Roanoke Island
Raleigh's Colony
of 1585
Plymouth Company had the right to found a settlement between 38° and 45° extending 100 miles along the coast and 100 miles inland.
The London Company had the same right between 34° and 41°.
The territory between 40° and 48° was granted to the Council for New England, 1620.

of the Virginia Company. In 1607 a Separatist congregation, which met under the ministry of John Robinson and Richard Clifton at Scrooby Hall in Norfolk, had fled from the persecuting zeal of the Anglican church and established itself in Holland, first at Amsterdam, and two years later at Leyden. While they were free to worship as they pleased in this "fair and beautiful city," there was no commerce or business there, and "it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates." They could get a living only by hard manual labor and exacting toil and were even compelled to put their children to work, until "the vigor of nature being consumed in the bud," the physique of the younger generation suffered. Conditions of life were so severe that some of the exiles returned to England, choosing "the prisons of England, rather than this liberty in Holland with these afflictions." Moreover, they had a certain homesickness for their native land, for it was "grievous to live from under the protection of the state of England"; they hated to see their children learning Dutch and ceasing to speak English and leaving English ways; they disliked the merry Dutch Sunday, which they realized they could never change to suit their own gloomy tastes in Sabbath observance; and now that the great wars in Europe—the Thirty Years' War—were beginning, they feared to see their sons enlist as mercenary soldiers in the various armies. So they entered into negotiations with the Virginia Company for the right to settle as a particular plantation. They received some verbal assurance from King James that they would not be molested in America. They borrowed and raised enough money through a London merchant, Sir Thomas Weston, to finance their expedition, and in 1620 part of the Leyden congregation left Holland for Southampton. Here a larger ship, the *Mayflower,* was being made ready, and a certain number of recruits from England joined the company. They intended to settle somewhere near the Delaware capes, but in November, 1620, they sighted their first land in America at Cape Cod. After a brief attempt to beat southward through the terrible Nantucket shoals, the ship was put about and entered what is now Provincetown harbor, on the tip of Cape Cod. Some days later the *Mayflower* sailed across the bay to Plymouth harbor, and there a settlement was made.

Because the settlement was outside the limits of the Virginia Company's dominions, from which they had a patent giving them local self-government, the settlers drew up the famous

Mayflower Compact as a basis for their government. This document was much like the covenant or agreement used in establishing a Separatist church, and far from being an attempt at independence, it ended with an acknowledgment of allegiance to the King of England. It did, however, do something to strengthen the initiative in self-government, which was to become so prevalent in the new American life. The Plymouth settlers, like so many of those who came after them, were faced by unforeseen conditions and acted promptly to make some kind of law to meet their peculiar situation. The little commonwealth at Plymouth enjoyed no great prosperity and never expanded or grew very large. It kept its own identity until the end of the seventeenth century when it was merged with the larger neighboring colony of Massachusetts Bay. Its real importance lay in the fact that it turned the attention of the Puritans in England, whom Laud began to persecute for refusing to conform to his doctrine and ritual after 1629, to emigration from England as a relief from their afflictions and to settlement in new homes in New England.

After the failure of Chief Justice Popham's Plymouth Company to effect a settlement in 1606, it practically went out of business, but its rights continued to exist in some hazy fashion and were revived in 1620 by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the partners of the original Plymouth Company. In this year he obtained a grant of North America between 40° and 48° north latitude for himself and his associates, who formed a corporation known as the Council for New England. In 1628 the Council for New England assigned a portion of this land, from the Atlantic to the Pacific between parallels three miles south of the Charles River and three miles north of the source of the Merrimac River to a new corporation, the Massachusetts Bay Company, which intended to exploit the region for its furs and fish and to establish large plantations, cultivated by tenants and servants of the company. In the next year, 1629, the struggle between Laud and the Puritans over predestination and Arminianism began in earnest; and the Massachusetts Bay grant was taken over by a group of Puritans, headed by John Winthrop, who were resolved to found a new state in America, where they could make their own religious ideas supreme. In August, 1629, a group of Cambridgeshire Puritan gentlemen pledged themselves to leave England and settle in America; and on June 12, 1630, a fleet of eleven ships, bearing those who were shaking the dust of Eng-

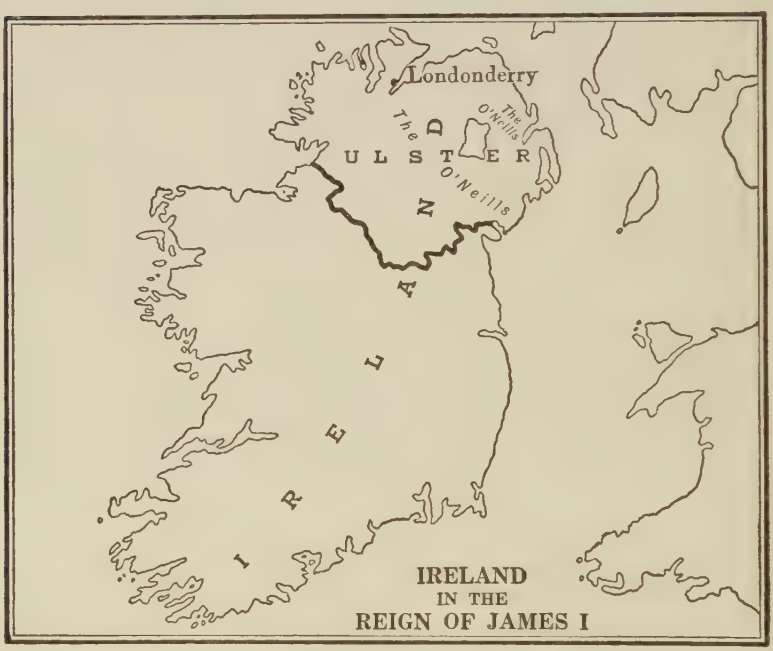
land from off their feet and the shadow of William Laud from off their souls, anchored in Salem harbor, where some settlers had already preceded them. Winthrop was not satisfied with Salem and went further south to Boston, where he founded one of the major cities of the world.

During the next ten years New England developed rapidly. Rhode Island was settled by various groups who were driven out of Massachusetts for differing from the majority in religion. It must be remembered that the Puritans were not tolerant of religious practices and beliefs other than their own; they believed in a state church to which all must belong, and they came to America to set up their church and to make it supreme and undivided in its allegiance in the new country. Connecticut, and after Connecticut, Long Island were settled in part by Puritans direct from England, but more especially by men who were cramped for room in Massachusetts and wanted cheaper and more fertile farms. Before the first Massachusetts Bay settlement was ten years old, the westward march toward the cheaper and more fertile soils, the most important fact in American history, had already begun.

During the decade from 1630 to 1640 over sixteen thousand Puritans left England for the new Puritan settlements in Boston, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and elsewhere. This fact has generally been ascribed to their desire to find a refuge in the new world from Laud's rigorous insistence upon conformity to the Anglican church. Without any question the religious motive was important, as is well illustrated by the connection between religious difficulties and the settlement of Boston just described. But there are reasons for thinking that religion has been overemphasized as an impulse to colonization in this period. For during the same decade that sixteen thousand Puritans left England, nearly fifty thousand Englishmen who were not Puritans also left the country for America and the West Indies. Most of these emigrants, Puritan and non-Puritan alike, came from that part of England called East Anglia and the country bordering on it, which about 1630 fell into the grip of a very severe business depression, due to the dislocation of the cloth trade brought about by the wars in Europe and by other economic changes occasioned by the great rise in prices. The region of East Anglia and the eastern counties was the chief center for Puritanism, and the large number of Puritans among the emigrants was due to the fact that they formed a large part of the population. If there had been no Puritans

at all in these districts, the population would still have emigrated "to better their condition"; and the economic, rather than the religious motive, would be stressed.

There were other areas besides Virginia and Massachusetts which were settled by Englishmen and claimed for the empire in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ireland had never before been conquered, but after the conclusions of the wars which filled the latter part of Elizabeth's reign and the early



part of James's reign the wild Irish were removed from Ulster, and that part of the island was permanently annexed to the empire by the settlement, in 1607 and later years, of thousands of Presbyterians from Scotland and northern England there. A London company received the grant of an entire county and proceeded to settle a new city of Londonderry on its territory in much the same way that the Virginia Company settled Jamestown. In consequence of the Presbyterian colonization of Ulster, Ulster is different from the rest of Ireland to this day, loyal to the imperial connection, and hostile to the rest of Ireland. In the Bermuda Islands the Somers Islands Company had begun to prepare for the tourist trade in the years between 1609

and 1614, following the wreck of Captain Somers upon their lovely shores. In Maryland George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and his son Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, founded a colony in 1632 where Roman Catholics could find a refuge, even though it did not have an exclusively Catholic character. In the West Indies there was also marked success in English colonial enterprise, especially after the beginning of the war with Spain in 1623, which led James or the council to withdraw their

ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST INDIES, TO 1655

objections to encroachments upon the dominions of the King of Spain. The Spaniards had asserted control over all the West India Islands, but had settled only the four larger islands, leaving the smaller islands unoccupied to fall prey to pirates and adventurers from many nations, Danes, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, and Englishmen. Many small colonizing companies were formed on the lines of the Virginia Company under the patronage of peers and business men to settle the islands, and in this way English settlements were made in Barbados, Antigua, St. Christopher (half of which was taken by the French), and other islands.

One interesting project in this general area was for a colony

in Guiana in northern South America. Its backers were at one time in negotiation with the Pilgrims, who afterwards settled at Plymouth in 1620. Another venture was the settlement of Providence on San Catalina Island in the Bay of Honduras. Its strategic position gave it control of the trade routes in that area, and its occupation by the English would have been a great disaster for the Spanish trade monopoly. The same men who backed the Massachusetts Bay Company and other new English settlements were interested in this project, and by a slight turn of fortune's wheel the settlers of Boston might have settled Providence in the Bay of Honduras. The island was actually settled by Puritans, but the colony was destroyed by the Spaniards, and the island lost to England in 1640. Had it remained an English Puritan colony, it would have been interesting to see whether its Puritan inhabitants would have developed the same rigorous conscience under tropic skies as developed under the stress of sterile fields and New England winters; whether there would have been the same stern sex morality and the same hatred of slavery in Providence in the Bay of Honduras as in Salem, Boston, or New Haven.

One of the most significant things about all the overseas and colonial activity of these years of the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries is their reaction upon English life and social conditions. The opening of Mexico, Peru, and India brought into Europe and England such large quantities of gold and jewels that people were able to give actuality to those gorgeous displays which in the Middle Ages were confined to poetic descriptions. Gold lace, silver taffeta, cloth of gold, gorgeous chains and rings, and silver service for table use, all became common. Rich perfumes derived from civet, musk, and ambergris added to the luxury of life; silk was imported from the Levant in quantities large enough to supplant woolen cloth in the clothing of the rich; and cotton cloth, imported from Africa and India, made for cheaper clothing for "ordinary people."

New foods came to relieve the monotony of daily fare. The sweet potato came from Spanish America as early as Elizabeth's reign, and Ralph Lane brought back the white potato on his return from the ill-fated colony of 1585. It was the Irish who first saw the possibilities of this vegetable as cheap food—hence the name of Irish potato. The tomato or "love apple" was a native of South America and Mexico, which reached England by 1596, but for a long time was not used

for food. Maize or Indian corn was another American food early brought to England, though John Gerard, a herbalist writing in 1636, asserted that it "nourisheth little and is of hard and evil digestion, a more convenient food for swine than men." Other times, other tastes. In the West India Islands the sugar cane, not originally an American product, was introduced and grown on an extensive scale. Its production spelled prosperity for the rich planters of the Barbados, as well as for the Spanish, French, and Dutch planters of the other islands; and, before the middle of the seventeenth century, sugar, made from the Barbadian cane, had supplanted honey in England as the national sweet, while the possibilities of rum, made from the molasses by-product, were soon discovered. Tea, coffee, and cocoa also became known to Englishmen during the first century of overseas expansion, but their use became common only after 1650. Chocolate and cocoa were at first seasoned with red pepper and were not palatable to European tastes until the Spanish nuns learned to sweeten them with sugar. Even then their consumption was retarded, because they were regarded as vicious and immoral beverages.

Many of the new products reached England considerably later than other countries of Europe, such as Spain and Holland. This is particularly true of tobacco, but to the English belongs the distinction of making smoking, in the form of pipe-smoking, popular and spreading it through Europe. The way for the pleasant vice was made easier by exaggerated beliefs in the medicinal virtues of the weedy herb in helping digestion, the gout, toothache, restoring spent spirits, purging the stomach, healing wounds though poisoned, and curing phthisick (tuberculosis), coughs, and rheumatism. During the great plague of 1665 it was generally regarded as a protection against infection, and even boys in school were compelled to smoke every morning to keep off the disease—being whipped when they omitted to do so!

A new beauty was added to English gardens, too, by the introduction of overseas plants and flowers. English merchants were particularly zealous in collecting roots and seeds of new flowers wherever they traded. Especially beautiful varieties came from the Levant, Persia, and the Cape of Good Hope. Among the more common introductions were many new hyacinths, daffodils, tulips, and iris, the crocus, the peony, lilies of many kinds, the oleander, the tuberose, the hollyhock, and the white and blue lilac. From America were brought some-

what less vivid and showy plants, the yellow dog-toothed violet, the coreopsis, the golden rod, the sunflower, the aster, the marigold, the Virginia creeper, the morning glory, and the nasturtium. New landscape effects in the gardens of the country estates were made possible by the introduction of new trees to take their places beside the English oak—the horse chestnut, the balm of gilead fir, the black walnut, the tulip tree, the locust, the American plane tree, and many others.

Less tangible than these new things, but perhaps more important is the reaction of the acquaintance with the New World upon thought. New words were taken from every language under heaven and were added to the English language to describe the new materials. New scenes, heroic deeds, and characters were given to writers of literature. Thus Shakespeare laid the scene of The Tempest in the Bermudas, and Dryden wrote one of his best dramas around Aurengzebe, the Emperor of India. More generally, the new lands opened up strange vistas of things to be seen and known, and their first reaction was an impulse to activity to search out and discover "the sundry sights and shapes of strange beasts and fishes, the wonderful works of nature, the different manners and fashions of divers nations . . . strange trees, fruits, fowls and beasts, the infinite treasure of pearl, gold and silver, the new found lands, the sundry positions of the sphere and many others." Interest in the next world was lessened, and the greatest curiosity was aroused in all sorts of things in this. While this led in one direction to the invention and acceptance of the most extravagant tales, it also led to the formation of collections of curiosities in botanic gardens and in museums, like that of Sir Hans Sloane, whose collection became the basis for the British Museum. Collection inevitably resulted in classification of information, and the development of the scientific spirit along lines worked out by Richard Hakluyt in his notable volumes, *Principal Navigations of English Seamen*, and systematized by Francis Bacon in his book on science, the *Novum Organum*. By 1645 so many men in London were interested in this work of scientific investigation that they agreed to meet weekly to discuss the problems presented by the new continent and other matters. From their assembly there developed shortly afterwards the Royal Society of London, which is still one of the most outstanding scientific societies in the world. Finally, the new geographical explorations, combined with epochal astronomical discoveries, led to changes in men's whole outlook

on life and their attitude toward religion in a development which came to fruition in the latter part of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XI

(See also General Works and books suggested for Chapter IX)

Political and Narrative History.

J. T. Adams, *The Founding of New England.*
H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America.*
The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Ed., J. H. Rose.
J. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean,* 1603-1713.
E. B. Greene, *The Foundations of American Nationality.*
C. S. S. Higham, *The Leeward Islands,* 1660-1688.
W. W. Hunter, *A History of British India.*
A. P. Newton, *The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans.*
H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth, and in the Eighteenth Century.*
W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of the English, Scottish, and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720.*
A. W. Tilby, *The American Colonies 1583-1763.*
L. G. Tyler, *England in America.*
T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia.*
Virginia under the Stuarts.
J. A. Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under Proprietary Patents.*
English Colonies in Guiana.

CHAPTER XII

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

The most pregnant social fact in England during the late Tudor and early Stuart periods was the growth of the city of London. From a population of over 90,000 at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, it grew to a quarter of a million at the beginning of James I's reign and reached 339,000 in 1634. James I was so alarmed by this growth, because of the difficulty of providing adequate food supplies with the existing systems of transport, that he tried to check it by forbidding the building of any new houses except by royal license. James would have been even more alarmed, could he have realized that this growth was giving London, by virtue of her concentrated mass, a weight and influence in English life out of proportion to her absolute numbers. This new leadership of London in the national life was due to various causes. Owing to Tudor policy, the nobility lived in the capital most of the time in attendance at court; the nearby counties were in closest connection with the city through the fact that rich city merchants bought country estates and married into country families; the control of the woolen cloth industry was centered in London in the hands of the Merchant Adventurers; and nearly all the business and trade overseas and the teeming wealth derived from the Levant, the Indies, and America were in the hands of the merchants of the large trading companies.

The concentrated population and wealth of London found dynamic leadership, after Charles I's forcible dissolution of Parliament in 1629, in a little group of relatives and friends of London business men and eastern county squires and nobles, gathered around the Earl of Warwick. Robert Rich, the Earl of Warwick, was the great-grandson of Richard, Lord Rich, who had been most effective in helping Henry VIII destroy the monasteries and had received a peerage and large monastic estates for his efforts. His mother was Penelope Devereux, sister of Elizabeth's favorite, the Earl of Essex. Robert him-

self, the heir to the Rich fortune and title, which time had not diminished, was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, one of the Puritan strongholds, and he became so intense a Puritan, that he found court life distasteful. His Puritanism seems to have been confirmed by his hostility to Spain, which was Catholic; and his hostility to Spain was the more enduring because, during the Elizabethan war, his family had operated a private navy against the merchant ships of Spain. With such maritime interests, it was natural that the Earl of Warwick should be concerned in the new commercial ventures of the seventeenth century. He was a prominent member of the British East India Company, the Virginia Company, the Somers Islands Company, the Guiana Company of 1618, which secured a monopoly of the slave trade to America, but was unsuccessful in its plans, the Guiana Company of 1619, and of the Council for New England. He was closely connected with the most substantial London merchants, especially those who stood for solid wealth and monopolistic privileges in the Merchant Adventurers, the Levant, and the East India Companies.

His hostility to Spain rendered him antagonistic to James's pro-Spanish policy and unfriendly to Buckingham; and when war broke out with Spain in 1623, he was one of those who most insisted that the war must be a naval war. In the Parliament of 1626 he turned against the court because of the failures of the year, and in 1626-1627 he joined Lord Saye and Lord Lincoln in refusing to pay the forced loan. In March of 1627 he accepted a commission from Buckingham and the King to use his own private navy to defeat Spain on the seas by capturing the Brazil fleet, but he failed in this, though in the next year he was successful in capturing certain prizes. In 1628, acting as the president of the Council for New England, he signed the patent of the Massachusetts Bay Company; and at about the same time he became the leading spirit in the Providence Company, which settled Providence in the Bay of Honduras, and in the company interested in founding a colony at Saybrook, Connecticut.

Among the men who were connected with him in various ways were Thomas Smythe, the merchant and company promoter, whose son married his daughter; John Pym, who was secretary of the Providence Company for ten years; Sir Nathaniel Rich, his cousin and man of business, who was a member of the Virginia Company, the East India Company, the Somers Islands Company, and sat as a member of the House

of Commons; Sir Thomas Barrington, whose mother was the aunt of John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, and who represented the Rich boroughs in Parliament from 1621 to 1628; William Fiennes, Viscount Saye and Sele, an intimate personal friend, who was interested with him in colonization projects; and Theophilus Fiennes-Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, another close friend, who was related by blood or marriage to all the Puritan leaders, and whose house at Sempringham was the meeting place of the whole group for dinners and discussions. The business interests of these men were so widely spread that the King could scarcely make any kind of move without striking some of them somewhere with repercussions through the whole group.

The Culmination of Absolutism, 1629-1640

In the eleven years after 1629 Charles I tried to govern England as an absolute monarch without parliamentary advice or aid. Against the will of most Englishmen, William Laud endeavored to make the church Arminian in doctrine and more medieval or Catholic in its forms of worship. It must be remembered that while there were comparatively few Puritans in England during James I's reign, their number now increased very rapidly. Those good Calvinistic Anglicans who disliked Arminianism and who thought that Laud's more elaborate ceremonies were only the first step towards a return to Catholicism went over to the Puritan party. Matters were made worse by a series of metropolitan visitations conducted by Laud, to make sure that his new regulations were observed; new teeth were put into the censorship, so that publishers of books which did not have Laud's imprimatur were severely punished; and a *Book of Sports*, permitting those who had attended divine service in the morning to play games on Sunday afternoon after church, was enforced upon the country. For the strictest Puritan nothing was harder to bear than to see men and women enjoying themselves in sin (especially on Sunday) with dancing, archery practice, leaping, vaulting, morris dances, whitsun ales, and setting up Maypoles. Through the Court of High Commission, over which Laud presided, Puritans who refused to conform to Laud's rules and regulations were severely dealt with; and many of them sought relief by emigrating to the Puritan colonies in Massachusetts and the West Indies.

Meantime, while Laud was "settling" the matter of religion,

the rest of the government was concerned with the even more difficult problem of raising enough money to keep the government going. Tonnage and poundage were collected in spite of the parliamentary resolutions of 1629, which declared the payment or collection of these customs dues to be treason. London merchants stopped business for a while in protest, but their passive resistance soon came to an end, since it was more costly to them to cease from business than to pay the tax. In 1630 fines began to be levied on all men who held land of the annual value of £20 who had failed to become knights under ancient laws. In 1634 a resurvey of the royal forests was begun, in order to levy fines upon the nobles who, in the course of centuries, had come to hold land which could be construed as part of the royal forests on the slightest evidence reaching back even beyond the reign of Edward I. Although a law passed by Parliament in 1624 had forbidden monopolies in the future to individuals, it permitted them to corporations; and all through this period new monopolies were created in common articles, such as soap, salt, coal, starch, and tobacco, under conditions which returned an annual revenue of £100,000 to the government at an added cost of £750,000 to the consuming public.

While these exactions pressed upon all classes and created as widespread dissatisfaction as Laud's religious regulations, the majority of Englishmen were unable to do more than feel sullen discontent. At the same time exceptional burdens rested upon the Earl of Warwick and his friends; and among them there was enough wealth, knowledge, intelligence, and initiative to organize resistance. The Earl of Warwick and Lord Saye were caught in the resurvey of the royal forests, and heavy fines were assessed against them. The tobacco monopoly hit the Somers Islands or Bermuda Company; the salt monopoly injured the Greenland Company, a subsidiary of the East India Company, which purchased salt in extensive quantities for the purpose of salting the fish caught in the northern waters; the soap monopoly was serious for the wool-dealers, then the largest users of soap for washing the wool; and the resultant increased price of wool reacted upon the trade of the Merchant Adventurers. The British East India Company, in which so many of the group were shareholders, refused to purchase the continuation of its monopoly by a large contribution to the royal treasury, with the result that in 1635 a rival company was authorized, and the stock of the old company fell to 80. In 1637

a minor trade depression began. At their weekly dinners at Sempringham house the friends discussed their position, and eventually in 1637 they decided to call a halt to the King's career. They selected, as the ground for their test, what seemed a particularly vulnerable new tax, known as ship money, which Charles had recently revived from Elizabethan times. Ship money was levied at first upon the seacoast towns and counties for the maintenance of the royal navy, which was in especial need of repair; but on its second assessment it was extended to all counties, inland as well as on the seacoast. It was decided that John Hampden, a wealthy country gentleman, should refuse to pay the tax and should appeal to the royal courts for a judgment of its legality. He lost his suit by a small margin of seven to five judges against him; but the friends succeeded in learning much about the popular temper during the trial and were so encouraged, that they soon began to make plans for the next Parliament, in which they would lead the nation against the King.

The occasion for the next Parliament grew out of a quarrel between Charles and his other subjects, the Scots. James I had succeeded during his reign in introducing bishops into his northern kingdom, but they had no power, and James could get no further in approximating the Scottish church to the Anglican establishment. In 1637, Charles I and Laud ordered the adoption in Scotland of a prayer and service book, based upon the English Prayer Book, to take the place of John Knox's Book of Common Order. The new service was the beginning of the end of the Scottish Presbyterian church. When it was read in St. Giles's Cathedral in Edinburgh, a stool was hurled at the minister's head; and no greater success attended it elsewhere.

To protect themselves from the hated innovations, the Scottish people entered into a covenant for the defense of their religion; and when they refused to respond to Charles's further suggestions, he determined to conquer them by force of arms. In the face of the finely disciplined Scottish soldiery, officered by men who had served under Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, Charles soon fell back before the Scots and granted their demands in a treaty made at Berwick in 1639. Yet with a double-dealing, which characterized all his public life, Charles meant to keep that treaty only until the Scots troops were disbanded and then force the Scots to do his bidding. In a richer nation, men might have refused to rush to arms a second time in a

year; but Scotland was so poor that little could be lost. The Scottish armies were formed anew, and an invasion of England was begun. Letters were received by the Scots signed by Pym, Hampden, Lord Saye, the Earl of Warwick, and others, deprecating the invasion of England, it is true, but promising the Scots all constitutional aid, even urging them not to retire without a heavy indemnity from the English counties which they might happen to occupy.

In his despair Charles summoned Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, a man of extraordinary ability, from Ireland, where he had been lord lieutenant, and gave him absolute control. Strafford had taken part in the earlier Parliaments of Charles's reign and had even had an important hand in the Petition of Right. But he rejected the idea of parliamentary sovereignty implied in the Resolutions of 1629 since good government could not be expected from a large assembly, without unified control. By his advice Charles now summoned Parliament to ask for a grant of taxes to raise an army against the Scots, only to find that, when Parliament assembled, John Pym arose in the House of Commons and exposed all the grievances in church and state. Pym's speech demonstrated his great parliamentary powers, which were soon to give him undoubted control of the House of Commons and earn for him the title of King Pym. Pym was about to organize a petition against the Scottish war, when the King dissolved this "Short Parliament" (which sat from April 13 to May 5, 1640); and Strafford proceeded to establish absolutism "loose and absolved from all rules of government." With all his ability, Strafford could not raise an army equal to the task of driving the Scots out of England; and at last he had to make a treaty with them at Ripon, agreeing upon an indemnity and the occupation of northern England at the charge of the English government, at the rate of £850 a day, until the indemnity was paid. Charles made vain attempts to borrow money. He was refused by the merchants of London, by the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, and the bank of Genoa. As a last resort, he seized the money deposited in the mint by the London goldsmiths and the pepper in the East India Company's warehouse. The seizure of bullion prevented the merchants from meeting bills of exchange, and protests on these bills prevented money from coming to London. Failures and bankruptcies were frequent; and, at last, to forestall a universal financial panic, Parliament was again summoned to meet in the autumn of 1640.

The Long Parliament

Many Puritans were returned to the new Parliament (called in history the Long Parliament, because it did not legally come to an end for twenty years), and a strong anti-government group appeared, made up of men willing to follow Pym and Hampden's leadership. The first concern of the new Parliament was to destroy the absolutism of the king and prevent the revival of such government as had existed in England during the last ten years. Strafford was first attacked, as the most able man in the government. After Pym had failed to secure his conviction on charge of treason in impeachment proceedings in the House of Lords by a very ingenious twisting of the existing law of treason, he succeeded in securing the application of the old act of Attainder to Strafford. In the face of the reports of a coup d'état against Parliament, the Lords accepted the act of Attainder after it had been passed by the House of Commons, and the proper marshaling of the London mob around the royal palace secured Charles's assent to Strafford's execution. In the next months Parliament was tolerably unanimous in stripping the King of his power. The House of Commons was to continue in session until it dissolved itself; a Parliament was to meet at least once in every three years; ship money, distraint of knighthood, forest fines, and tonnage and poundage as collected by the king without parliamentary authorization were made illegal; the prerogative courts, such as the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, were dissolved; and the Privy Council was stripped of its power.

In December of 1640 the religious question was raised by a petition asking that the Episcopacy be extirpated in all its roots and branches. Action was deferred, but in the summer of 1641 the religious question came up again. A majority of the members of the House of Commons were agreed that the bishops with their Laudian proclivities must be destroyed, but most men were not yet settled in their minds about what they wanted in their place. As Cromwell put the matter in debate, "I can tell you, sirs, what I would not have, though I cannot what I would." Pym and the largest group in the House probably favored a state church, in which commissioners chosen by Parliament took the place of the bishops; but another group wanted to transplant Presbyterianism from Scotland, and still another, the Independents, wanted to give each church its own independence in matters of the discipline and government of the

congregation. In the course of the debate, changes were suggested in the Prayer Book, which met with unusual opposition. The question of church polity was undecided when the Houses adjourned in December, but the debates show a split in the solidarity of Parliament against the King.

Matters were made more critical by the news of a terrible massacre of Englishmen in Ireland, where from four to five thousand Englishmen were killed by the Irish in a bloody revenge for the last ten years of English repression. While all men in Parliament were in favor of instant retaliation and punishment, the question of the command of the army raised bitter division. Pym and his majority asserted that if the King secured command of the army, his first use of it would be to arrest themselves and deliver himself from their control. Another group asserted that, under the law as it stood, the King had command of the army, and it would be illegal for Parliament to deprive him of his right. Pym's necessities were leading him into strange claims of parliamentary power. He was in a position where the supremacy of law, which had been asserted by the opposition to the crown for the past twenty years, would work out disadvantageously to himself and his friends. Under these circumstances, Pym claimed for Parliament as the High Court of the Realm the right to interpret the laws, and even to alter them and set them aside if they were not to the liking of Parliament. In other words, he was transferring the unrestrained power from the king to Parliament and setting up the divine and absolute right of Parliament in place of the absolute power of the king. Many of the members of the House of Commons could not agree with this novel view and began to range themselves on the side of the King. The leader among these men was a very brilliant and able lawyer, Edward Hyde, who soon became Charles's chief adviser and was later to become Lord Chancellor of England and Earl of Clarendon. He stood for the older notion of the supremacy of law and was able to make out a very strong case, in his proclamations and manifestoes, for supporting Charles against the unwarranted and illegal claims of Parliament. It is interesting to note that those who followed Hyde in this opposition to Pym on the subject of the command of the army were the same people who only recently had stood so stoutly against any changes in the Prayer Book.

Before very long Charles precipitated an open break between himself and the majority in Parliament by illegally attempting

to arrest five of the leading members of the House of Commons. In January, 1642, Charles left Westminister in the face of armed supporters of Parliament, who had gathered in London. Fruitless negotiations followed. The King issued long proclamations against Parliament, forbidding subjects to obey its ordinances for mustering the militia. Parliament voted illegal ordinances, excluding bishops from the House of Lords and ordering subjects to muster in the militia and to refuse to obey the King. At last, in the summer of 1642, open hostilities began between the King and what remained of Parliament after a majority of the peers and a minority of the Commons had left to join the King's side.

The Wars Between the King and Parliament

The war was waged by small minorities. The majority of the nation took no part either way. It was not, moreover, a class war. The majority of the Lords were on the King's side, but some thirty peers, including the Earl of Warwick, Lord Saye, the Earl of Essex, and Warwick's son-in-law, the Earl of Manchester, stood in opposition. The country gentlemen were divided. In every shire there was a large group of them on each side. In the south and east the majority favored Parliament, while a minority in nearly every county fought for the King. In the north and west the reverse was true. The yeomen were solid for the Parliament in East Anglia, but west of the Severn River they formed the bulk of the royalist armies. The agricultural laborers were inclined to be neutral, but took up their scythes and clubs indiscriminately against either side that injured them. Their battle cry was "If you steal our cattle, we will give you battle."

Geographically considered it was a war between the metropolitan areas of London, Plymouth, and Hull, that is, those cities together with those parts of the country closely connected with them by trade and industrial interests, and the rest of the country—the south and east against the north and west. But in no case was there a solid area on either side.

The Parliament had certain important advantages. London was on its side, able to serve it with untold supplies of money and war materials. Secondly, the fleet, except for one ship, revolted from the King and joined the parliamentary cause. This was partly due to Charles's shabby treatment of the fleet, to the rotten food, and wretched conditions of the sailors, which

ENGLAND
AND WALES
THE CIVIL WARS
OF THE 17TH CENTURY
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES.
0 5 10 20 30 60
EXPLANATION
Parts held by Charles I. at the end of 1643
Parts held by Parliament
Dunbar
HOLY ISLE
Philiphaugh
ARRAN
Mull of Kintyre
Firth of Clyde
North Channel
Solway Firth
R. Tyne
Newcastle
R. Tees
ISLE OF MAN
IRISH SEA
Marston Moor
York
Leeds
Hull
R. Humber
Manchester
Grimsborough
Newark
Nottingham
The Wash
ANGLESEA
St. George's Channel
Cardigan Bay
Lichfield
Birmingham
Naseby
Holmby House
Edgehill
Worcester
Cropredy Bridge
Raglan
Oxford
Gloucester
Chalgrove
Pembroke
Bristol
Reading
London
R. Thames
Bristol Channel
Newbury
Basing
Roundway Down
Dover Strait
Beachy Head
Carisbrooke Castle
ISLE OF WIGHT
Plymouth
Lostwithiel
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
5 West 4 3 Longitude 2 from 1 Greenwich 0 East 1
BURRAY & CO., ENGRS., N.Y.

were incidentally the best Charles could provide, but more importantly to the fact that the Earl of Warwick was made Admiral of the fleet by Parliament. His detestation of Spain was well known, and under his command officers and men looked for a revival of the glories of Elizabeth's reign. With the fleet to keep trade routes open, trade could be maintained to provide the sinews of war, and Hull and Plymouth could be supported as garrisons in the heart of the enemy country.

Charles selected Oxford as his capital. It was splendidly situated at the apex of the lines of communication with those parts of the west, southwest, and north which were loyal to the King. It was an advanced post from which not only to capture London eventually, but also to harass the cloth manufacturing areas, from which London drew her chief exports. During the autumn of 1642, several engagements showed Charles that London could not be taken by a frontal attack. Accordingly, in the next year, Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, worked out an admirable strategic plan to strike at London from the north and southwest with two armies, close the Thames to commerce, and when the city was sufficiently weakened, to capture the city with a third army from Oxford. The plan did not succeed, because the armies from the north and the southwest could not leave Hull, Plymouth, and Gloucester uncaptured on their lines of communications. But the plan seemed so dangerous, and the parliamentary generals were so inept in the preliminary engagements of the year, that the parliamentary leaders resolved to appeal to the Scots for help. The Scots were, of course, keenly interested in the outcome of the struggle between their King and his English subjects, and they recognized well enough that a royalist victory in England would mean the end of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Before giving help, however, the Scots sought to give greater assurance to their national church by stipulating for the adoption of Presbyterianism in England as the national church there. The English commissioners demurred, but at length agreed to reform the English church "in accordance with the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches." A Solemn League and Covenant was to be accepted by both nations, Scottish troops were to come to England at English expense, and an assembly of divines was to arrange a confession or statement of belief. The way for the acceptance of Presbyterianism by Parliament was made easier by the death of both Pym and Hampden and the emergence of a group of Presby-

terian leaders in Parliament, such as Denzil Holles, Arthur Hazlerigg, and William Strode. In 1645, these men, with the backing of the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Manchester, succeeded in making Presbyterianism the official parliamentary state religion.

Before this was accomplished, however, a bitter quarrel had begun between the Presbyterians in Parliament and the Independents. Between these two groups there was little difference in doctrine, in form of worship, or even in some of the practices of church government. But while the Presbyterians were convinced that the government of the church by elders or presbyters meeting in subordinated assemblies was the law of Christ, the Independents asserted that Christ had ordained the government of the church to rest in the elected officers of each congregation, and not in assemblies or meetings of such officers from groups of congregations. Such a difference may seem slight at first sight, but the implications were far-reaching. The two churches seemed mutually incompatible, since the one was dominated by the authoritarian aristocratic temper, and the other made for local self-government and individual judgment; and the greatest hostility developed between them.

While the Presbyterians controlled Parliament, the parliamentary army was becoming Independent. Early in the war Oliver Cromwell, a country gentleman, landowner, and stock-grazier of Huntingdonshire, had become the agent of the eastern counties, such as Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Essex, and others, and raised at their cost a troop or regiment of cavalry. Recruited mostly among the sons of landowners, the men who enlisted did so because they felt that the parliamentary cause was just. They were, accordingly, willing to submit to a training and discipline which were absent from most of the rest of the armies on either side. Swearing and "wenching" were unknown among them, and regular pay by the county governments of the Eastern Association kept them from demoralizing pillage, used by all the other troops to find their keep. Their enthusiasm, their praying before battle, their psalm-singing seemed ridiculous to their opponents, but in battle none could withstand them. In their first important engagement at Marston Moor on July 2, 1644, where they turned a royalist victory of a day before into a terrible defeat, Prince Rupert himself dubbed them the Ironsides. The incompetence and worthlessness of the rest of the parliamentary armies made Parliament resolve to order the organization of about 22,000

shock troops, 14,400 foot, and 7600 horse, on the same plan as the New Model regiment, to form the New Model army.

The new troops were recruited in large part among the lower middle classes, artisans, shoemakers, coppersmiths, butchers, draymen, who were more apt to be Independents than anything else; and they were led to enlist by the cry of the liberties of Englishmen. Even though Parliament ordered the acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, that is, the assumption of Presbyterianism by all soldiers, Cromwell, who was himself an Independent, was not overparticular in inquiring into men's consciences, as long as they fought well. The entire parliamentary army numbered about 80,000 men. The New Model constituted about one-fourth of the total, but it was so infinitely superior in morale, organization, and leadership, that it was the real strength of the parliamentary cause. Shortly after the organization of the New Model army, Cromwell succeeded in strengthening his own influence in the army through the passage of a "self-denying" ordinance through Parliament, by means of which the inefficient aristocratic Presbyterian commanders, such as the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Manchester, gave up their commands and were not reappointed.

At about this time the control of affairs began to pass out of the hands of the group which had instituted the revolt against royal absolutism. Pym and Hampden were dead; others of the original leaders were getting tired and discouraged. As the Earl of Manchester put it: "If we beat the King ninety and nine times, yet he is king still, and so will his posterity be after him. But if the King beat us but once, we shall be hanged, and our posterity made slaves." Manchester and his friends would have been willing to accept some honorable agreement with the King limiting his power, protecting the Presbyterian church, and insuring some voice in the King's councils to themselves. Charles's answer was that they would have much ado until he parted from the three things which he valued most, his crown, his friends, and his church. With their failure to bring the war to an end, the direction of affairs was seized by a more extreme group, which determined to beat the King and ultimately refused to be satisfied with anything less than the destruction of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. The rising extremist leaders were John Lambert, Edmund Ludlow, Henry Ireton, Henry Vane, and greatest of all, Oliver Cromwell. They were Independents in religion and had great power through their control of the army.

During the year 1645 the New Model army ruined the King's cause, and early in 1646 the King himself surrendered to the Scots, who soon turned him over to Parliament. In its moment of victory, Parliament did not understand the uses of conciliation. It permanently alienated the surrendered royalists by proscribing their Anglican faith and depriving some two thousand Anglican clergy of their livings. Worse still, all who had fought for the King were called upon to compound for their "delinquency" by fines, equivalent to from one-sixth to one-half of their estates. Parliament turned next to irritate the army, especially the Independent soldiers of the New Model, upon whom its success against the King and authority among the people really rested.

Too ungenerous to recognize a debt to the Independent soldiers and too proud to be satisfied with granting them toleration for their religious ideas, the Presbyterian leaders in Parliament undertook to disband the army, without paying the soldiers their arrears of pay; and at the same time they proposed to begin a vigorous persecution of all Independents and religious sectaries. In September and December, 1646, bills appeared in the House of Commons to punish Unitarians with death and Baptists with life-imprisonment, and in February, 1647, the first orders to disband the New Model army were issued. For months the common soldiers had been debating political questions among themselves. They were asserting that they were not merely a mercenary army, but called forth by declarations of Parliament to defend the people's rights and liberties. To continue to defend these precious liberties they would be justified in resisting all attempts at arbitrary power, even on the part of Parliament,—with much other strong talk. In the indecision of the officers when the orders to disband were received, the common soldiers of eight regiments of horse drew up statements of their grievances and appointed two agents from every regiment to meet for consultation about their future policy. Soon afterwards the movement spread to the foot regiments as well.

At first, the soldiers were interested only in toleration for their religion; but there soon spread among them the teachings of John Lilburne and others, who called themselves Levellers, proving to them that their religion could not be secure until they went further and secured control of the government through universal manhood suffrage. Moreover, to insure complete freedom of conscience, the absolute power of the state

must be definitely and categorically limited, so that the state, whether controlled by the King, or Parliament, or all the people in the most democratic fashion, could never at any future time interfere with religion, could never conscript men into military service, and could never question any man for his acts during the war, an implication of the right of the citizen to engage in revolution. Though the King and Parliament were contending for the control of the government, each side was agreed that the state had absolute control over its people. Lilburne and his friends boldly revived the more fundamental problem of liberty, which had already been raised by Sir Thomas More in the reign of Henry VIII, and asserted that the state was not absolute, that the individual had certain inalienable rights of freedom, and that to secure these the state must be absolutely forbidden to do certain things.

With the radical demands of the soldiers for the establishment of the Leveller program, the Independent officers of the army had little sympathy. They wanted toleration for their religion, but they distrusted universal suffrage as a means of getting it. They feared universal suffrage because they mistakenly believed that the next step would inevitably be a demand for economic equality, the redistribution of the land of England, and the destruction of all property rights. Cromwell and his fellow officers were landowners and disliked any innovation which might endanger their estates. They distrusted universal suffrage, too, on the ground of natural right on which it was claimed. In their minds there were no natural rights except the right to breathe the air and to walk on the highways; participation in government was reserved for those who owned a certain amount of property and had a permanent interest in the country, a stake in the soil.

Nevertheless, Cromwell and his fellow officers were forced by the quarrel with the Presbyterian leaders in Parliament to make common cause with the soldiers; and while Cromwell and the officers never accepted the soldiers' political philosophy, they were clever enough to win the men's confidence, especially by their rejection of the King in January of 1648 and their refusal to hold any more conferences or negotiations with him. This was equivalent to their approbation of the idea of a republic in England. The new republic was frankly based upon minority control, however, and thus the symbol of republicanism, the rejection of the king, took the place of its actuality, and England lost a splendid opportunity of reorganization upon

a new political basis, two centuries earlier than was actually the case.

Meantime, during the summer of 1647 the quarrel between the Presbyterians in Parliament and the army had taken a more critical turn. To show who was the real power in the state, the army took possession of the King's person, and a detachment of troops occupied London and expelled eleven of the Presbyterian leaders from the House of Commons. In their hatred of the Independent army, the Presbyterians throughout the country were willing to support the King in a new struggle, without asking for conditions; and in 1648, after the King had escaped from the custody of the army, the royalists and Presbyterians rose in a new civil war. Parliament officially remained on the side of the army, but its Presbyterian members were in sympathy with the King and hoped for a royal victory. The only rallying cry of the allies was "God save the King," but what they would do to each other after the King had been saved, no man dared ask. The army was, however, completely victorious. Parliament immediately began to push new negotiations with Charles, to cheat the Independent army of the fruits of its victory. To prevent this, the army chiefs decided to purge the House of Commons of its Presbyterian members, altogether to destroy the House of Lords, which was largely made up of Presbyterians, and to cut off the King's head with his crown on it.

The Commonwealth and Protectorate

England thus became a republic under the rule of the army. Yet the republic was doomed from its beginning. In the first place, the civil wars had not succeeded in changing the structure of society. The large landed estates were still intact, and lords and squires controlled local means of production and regulated local life. On this aristocratic basis, monarchy was bound to reassert itself almost inevitably as the most suitable and workable form of government. In the second place, the execution of the King, which was meant to seal the establishment of the republic, alienated and turned away the majority of people from the very idea of a republic. King Charles died with a dignity with which he had not lived, and in many an English household he was regarded as a martyr and saint. The first act of such people, could they have cast a vote in a free election, would have been to vote a restoration of the monarchy.

Determined to do what was for the people's good, and not what pleased them, the army chiefs had to protect the liberties of Englishmen against themselves, by refusing to permit them to return to a new slavery under a monarchy, through the institution of a military dictatorship over them. Thus, by a curious irony, the very act which seemed to the radicals of 1649 to usher in the achievement of their desires actually made it impossible for two centuries; and while the common soldier fondly believed that liberty was at hand, as a matter of actual fact the fall of the republic was necessary for the reëstablishment of free constitutional government.

It must, however, be recognized that, in the disunited state of the country with many bitterly hostile parties, there was no alternative to the army but anarchy, and the most notable service of the army, and especially of Cromwell, after 1649, was that they held the country together and maintained some sort of government until men's passions cooled. Royalists and republican extremists both were checked until another system was possible. A second memorable service that Cromwell rendered to England in these years was that he practiced religious toleration on such a scale that its value could never be permanently forgotten. All Protestant sects, except Socinians and Unitarians and those who supported the Prayer Book and bishops, were comprehended in the church established by law; their congregations used the existing church buildings of the Anglican church; and their ministers were admitted to the livings and endowments formerly held by Anglicans. Those who opposed any connection between the church and state were tolerated. Anglicans were forbidden to practice their worship openly, but their private worship was allowed except in critical times. Catholics were relieved from the recusancy fines for not attending the parish churches, and the penal laws against them were not enforced. Even Jews were permitted to return to England and live undisturbed.

The first task of the new republican government, called in history the Commonwealth, was to prevent the disruption of the empire. Ireland, in the hands of an alliance of native Catholic lords and royalist Anglicans, proclaimed Charles II on the death of his father. Cromwell was appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland and governor there for three years, with the task of subduing the country. During the reconquest, the garrisons of Drogheda and Wexford were massacred as an example to others—an act of melancholy necessity, which

even Cromwell regretted. The Irish aristocracy was removed from the soil and settled west of the Shannon in the wildest and most unfertile part of the island; the peasantry was allowed to remain as tenants of new English landlords, who received their grants from the English government. Much of the Irish land was distributed in rewards to officers and soldiers of the New Model army, but this did not prevent their descendants from becoming more Irish, that is, more anti-English, than the Irish themselves.

After the execution of Charles I, Scotland, indignant at the defeat of Presbyterianism in the second civil war of 1648, also proclaimed Charles II as her king, after he had assented to the acceptance of Presbyterianism in his three kingdoms when he should regain them. After the House of Lords had been abolished and the Presbyterians excluded from the House of Commons, the remnant of Parliament, the Rump, a body of less than a hundred members, which called itself the sovereign body in the English state, immediately ordered an invasion of Scotland before the Scots should invade England in an attempt to restore Charles II. General Fairfax, the commander-in-chief of the army, refused to fight against the Scots, his old comrades in arms, but Cromwell had no such scruples. He hurried back from Ireland, was made commander-in-chief of the army in Fairfax's place, and added new laurels to his victories in Ireland by a decisive victory over the Scots at Dunbar on September 3, 1650, and still greater prestige by another victory, exactly a year later, over a new Scottish army which, accompanied by Charles II, managed to penetrate England as far as Worcester. Cromwell always referred to his victory at Worcester as the "crowning mercy." It would have been even more complete if Charles II had been captured, but he escaped, disguised as Will Jones, serving man to Mistress Jane Lane, and managed to reach Bristol, where he took ship for France and Holland. During the same period General Blake, turned Admiral, brought the Barbados and Virginia back to their allegiance and swept the ocean clear of Prince Rupert's navy of eleven ships, which had deserted Parliament in the second civil war of 1648. Blake meanwhile increased his fleet to eighty-two ships, and their existence was a sore temptation to aggression.

A second and even more difficult task facing the Commonwealth was the restoration of prosperity. Trade had been poor during the years of the war on account of the royalist

control of much of the cloth manufacturing area from which London drew her cloth for export, and with the coming of peace trade did not revive at once. Rupert's privateers occasioned losses of millions of pounds to the leading trading companies, such as the Levant Company, before Blake destroyed his ships. Heavy expenditures by the government continued to absorb capital which might otherwise have gone into the revival of trade and industry. So scarce was money that the new capital of the reorganized British East India Company (formed by a union of the new company of 1635 with the old company) was not completely subscribed, and the royal estates which were thrown on the market between 1649 and 1652 to provide revenue for the government were sold for from eight to ten years purchase, that is from forty to fifty per cent of what they would have fetched in normal times.

The members of the Rump Parliament were chiefly lawyers, with close connections with the business men of London, and from them they absorbed the current notions of trade policy, that no two nations could be prosperous at the same time, the prosperity of one being at the expense of the other. This notion was given concrete form, largely through the lobbying of the British East India Company, in a Navigation act in 1651, designed to benefit English shipowners and importers of colonial and Indian products at the expense of Holland by restricting certain kinds of trade to English ships. To increase Dutch irritation, old claims to control the channel, to search alien ships at sea to see whether the Navigation acts were being respected, and to have the English flag saluted by all foreign merchantmen were again enforced. The possession of a navy of eighty-two ships gave an overbearing note to English pretensions, and, as a result, war broke out with Holland in 1652. The war was popular in Parliament and in the fleet, which took 1700 prizes; but the enthusiasm of the city of London cooled when it was found that the Dutch knew a thing or two about capturing prizes and that, moreover, they had succeeded in shutting the Baltic, Mediterranean, and African trades to English merchants.

In the country at large the high taxation created a widespread discontent, which was reflected in the army from Cromwell down. The soldiers clamored for the end of the Rump, which had brought on the war and, moreover, was arrogating too many airs to itself. In response to the army agitation, the Rump eventually agreed to dissolve, but before doing so,

it began to debate a bill giving its members the right to choose the new Parliament, in spite of a promise not to do so. Hearing this, Cromwell went to the House with a detachment of soldiers, and after bitter reproaches to the members that "it is you who have forced me to do this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me to the doing of this work," he ended their existence as a Parliament. This was symbolic of what Cromwell had already been suggesting in private, that he become the executive. In the end of this year (1653), after the failure of an interesting experiment, the Little Parliament, Cromwell was named executive of England under the title of Lord Protector.

The change of government did not, however, bring relief from the hard times, or solve the problem of restoring prosperity. Peace was made with Holland; and had Cromwell disarmed, at least to the extent of disbanding the navy, which was costing over a million pounds a year, he might have saved his cause even yet. But Cromwell felt a certain Providential call to chastise the wicked. He understood the trend of foreign affairs so little that he still thought of Spain as the paramount power in Europe, to be humbled to advance his own country. He failed to see that the might of Spain was in the decline and that the real enemy, the rising, aggressive power, was France. His fanatical hatred of Catholic Spain and the fatal temptation to make some profit out of the ships by an attack upon the Spanish West Indies, after the analogy of Elizabethan times, involved him in a long and costly war with Spain. His purpose was to capture the rich island of San Domingo. When it could not be taken, the undefended island of Jamaica made only a poor substitute, and Cromwell was ready to make peace. But his most Catholic Majesty of Spain was deeply wronged and would not make peace. The war went on from year to year and brought economic disaster. The average expenditures of Charles I's reign were more than trebled; a debt was accumulated twice as large as Charles I had had. All the crown lands had been sold, so that taxation was the only means of raising revenue. Moreover, the Spanish privateers were especially successful, capturing altogether 1800 English ships. Trade with Ireland almost ceased, the east-coast fishing fleet was seriously hampered, and the cloth trade slumped. Everywhere there was distress, unemployment, and even serious reductions in the standard of living, one of the most remarkable proofs of which was the fall of house rent in London by

ten per cent. The whole material development of England was set back a generation, and everywhere there was a cry for a return to the old constitution under which things had been better.

The Commonwealth, established in 1649 after the execution of Charles I, had been a veiled military despotism, in which the Rump Parliament was the legislative authority, and a Council of State of forty-one persons, of whom Cromwell was one, was the executive. Cromwell's control of the New Model army and his advancement to be commander-in-chief of the army after Fairfax's refusal to conquer Scotland gave him the first place in the Council of State, and, after his dissolution of the Rump, he practically controlled the government. After attempting to observe parliamentary forms a little longer by calling a new Parliament, made up of members of the Independent congregations, Cromwell accepted the Instrument of Government, a written constitution, drawn up by the officers of the army, establishing the Protectorate. By this constitution Cromwell was chosen Lord Protector for life. He was assisted by a council of from thirteen to twenty-one members and a Parliament of four hundred representing England, Scotland, and Ireland. Cromwell himself said that his real task as Lord Protector was "healing and settling," healing the rancors of years of strife, and settling the new order in politics which should rest not upon military force, but upon the consent of all Englishmen. The first Parliament of the Protectorate, however, was more concerned with asserting parliamentary sovereignty in the state, with the control of the militia, and with ending the lack of uniformity in religion which Cromwell tolerated. When the body insisted on altering the new constitution in "fundamentals" in reply to Cromwell's assertion that it could make changes only in "circumstantials," Cromwell dissolved the assembly and ruled England for a year through major generals, each in charge of a military district. The discontent with the war taxes and losses of the war with Spain and the misery of the continued trade depression were heightened by the popular detestation of the rule of the "swordsmen," and in 1656 Cromwell felt obliged to call another Parliament. There was a strong desire in this body, even after the council and Cromwell had hand-picked the members, to get away from army rule and to restore the old royal constitution, with Cromwell, instead of Charles Stuart, as king. Owing to the strong objection of General Lambert and other republican

officers, Cromwell refused to accept the title of king, but he did accept a new constitution in 1657, called the Humble Petition and Advice, under which the office of Lord Protector became hereditary in Cromwell's family, and Cromwell himself assumed all the pomp and trappings of royalty.

On September 3, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, leaving behind himself a record of service to England about which even now there is no united and single judgment. To understand Cromwell it must be remembered that he was a man of extraordinary piety, who saw the hand of God guiding him in everything that he did. If, therefore, he did a thing, it must be in fulfillment of God's plan, and woe to him who thought differently. He thus fell into the calamity of sanctifying success and believing that while right was might, might was also right. He was not, however, ambitious in the meaner sense of the term. He went on from power to power, because he saw things that he felt had to be done for the good of his country, and he was able to do them.

His greatness and his weakness lay in the fact that he saw his duty to serve "the interest of the people of God and this Commonwealth." The people of God were the Puritans, and their interest was placed first; nevertheless, Cromwell thought it was not irreconcilable with the interest of the Commonwealth, the nation at large. The liberty of the people of God was, however, more important than the interests of the nation, "which is and ought to be subordinate to the peculiar interest of God, yet is the next best God hath given men in this world." In consequence of his emphasis upon religious liberty, he was less careful of civil and political liberty; and to preserve the first he was willing, if necessary, to suppress the latter, which was strictly of lesser value. This does not mean that he did not believe in the sovereignty of the people, nor yet that he did not recognize that the good of the governed was the aim of all governments. But government for the people was not necessarily government by the people. "That's the question, what's for their good, not what pleases them," he said, and to do some good to the people, even against their will, he was willing to use arbitrary measures. The temporary institution of a dictatorship might have been accepted by Englishmen; what they would not tolerate was the permanent reduction of the popular sovereignty in the interests of the Puritan minority, the people of God, which was the aim of the Protectorate system. Cromwell's hope was, of course, that most Englishmen would eventu-

ally be won over "to the interest of Jesus Christ," when the minority would become the majority, and genuine popular government would be possible. But in the end, Puritanism exhausted itself in the attempt to make England righteous by force, and the hope of reconciling the majority and the minority proved vain. Yet Cromwell served his country well. His work prevented the growth of absolute monarchy in England, he prevented the disunion of the empire in the chaos which followed the end of the civil wars, his experiments in religious toleration could not be forgotten, and his idea of a unitary kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland was realized by the statesmen of the eighteenth century. The year 1658 saw him on the pinnacle of his fame, victorious over all his domestic foes, recognized as one of the leading rulers in Europe, and in this moment death, which he had so often escaped on the field of battle, came to him through fever, accentuated by excess of grief over the death of his favorite daughter Elizabeth.

Cromwell's death began the return to normal conditions. Under the Humble Petition and Advice he designated his son Richard to succeed him as Protector. The essential condition of holding the office was the control of the army, and in that task Richard had none of the appeal of his father as the greatest captain of his age. Immediately after Oliver Cromwell's death, the officers of the army began to hold private meetings, and before long they petitioned Richard to give up the command of the army in favor of John Fleetwood, his own brother-in-law. At the same moment the enthusiastic republicans led by General Ludlow again raised their heads and excited the common soldiers to demand the establishment of a genuine republic. Richard had already called a Parliament, which had voted against the republicans. The first real test of strength between Richard and the army officers came over the question of the dissolution of this body on account of its antirepublican tendencies. Richard at length yielded, and the council of officers led by Fleetwood and Desborough, both brothers-in-law of Richard, and General Lambert was in supreme control. Richard himself quietly retired from Whitehall in May, 1659, to live until 1712 as an obscure country gentleman.

The army chiefs, fearing to levy the huge war taxes on their own authority, decided to recall the Rump Parliament, but after a brief session of that senile body the old quarrel between its members and the army over the real control of the state

broke out anew. Five months after the Rump had been recalled General Lambert sought to be made second in command of the army, subordinate only to Fleetwood, as a reward for suppressing a recent royalist rising. When the Rump did not respond to his suggestion, he invested the place of assembly and expelled the Rump from it. During its brief life the Rump had the sense to reverse Cromwell's foreign policy and to end the war with Spain, a proceeding which earned for it a widespread popularity in all quarters.

Meantime, the commander of the forces which were holding Scotland in forcible union with England—and for that reason the most efficient part of the army—began to protest against the violence of Fleetwood and Lambert. This was General George Monk. He had already managed to serve on every side in the struggle, under Charles I, the Long Parliament, Oliver Cromwell, and his son Richard, always doing his duty, always landing on the right side, and always contriving to satisfy his rapacity and ambition. Placating the Scots and pledging them to remain quiet if he left the country, he began to march into England, while Lambert hurried northward with all the troops available in England, to parley with him and check him if possible. While the negotiations were being spun out between Monk and Lambert over the recall of the Long Parliament, the governor of Portsmouth proclaimed for the Long Parliament, and the troops sent to suppress him went over to his side. The fleet now declared for the Long Parliament, and the army in Ireland did likewise, while the city of London was in a mood for a rising against the soldiers at any moment. Some members of the old Council of State met in London, demanded the keys to the Parliament house from General Fleetwood, and on December 26, 1659, reopened it to such members of the Long Parliament as dared appear. Two days earlier Monk had ended negotiations with Lambert and, having plotted a rising of the northern gentry in Lambert's rear, began to advance southward. When the news of the reassembly of Parliament reached Lambert's army, his officers lost their courage, the troops scattered, and Lambert was left with only about fifty followers. Monk marched slowly southward and reached London in February, 1660. The Parliament, which had reassembled, was really only a portion of the Rump, made up entirely of Independents, counting never more than fifty-three present. It had reappointed a Council of State and determined to increase its number to four hundred. This might be done in two ways, by

permitting the return of the Presbyterians excluded by Colonel Pride in December, 1648, or by adding new members of known Independency. The latter course was favored by the House, but the city of London, the stronghold of Presbyterianism, signified its refusal to pay taxes until the Presbyterian representatives were restored. The Council of State ordered Monk to punish the city of London for its defiance, and Monk actually did so. But a few days later he had made up his mind as to the most profitable course to pursue. He again entered London, had dinner with the lord mayor and the common council of the city, and in the midst of a wild frenzy of delight announced that he had served notice on Parliament to readmit the excluded Presbyterian members. On March 21, the Presbyterian members returned to Parliament under a guard of Monk's soldiers, and with that significant event the rule of the Independents was at an end.

The Presbyterian majority ordained as null and void all that had been done in Parliament since December, 1648, restored Presbyterianism as the state religion, fixed the qualifications of a new election, and at last voted the dissolution of the Long Parliament after a life of twenty years. In the election campaign the republicans and Independents were powerless. They were without leadership, since all who favored them had been removed from office in the army and in the state. Lambert, who had been put into the Tower, escaped and attempted a rising in Buckinghamshire, but only a few of his old comrades in arms answered his call, and he was easily retaken and again lodged in the Tower. His attempt at revolt was the last flicker of the gorgeous enthusiasm of the Independents and republicans, who had ruled England for so long and, against her will, had tried to force her into toleration and republicanism. As the embers faded, Pepys, the greatest of diarists, wrote in his diary, "The whole design is broken, and every man begins to be merry and full of hope." The King's friends were jubilant. They hoped that the new Parliament would restore the King, since the Presbyterians, who were for the moment in control, were at bottom monarchists, and had never sanctioned the death of Charles I, and the bulk of Englishmen were tired of wars, heavy taxes, and military government and longed for a return of the old order. Cavaliers were excluded from membership in the new Parliament except under certain conditions, though they were permitted to vote. As a consequence, when the election returns were in, the new Convention Parliament was dom-

inated by Presbyterians, who had half the membership, and was thoroughly in favor of restoring the monarchy. In answer to favorable public opinion ten peers resumed their sitting as the House of Lords.

Meantime, General Monk, thinking that the restoration of Charles II was inevitable, had begun privately to put himself forward as the chief agent in doing what might otherwise be done without him. He entered into correspondence with Charles II, advising him to remove at once from the Spanish dominions to Breda in Holland and to make the way for his return to England easy by promising entire oblivion for past offenses, general toleration, and full confirmation of all land sales effected under the Commonwealth. Charles removed to Breda and from that place issued the most consummate of all his masterpieces of humor, the Declaration of Breda. All offenders should have a free pardon unless excepted by Parliament; should Parliament agree, liberty of tender consciences should be granted; Parliament should determine the validity of all land sales made during the revolution; and the army should be paid the arrears due them. Letters embodying these promises were entrusted to Monk's messenger to bring to England, addressed to Monk, the general of the army, to Montagu, in command of the fleet, to the speakers of the two Houses of Parliament, and to the mayor and common council of the city of London. At the proper moment the messages were delivered to the Houses of Parliament and were received by them with great thanks and professions of loyalty. They forthwith agreed in a declaration that the government of this kingdom is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons. Montagu read his letter to the fleet and carried it likewise for the King, and on May 8, 1660, Charles II was proclaimed king in London. The Puritan revolution was a thing of the past, and the restoration of the monarchy was accomplished.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XII

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

Earl of Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars.*
C. H. Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate, 1656-1658.*
S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War.*
History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.
F. A. Inderwick, *The Interregnum.*
E. Jenks, *Parliamentary England.*
R. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth.*

CHURCH HISTORY.

W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism.*

Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters, 1550-1641.*

Eras of Nonconformity, Ed., C. Silvester Horne.

C. Silvester Horne, *A Popular History of the Free Churches.*

W. H. Hutton, *The English Church from the Accession of Charles I to the Death of Anne.*

W. A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth 1640-1660.*

G. B. Tatham, *The Puritans in Power.*

POLITICAL EXPERIMENTS.

G. P. Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century.*

E. Jenks, *Constitutional Experiments of the Commonwealth.*

T. C. Pease, *The Leveller Movement.*

C. Wittke, *History of English Parliamentary Privilege.*

LITERATURE.

E. Dowden, *Puritan and Anglican, Studies in Literature.*

THE ARMY.

C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army.*

BIOGRAPHY.

C. H. Firth, *Oliver Cromwell.*

S. R. Gardiner, *Cromwell.*

J. K. Hosmer, *The Life of Young Sir Henry Vane.*

L. Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.*

J. A. R. Marriott, *Life and Times of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland.*

D. Masson, *The Life of John Milton.*

J. Morley, *Cromwell.*

H. D. Traill, *Strafford.*

SOURCES.

S. R. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE RESTORATION

The restoration of Charles II as King of England aroused the highest hopes in nearly all men's hearts. To everybody's relief the Independents were broken and crushed. Their army had melted away, and their surviving leaders were either in prison, like Lambert, or had sunk back into the obscurity from which they had arisen. The Presbyterians particularly relished this utter discomfiture of their most hated Puritan stepbrethren, which they had largely accomplished in the year 1659, before the King was actually restored. But the Presbyterians could justly expect much more than the submergence of Independency for their services, since it was largely through their efforts and by their work that the King came back. Their individual leaders were given rich and satisfactory rewards. Monk was made Duke of Albemarle and asked for and sold all that was within reach. His rapacity not only for himself but also for his relatives overreached itself, so that although he became one of the richest men in England, he had little political influence. Denzil Holles, for many years the Presbyterian chief in the Long Parliament, and the particular enemy of Cromwell, wiped out the memory of his resistance to Charles I by his services to Charles II in 1659 and received a barony for his merits. The Earl of Manchester was made Lord Chamberlain, and many others were rewarded in equally fitting ways.

As for the Presbyterians at large, it must be remembered that they were to a considerable extent peers, gentlemen, and citizens of London, men of considerable fortune. During the period between the surrender of the King in 1646 and the beginning of the Commonwealth in 1649, they had purchased extensive tracts of land which the surrendered royalists had been compelled to sell to pay the fines for delinquency, which Parliament levied so lavishly. The Presbyterians hoped, first of all, for confirmation of the titles of their new property, so that their ownership could never be questioned at any future time. Since they controlled the Convention Parliament of 1659,

they passed an act of Indemnity and Oblivion in their own interest. By this they secured themselves and their friends from any prosecution for participation in the civil wars, and, above all, they confirmed the titles to all lands actually purchased from royalists in the open market, no matter under what provocation they had been put on sale. In this act they took care to have the most comprehensive words used that could be thought of, to make all safe. The Cavaliers were deeply disappointed by its provisions; and in the Cavalier Parliament, elected in 1661, which the royalists controlled, they desired to repeal this act, which gave "indemnity to the King's enemies and oblivion to his friends." But Charles refused to allow them to do so, on the ground that if people believed that such promises were made merely to quiet them for a while, there would be no end of civil wars. In this same act of Oblivion and Indemnity, moreover, the Presbyterians completed their revenge on the Independents by providing for the return of all crown and church land to its rightful owners, the king and the church, without compensation to its present holders. Nearly all land of this category had been sold during the Commonwealth to Independent generals, contractors, and grandees of other sorts. Its enforced return completely ruined such Independents as had won wealth and social position, and destroyed any hopes for an Independent revival.

The Presbyterians no longer expected to be able to enforce their church upon the King, but they did hope for toleration for themselves, and they felt that they had virtually been given a promise of toleration in the Declaration of Breda. In this hope they were doomed to disappointment, for instead of settling the matter of religion in the Convention Parliament, which they controlled, they allowed the matter to be put over until the next Parliament, forgetting the terrible vengeance which many a squire had sworn against their church in 1646, when they had proscribed Anglicanism. Eventually they conformed to the restored Anglican church, in so far as they desired to keep their political influence; but even as Anglicans they kept alive a tradition of opposition to the theory of the divine right of kings and the practice of absolute government and carried it over into a new age.

The Cavaliers or royalists had suffered greatly for the King's cause in fortune and estate. Many of them had lost large parts of their estates, and many had gone into exile with Charles II. All had lost social prestige and local leadership in the

eclipse of the King's power during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The restoration was in one sense the restoration of the country gentlemen, as represented by the Cavaliers, to their dominant place in English society. Certain important changes in the political structure of society were made in their interests. Thus they were relieved of the payment of feudal dues in the future, by the abolition of all remaining vestiges of the feudal tenures. This was made possible through the retention of a tax on beer and other excises which had been introduced by Pym. The membership of the House of Commons was altered in their interest, by taking certain members from the towns and adding them to the country districts; and finally, the militia, which was henceforth to be the sole armed force left in England, was placed under their command and control.

The Cavaliers believed in good government They had a passion for internal peace and order, and after the lessons of the last twenty years they believed that peace and order could be secured only if the supreme authority were not called into question. Like the philosopher Hobbes in his book, the *Leviathan,* they were led to exalt the abstract notion of the state, preaching passive obedience of the subject and the absolute and irresistible authority of the state. In this they had no longer any notion of divine right, but the idea of a state based on a contract to defend men from the natural state of war. In the government of the absolute state, against which even conscience had no rights, their class, through their representatives in Parliament, was to share authority with the king. Their leader was Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor of Charles II, and the father of Mary, first wife of James, Duke of York, the heir to the throne. This remarkable man was a lawyer already on the road to fame when the Long Parliament assembled. After breaking with Pym, he became Charles I's chief adviser, and after Charles I's execution he had followed Charles II into exile. Even in the days of Pym's subtle assertions of parliamentary absolutism, he was motivated in his stand against Pym by his enormous respect for the law; and after the restoration, he was resolved not to increase the prerogative beyond what it had been before the civil wars, or to resurrect the prerogative courts, such as the Star Chamber. After all, he and his friends had fought rather against the divine right of Parliament than for the divine right of kings. He persuaded Parliament to repeal all that had been extorted

from Charles I, but he did not touch on acts like those relating to ship money, and tonnage and poundage. He asked for an annual revenue of £1,200,000 for the King, when in the enthusiasm for the restored monarchy Parliament would probably have granted £2,000,000. "He had no mind to put the King out of the necessity of having recourse to Parliament."

More material objects of the Cavaliers were to recover their alienated estates and to get some return for the lean years since 1649. They were anticipated in their plans for getting back their lands by the act of Oblivion and Indemnity, but they received other compensations. Rich rewards and honors were heaped upon them from earldoms down to the simple distinctions of justice of the peace. More important, they were given the almost monopolistic enjoyment of the whole patronage, that is, the jobs and offices in church and state. Very closely connected with this question of the patronage was a more valid reason for their refusal to give any toleration to Presbyterianism than their desire for vengeance.

During the Cromwellian régime the Presbyterians (who were admitted to participation in the livings of the state church) had come into possession of most of the richer benefices of the church in London and in the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge by virtue of their superior education. There was no question of their legal title, and the Presbyterians hoped to retain these offices as part of their rewards for the share they had taken in restoring Charles II. Consequently, since the Anglicans also desired possession of these benefices, the Presbyterians must be rooted out. The Earl of Clarendon at first professed to be in favor of some comprehension for the Presbyterians under the Anglican system; and at a meeting held at his house, an agreement was signed between the Anglican and the Presbyterian clergy for an arrangement satisfactory to both parties. Clarendon, however, saw to it that the Convention Parliament should not pass a law giving effect to the agreement, although a bill for this purpose was actually introduced. It was not acted upon, because it was late in the session, and the Presbyterian majority trusted that a similar bill would be passed through the next Parliament. The whole arrangement may have been a trick to put the matter off until the meeting of the Parliament of 1661, which was sure to be royalist and certain, as Clarendon perhaps saw it, to give no toleration to Presbyterians. At any rate the bill was not reintroduced in the Cavalier Parliament, but in its place there was enacted a series

of laws called the Clarendon Code, which reduced Presbyterianism to an unimportant place in society and the state. One act, the Corporation act, excluded Presbyterians from local public office by requiring the members of the municipal corporations to take an oath against the Solemn League and Covenant, to take the communion under the forms of the Anglican church, and to deny the right to resist royal authority. A second act ousted the Presbyterian and all other non-Anglican clergy from their rich livings and restored the service of the Prayer Book as the legal service. Two other measures prevented Presbyterians and other sectaries from educating their children, or from meeting for religious worship in groups of five or more persons unless the forms of the Anglican service were used. In this wise the Anglican church was made the only possible church for any who desired a voice in politics, and Presbyterianism was submerged among the nonpolitical middle and lower classes.

Finally, in the restoration there was Charles II himself. It is hard to be categorical about what Charles II hoped and planned to make the restoration mean for himself. This is so because Charles was an extraordinarily able and clever poseur. He was thirty years of age when he came back to England in 1660, of good understanding, equable, easy in promises which he did not mean to keep, with no sense of religion. At prayers he took pains to assure people that he was not at all concerned with what he was doing. At the same time he did not believe in liberty to enquire too freely in matters of religion, for such inquiry led also to inquiry into matters of state. He had a great body of knowledge with but little formal education. He was interested in and informed about mechanics, physics, and chemistry, and played a part in founding the Royal Society of London. He pretended to hate business, preferring to talk, which he did well, to play the hero of the tennis court and ballroom, to collect moths, butterflies, and little dogs, and to set his courtiers mimicking Clarendon behind his back. He was the King of Idleness, with a passion for pleasure which led him to set the standard of immorality in an age which, after the reaction from the Puritan code, needed no examples. His greatest favorite was Barbara Villiers, created Lady Castlemaine and Duchess of Cleveland, with whom he spent his very first night at Whitehall. By her Charles had many children. Such rewards and wealth were showered upon her that she never went abroad in her coach with less than eight milk-white

horses, and she wore to the theatre jewels worth £40,000. So powerful was she, that because Clarendon refused to sign any document in his capacity as Lord Chancellor in which her name appeared, she made herself the center of the intrigue against him which resulted in his fall. Lady Castlemaine had to share Charles with many another lady, from Nell Gwynn, Moll Davis, and Louise de Keroualle down, not to mention his swarthy, ugly wife, Catherine of Braganza. Yet this amorous dilettante was actually the most astute politician of his age. During his exile he forgot nothing, but he learned much. He seems to have determined to be just as absolute a ruler in England as ever his father or grandfather had claimed to be, and yet at the same time he was resolved to create no stir which would result in his going on his travels again. For all Clarendon's services to him and his house, Charles II was angry with Clarendon for refusing to advance his prerogative or increase his power as he pleased. Taking advantage of a quarrel between Clarendon and Parliament, which broke out over Clarendon's refusal to permit Parliament to examine accounts, Charles called upon Clarendon in 1667 to give up the great seal and advised him to go into exile to escape impeachment. With the help of a new group of advisers, called the Cabal, to some of whom he imparted one part of his plans, to others another part, but to none the whole, Charles planned to introduce absolutism. The general European situation seemed to offer ample material for winning outside help in this scheme.

England had been in alliance with France against Spain during the Cromwellian period, and that alliance had been renewed by Charles II through his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, whose father, the King of Portugal, was being backed by France against Spain. At the same time Dunkirk, captured from Spain by Cromwell, was sold to France. During the early years of the restoration era England's economic expansion seemed everywhere thwarted by the activity of the Dutch. Superior efficiency, better ships, and better credit facilities had given them an advantage over England in the Mediterranean, Russia, Greenland, and Baltic trades; they had monopolized the Spice Islands and were establishing themselves in the Hudson Valley, the West Indies, and the Guinea coast of Africa. In Africa, they came into conflict with a new English company of which the King's brother, James, Duke of York, was president; and in America, they occupied a rich territory which Charles II granted by charter to James. As a result the discontented

interested elements in England brought about a war with Holland. Suddenly, in 1667, the Dutch came to realize the true European situation, that France was the common enemy of the liberties of Europe.

To Louis XIV, King of France, there had been bequeathed a grandiose scheme for annexing Spain. This had been the dream of Cardinal Mazarin, Louis's guardian during his minority; and, as a step forward, Mazarin had negotiated the marriage of Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the King of Spain, and his young master, Louis, in 1659. But the King of Spain had remarried and had a son by his second wife, who was called Carlos II. This son proved to be an imbecile, incapable of having children, so that his accession to the throne of Spain on his father's death in 1665 merely postponed the fulfillment of Mazarin's plan until his death, which, however, took the unconscionable time of thirty-five years in coming about. Meantime, Louis XIV prepared to work out part of Mazarin's plan at once. He proclaimed France's destiny to extend her territories to her natural boundaries, which, as Caesar had clearly stated, were the Rhine and the Alps. Louis conveniently discovered that under the law of the Spanish Netherlands, which would be part of the enlarged France, the chilren of a second wife did not inherit to the prejudice of the children of a first wife; in other words, Louis's own wife, Maria Theresa, and hence Louis in her right, became ruler over the Spanish Netherlands immediately on the death of her father, the old King of Spain. Supported by the greatest war minister, Louvois, the greatest engineer, Vauban, and the greatest general of the age, Turenne, Louis started on a "journey" into his newly inherited provinces.

The Dutch foresaw the end of their own independence, if Louis were permitted to occupy the Spanish Netherlands. Even though the war with England was turning in their favor, the Dutch at once offered to make peace with the English. When the English hesitated, the Dutch fleet entered the mouth of the Thames and, after showing that nothing could stop the capture of London itself, sailed away again. The English government took the hint, and peace negotiations were opened. The Dutch gave up New Netherlands, the territory at the mouth of the Hudson River which they had settled, but which Charles had granted to James, in return for the island of Pularoon, one of the Spice Islands, captured in the Commonwealth war by the English and not returned at that time. The Dutch

also proposed a triple alliance of the Netherlands, Sweden, and England against France to stop the aggressions of Louis XIV.

Charles himself wished to continue the French alliance, but he also desired to extort enough money from the King of France to enable him to work out his absolute policy. When Louis XIV refused his rapacious demands, Charles joined the triple alliance in 1668, to make himself more valuable to Louis. True to Charles's calculation, Louis came to terms handsomely two years later in 1670. A secret treaty was signed at Dover—sealed by the present of Louise de Keroualle from Louis to Charles, as an especially lovely mistress—under the terms of which Louis was to aid Charles with a large pension of 2,000,000 livres and 6,000 soldiers to establish absolutism coupled with Roman Catholicism in England, and Charles was to aid France in the event of a war between France and Holland.

Charles was firmly of the opinion that Roman Catholicism was more suited to absolutism than any other form of religion, and his introduction of Catholicism was to come under the guise of religious toleration. In 1672, he made the attempt to change the religion of the state by issuing a Declaration of Indulgence, granting toleration to all religions in England. He found, however, that the dissenters, who refused to conform to the Anglican church, would have no toleration which was also extended to Catholics; and the affection of the gentry for the exclusive position of the Anglican church was so great that there was a risk that Charles would go on his travels again unless he withdrew the Declaration. Charles realized his mistake and even accepted a Test act from Parliament in 1673, which excluded from public office all those who refused to renounce Transubstantiation and did not take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican church. He gave up Catholicism as the state religion for good and all, realizing that however suited Catholicism was in his own mind to aid him in the establishment of absolute government, practically it would not work.

Charles now turned to accomplish his scheme of building up his absolute power by working hand in glove with the Anglican church. He aimed to increase the royal power by sharing that power with the church. In this work he found valuable assistance from Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, the patron saint of all corruptionists and bribe-givers in political life. He became Charles's right hand man and received the office of Lord Treasurer. He perfected a system of judicious bribes by money from

the secret service fund to secure the passage of Charles's measures through Parliament, while he satisfied the intolerant Anglican gentry by giving them a free hand with dissenters. Persecuting dissenters became a rarer out-of-door sport than fox-hunting, and for four years it seemed as if the King had at last succeeded in relieving himself from any real control on the part of Parliament, by winning over the majority of its members with bribes of money and opportunities to vent their Anglican wrath on dissenters.

While the absolutism functioned smoothly, it was not without opposition. For there still was in England a kind of political Puritanism, a belief that royal absolutism was a bad thing. The men who held this view dreaded revolution, but still held it justifiable in extreme cases. They saw, however, that their fathers had been mistaken in attempting to abolish the Anglican church and the crown, and they merely desired to curb their powers. The Anglican church had become part of the machinery of government by which Charles worked his absolutism, but escape must be found not by destroying it, but by breaking its monopoly through the establishment of toleration for all sects, except, of course, Catholics and Unitarians. The crown must be strictly limited through the enhancement of the powers of Parliament, so as to make absolute government by the king, even under the form of working with Parliament by debauching it, impossible in the future.

The leading exponent of these views was Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. This brilliant man had been on every side since 1640, with Charles I, the Long Parliament, Cromwell, and had taken an important part in restoring Charles II. Far from being ashamed of his frequent changes, he valued himself for changing at the right moments. In religion, he had no profound convictions, which made it easy for him to accept the idea of toleration; and in politics, he disliked any absolutism, because under an absolutism his own brilliance had little chance to play. He was not an idealist in any sense, he had no regard for truth and justice, he was inordinately vain and ambitious, and yet he did a notable service for liberty in England. He had been a member of the Cabal after Clarendon's fall, holding the office of Lord Chancellor. In ignorance of Charles's true purpose, he had supported the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, but when he saw its true import, he boldly resisted the King in Parliament and did much to secure the passage of the Test act. Now, after Danby's rise to power, he

organized those who were discontented with the absolutism of the crown and the Anglican church into the Green Ribbon Club to propagate their ideas, and by methods resembling those of modern election campaigns, street parades and bonfires, he advanced and kept alive the opposition to the King. In 1678 a great stroke of good fortune came his way. In the autumn of that year Titus Oates, a most famous liar, as it was afterwards discovered, aided by a scribbling journalist, revealed the story of a Jesuit Catholic plot to murder the King and place the Catholic James, Duke of York, on the throne. The wildest excitement broke out in London, and Shaftesbury and his friends fanned the flames of hysteria for their own ends, to put themselves forward and to advertise themselves as the most reliable friends of the people. Innocent men were hailed into court charged with complicity in the plot and sentenced to execution on no evidence. Alarmist messages came to the city warning of Jesuit "fire-balls," with which the city was to be burned. Enterprising tradesmen displayed "Protestant flails," small instruments of self-defense, for use when the Jesuit invasion should begin.

If an election for a new Parliament could be forced in the midst of the excitement, Shaftesbury and his friends stood fair to carry the country and to control the new assembly. But Charles II had no intention of dissolving the present House of Commons, which had been elected in 1661, because he knew that he would never get another like it. Yet even in this Parliament the King's pro-French policy, which had been continued ever since the treaty of Dover, was meeting with resistance, and demands were being made that the King should join the coalition of continental powers against France. Danby himself was not in perfect accord with the King over his foreign policy; and in the autumn of 1678, only a few weeks after the revelations of Titus Oates, Danby succeeded in arranging a marriage between Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, and William of Orange, the leader of the Dutch in their long struggle with France, which had been begun in 1672. Charles had consented to the marriage, because he wished to put pressure upon Louis XIV to make peace in Europe, since peace suited Charles's own interests best at the moment. A tremendous intrigue followed; and at last, at Charles's direct command, Danby wrote a letter to Montagu, the English ambassador at Paris, authorizing him to offer help to France, to compel Holland and her ally, Spain, to come to terms with France, on consideration of

the payment of six million livres by Louis to Charles. The dissolution of the House of Commons, which Shaftesbury had not been able to accomplish up to this time, was now brought about for him by Louis XIV. Because he wished to displace Danby, Louis bribed the English ambassador in Paris with 50,000 livres to publish Danby's letter. The patriotism of the members of the House of Commons was aroused. They might accept Danby's bribes, but they would never overlook the attempt to sell their country to France; they could not disregard such obvious treason as Danby appeared to be guilty of. To prevent Danby's impeachment by the House, Charles II dissolved Parliament in March, 1679.

Public excitement was still at fever heat, and Shaftesbury and his friends carried the country in the general election. The King could count only thirty supporters in the new House of Commons. Under the circumstances of the moment, and in view of the popular interest in the Popish plot, Shaftesbury planned to introduce the principle of limitation of the crown by passing a bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the crown. The Duke of York had become a Catholic and openly avowed his conversion in 1676. In order to assert the principle of hereditary right, Charles had compelled Parliament in 1678 to exempt his brother from the operation of a parliamentary Test act, designed to exclude Catholics from Parliament; and in no way could Shaftesbury better show the principle of limitation of the power of the crown by a concrete example, than by excluding the Catholic James from the succession by act of Parliament.

During the next two years, 1679-1681, there was virtually a reign of terror in England. Three Parliaments were elected, and in each of them the Whigs, as the followers of Shaftesbury came to be called, controlled the House of Commons. The Whigs, however, were divided among themselves by the appearance of a Limitation bill, to allow James to ascend the throne, but to limit his power, as a substitute for Shaftesbury's Exclusion bill. The House of Commons wanted the Exclusion bill, but the House of Lords refused to accept it. Finally, in 1681, Charles summoned the third Whig Parliament to meet at Oxford, away from the support of Whig London. He offered the House of Commons, in place of the Exclusion bill, to which they were pledged, an alternative measure, by which James should succeed, but should be banished from England, and his daughter Mary and her husband, William of Orange, should be

regents in his stead. When Shaftesbury refused to accept this measure and pleaded with the King to end all disorders by at least recognizing the Duke of Monmouth as his lawful son and heir in place of James, Charles replied, "I will never yield, and I will not let myself be intimidated." A few hours later he dramatically dissolved Parliament and left the Whigs gasping with astonishment. The Whigs had not counted on this, because Charles was believed to have no money. But they were reckoning without Louis XIV. Only three months before Louis had paid them considerable sums to keep the King in difficulties. Louis really wanted a new treaty with Charles, and during the last few weeks Charles had listened to reason, made the treaty, and received a new subsidy from Louis, which made him independent of grants from Parliament. Courageous leaders might have stood up in their places and proclaimed revolution, when Charles read his message of dissolution, but instead, before the day was out, the Whigs were outbidding each other for horses to get out of Oxford and return home.

During these two years of excitement and terror, men not included in Shaftesbury's following had begun to fear anew the dangers of disorders in the state. Their fear of a civil war is shown in the very name they used to designate Shaftesbury's followers—"Whigs." The original Whigs were wild covenanters of southwestern Scotland, who had murdered a bishop, risen in rebellion against the crown, and favored Presbyterianism and republicanism. To his opponents Shaftesbury stood for the same things, and against the introduction of these evils they saw a strong king as the only bulwark. They were led to assert, as they had already asserted in the Corporation act in the beginning of Charles's reign, the necessity of passive obedience to the king. They went so far as to petition Charles not to summon the new Parliament elected in 1679, in other words, to rule by his own power and end civil discord. A further point was brought home to them when the King fell ill in August, 1679, and it became known that in the event of the King's death the Whigs were preparing to strike for the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of Monmouth was an illegitimate son of Charles II by a notorious prostitute, Lucy Walters, with whom Charles had had relations while in exile. Charles had acknowledged his paternity and advanced him to a dukedom, but he steadfastly refused to accede to Shaftesbury's proposals that he acknowledge a marriage with Lucy Walters and make Monmouth his legal heir. The death of Charles in face of

Shaftesbury's determination to proclaim Monmouth would have meant a civil war, and to prevent any such possibility when the King should die, the succession by strict hereditary right was absolutely essential. Hereditary right and nonresistance became the watchwords of this group, whom their opponents called the Tories, a term denoting Irish popish outlaws, who obtained their living by highway robbery.

Thus, by the political conflicts of the years after the Popish plot, the ranks of the restoration gentry were split, and there emerged two political parties, the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs stood for toleration and limitation of the royal power; the Tories for hereditary right and nonresistance to the royal authority. Both parties modified their original programs and principles to meet new conditions as time advanced; but in their after history it is pretty generally true that the Tories stood for conservatism and strong government, the Whigs for liberalism and limited government, or at any rate a limited executive authority. From the time of the foundation of the two parties, which soon drew into their respective ranks all the political classes, the political history of England is largely the record of the struggles of the two parties and their factions for the control and enjoyment of the government.

In the last four years of his life Charles II made one last effort on behalf of absolutism. The dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in 1681 and the subsidy from the King of France left Charles master of the field. Already the cause of the Whigs was weakening, and the King's supporters, the Tories, were daily growing in strength, as men realized their narrow escape from a renewal of civil war. From every quarter of the kingdom loyal addresses were forwarded to the King, expressing devotion and thanks for his defeat of the faction which would have again plunged the country into republicanism and anarchy. The Anglican church outdid itself in gratitude. It not only denied the justification of resistance to authority, but went on to order all teachers to instruct their scholars "in that most necessary doctrine . . . of submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; teaching that this submission is to be clear, absolute, and without exception of any state or order of men." Charles was not slow to make the most of his advantage. Shaftesbury was arrested on a charge of treason; and, when a London jury, loyal to him to the last, refused to convict him, the government made certain of having no more such juries by securing the election of three well-disposed Tories

to the chief magistracies of the city. Moreover, the charter of the city of London was called in by *quo warranto* proceedings and altered in a way which would enable the king to nominate the officials of the city government and to name the representatives from the city in Parliament. The same procedure was applied to many other boroughs, so that parliamentary independence, so far as the borough representation was concerned, was at an end. In the country districts, the Whig justices of the peace were rooted out, and Tories were put into their places. The task was made easier by a paper taken from Shaftesbury containing two lists of names, one headed, "Men worthy," and the other headed, "Men worthy to be hanged." In view of the influence of the justices of the peace in local government in the country and their influence in the county elections, this move insured the king's control over the county members of the House of Commons also.

The reaction in Charles's favor was hastened by Shaftesbury and his friends themselves. Unable to win by parliamentary devices, they turned to confirm the popular notion that their rule would mean civil war by advocating armed resistance to the government. When the King triumphed in the London elections, Shaftesbury proposed to his "brisk boys"—gunmen in modern parlance—that they stage a revolt against the government. The revolt was stayed by other leaders, and Shaftesbury fled to Holland. Yet there was enough seditious spirit left in the Whig party to engineer several insurrectionary plots in the following year, the Rye House plot, the assassination plot, and the insurrection plot, which completed the ruin of the Whig party for many years to come. Whigs were satisfied if they could avoid the notice of the law, and terrible judges, such as Judge Jeffreys, went up and down the country to search them out and destroy them. Everywhere the King and the Tories were triumphant.

In consequence of the Whig fiasco, the popular addresses heaped upon him, the measures taken against the Whig towns, and the control of the local government in the country, Charles was more absolute than any king had ever been in England. On his death in 1685 he handed over to his brother James, Duke of York, a degree of power in some respects even greater than that wielded by the Tudors. He appointed the town corporations as well as the justices of the peace, named the House of Commons, and had the partisan devotion of the omnipotent Tories. There was a possibility that absolutism, so

much the fashion in Europe, where the Sun King, Louis XIV, was its successful protagonist, would be permanently established in England. Yet James failed in his attempts at absolutism. This was largely due to the fact that he misunderstood the temper and ideals of his Tory supporters and entered into a bitter feud with them over the control of the patronage in church and state. This feud inevitably took the coloring of the religious prejudices of the time and led to the enlisting of nearly all Protestant Englishmen on the side opposed to James, when it became involved with the question of Protestantism against Catholicism as a state religion.

James II had been a convert to Roman Catholicism, his mother's religion, during Charles's reign, but had succeeded Charles II as King of England with the universal support of the dominant Anglican Tory party. In his first speech to the Privy Council, fifteen minutes after Charles's death, he declared that he would continue to maintain the Church of England and defend and support it. Just as he would never depart from his own just rights and prerogatives, so he would never "invade any man's property." In days when an office was regarded as property, such declarations must have brought assurance to holders of such property as well as to sincere Anglicans, who hated Catholicism out of blind prejudice, especially since James was considered to be essentially honest, a man who had never broken his word. Relying on his pledges, the Parliament which assembled shortly after his accession and was solidly Tory, granted him an annual revenue for life large enough, if it could be collected, to make him independent of parliamentary control. Even though there had been some alarm at the open Catholic worship in the palaces at St. James and Whitehall, and some denunciation of popery in London pulpits, which had to be stopped by royal orders to the bishops, Parliament was disposed to alleviate the penal laws against the King's compatriots in religion, which still disgraced the English statute books. It was unreasonable to expect that the Catholic King should, in his capacity as the chief executive, persecute fellow Catholics of lesser station for the offense of worshipping under Catholic forms. Before any action was taken in this matter, the Duke of Monmouth, urged on by the Whig exiles in Holland, determined to launch simultaneous rebellions in England and Scotland to depose James and establish himself as king in England and Scotland, with the Whigs in real control. In Scotland the Duke of Argyle, who led Monmouth's

forces, was soon captured and executed. Monmouth himself appeared in England. He landed at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire and proclaimed himself king at Taunton, but the great Whig families did not rally to his cause. At last he was defeated at Sedgemoor, where he attacked the royal forces with an army of peasants and miners, armed with scythe blades attached to the ends of poles. Two days later he was captured and, in spite of an abject personal plea to James for clemency, was executed.

James's success in crushing the rebellion was fatal to his own cause. Instead of waiting for parliamentary action to give relief to his fellow Catholics, he seems to have formed a plan to do so by the exercise of the royal prerogative and to give more than even most good Catholics would ever have asked for, not only the repeal of the penal laws and freedom of worship, but the repeal or suspension of all laws like the Test act of 1673, by which they were excluded from political life and public office. This decision of the King was in part due to the rise of Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, the most unprincipled politician of the century, who, to gain complete power in the council, was resolved to supplant James's brother-in-law, Laurence Hyde, the Earl of Rochester, the leader of the Anglicans in England. To oust Rochester as the King's chief adviser, Sunderland was determined to break the alliance of the King and the Anglican church. During the period which followed, some of Sunderland's advice to James was so foolhardy as to have led to the belief in later times that Sunderland was deliberately misleading James to his own destruction.

While Monmouth's rebellion was being crushed, a standing army had been brought into being in England, and this army was largely officered by Catholic gentlemen. When Parliament reassembled, James asked for funds to maintain the army and asserted his intention of keeping its Catholic officers. The standing army was in itself an offense to nearly all Englishmen, who still remembered Cromwell's army and loathed the very idea of a standing army, let alone one officered by Catholics. The continuance of the Catholic officers in their commissions was virtually the abrogation of the Test act of 1673, the legal recognition of Catholicism, and worst of all, the end of the Anglican monopoly of the patronage. Under the impulse of these combined emotional and economic stimuli, strenuous objections were made to the King's course in Parliament. The very Tories who had most loudly insisted on hereditary right

and nonresistance showed their intention of voting against the King's right to dispense with the Test act; and rather than allow Parliament to deny the King's right by formal vote, the King prorogued Parliament.

Like all quarrels, this quarrel between James and his erstwhile Anglican supporters developed in intensity as it continued. Begun over James's attempt to break the Anglican monopoly of public offices and of the national expression of religion, it developed new aims and objects as time went on. Constitutional issues were soon involved in the religious question between James and his people. He was forced to assert his prerogative more and more in his effort to carry through by unconstitutional means his cherished religious innovations, and thus he moved toward a despotism which he perhaps never intended. At the same time, James's action in raising the constitutional question gave his enemies a decided advantage. Although the leading impulse in political life all through this period was not idealistic service of country, but the enjoyment of public offices and jobs, for the sake of which the Anglican Tories entered into the quarrel with James, nevertheless, the extension of the prerogative could be opposed with the most popular arguments. On the constitutional ground, then, of the despotic character of James's acts, his opponents took up the contest, and their asserted grounds of opposition were on a sufficiently high plane to involve the destruction of royal absolutism and the establishment of constitutional principles once and for all, with the success of the King's enemies.

Since Parliament refused to sanction the repeal or nonobservance of the Test act, James II claimed that his prerogative enabled him to dispense with its provisions. A legal decision in this sense was secured by a proper manipulation of the judges, who still held office at the King's pleasure, in a collusive case brought against Colonel Hales, one of the Catholic officers, by his coachman. As was natural, the Anglican pulpits were unsparing in their denunciation of this new tyranny by which the Test act was to be destroyed, and in spite of orders from the council that the Anglican preachers should be silent on this matter, one preacher, named Sharp, continued the controversy. The King called upon Bishop Compton of London, who had himself declared in the House of Lords that the abandonment of the Test act would be fatal to the Anglican church, to suspend Sharp. On Compton's neglect to do so, James revived the Court of High Commission to de-

prive him. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been named a member of this court, pleaded absence from its sessions on the ground of ill health, he was removed from the Privy Council.

After the decision in the Hales case, the King blundered on and began to fill offices in the civil government and even in the Anglican church with Roman Catholics. All officeholders who had voted against the King in the last Parliament were dismissed and their places filled with Catholics. Bishoprics were left vacant or were given to men who were not good Anglicans, and offices in the universities, the tenderest point in the patronage of the established church, went to Catholic scholars.

The Catholics worshipped openly and took part in political life. But they were not quite satisfied that they could keep what they had gained, since they were only a small party in the state, unpopular with the mass of the people. For a long time the King held the hope that he could compose his quarrel with the Anglican church and secure its recognition of the abandonment of the Test act. On this ground the Earl of Rochester and his brother, the Earl of Clarendon (sons of the great Lord Chancellor), were retained in the King's service until January, 1687, and the King made personal appeals to them for accommodation. All the leaders in Parliament who also held government offices were similarly appealed to, but without result. When the King found the Tories uncompromising, he finally declared the Parliament, which had only been prorogued in 1685, dissolved, and turned to other plans. It was certain that at the first opportunity the Anglican Tories would renew the penal laws and reassert the Test act, unless the right of Catholics to exist and to take part in politics was closely tied up with similar rights for other larger disenfranchised groups. One such group, still large and important, was made up of Presbyterians and dissenters, and in 1687 James determined to bring about an alliance between the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics, by extending to the Presbyterians and other dissenters freedom of worship and relief from other disabilities imposed by the Clarendon code. This alliance was to be effected by the grant of religious toleration, which would insure the position of Catholics by making the newly won freedom of the sects depend upon it also. In April, 1687, the King issued a Declaration of Indulgence, giving freedom of worship to Catholics and dissenters and suspending all laws

which barred them from public life. At first the dissenters were grateful, but before long they began to scan the features of their comrades in good fortune. Discovering the hated visage of the pope there, they feared their new won freedom was only the entrance to a worse slavery and rejected it. This was especially true after the issuance of the second Declaration of Indulgence in June, 1688. It boasted of the appointment of Catholics to civil and military office, and dissenters at once realized that toleration was only another cunning device to repeal the Test act and restore the power of Belial, alias the pope and his Catholic church. In their ingratitude the dissenters were even willing to make common accord with the Anglicans against the King.

The quarrel between the King and the Anglican church reached a crisis over the reading of the second Declaration of Indulgence. It was ordered to be read from the pulpits of the parish churches on the first and second Sundays of June, 1688. Certain ministers protested on their consciences that they could not read the Declaration and asked their bishops to secure relief for them. Archbishop Sancroft and six other bishops agreed to petition the King not to force the clergy to break the laws by compelling them to read the Declaration. As an example to others the King decided to prosecute the seven bishops, who had thus dared to flaunt him, for seditious libel. Had he been wise, James would have dropped the proceedings in face of the popular interest in the bishops' cause, but the birth of a son at the critical juncture seemed to him to be a sign from heaven, which warranted the continuance of the case.

The popular excitement, which culminated in a wild orgy of joy when the bishops were acquitted by a London jury, was seized upon by the displaced political leaders and disgruntled Anglican churchmen as the proper medium in which to engineer James II's deposition. The time was especially ripe, since the birth of a male heir to James and his second wife, Mary of Modena, seemed to argue the permanence of a Catholic dynasty in England unless James was deposed. As long as James had no son, his daughter Mary, who was a Protestant and the wife of William of Orange, had been destined to succeed him, and she would undoubtedly undo all that James had done for the hated religion. The birth of a son disappointed this hope, and made many who were hesitant decide to act against James.

The decision to overturn James was forced from still another

quarter. James had shown by his choice of Sunderland as his chief minister that he intended to continue the foreign policy of his brother, Charles II, and remain subservient to France, or, at any rate, neutral in the great events which were stirring Europe. These events grew out of the aggressive policy of Louis XIV, incident to his extension of France to her natural frontiers, the Rhine and the Alps, and beyond them. The leadership in the opposition to Louis XIV had been taken in 1672 by William, Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland and Zealand. During James's reign he was busy building up a new alliance known as the League of Augsburg to keep Louis XIV in check and to prevent further annexations on his part. To get his father-in-law, James II, to join the alliance, William had come over to England personally in 1685, but had achieved no success. He had tolerated the Whig refugees in his own country of Holland, and his failure to get his father-in-law's alliance caused him to become actively interested in the Whig schemes for deposing James II. He himself was the son of Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I, and was, therefore, a nephew of James II, as well as his son-in-law. Through his marriage and birth he had a double interest in the succession to the English throne; and he let it be known that he was not averse to taking James's place, providing that the rights of Mary, his wife, should also be considered. He kept in close touch with English affairs; and after the publication of the first Declaration of Indulgence, William wrote a little pamphlet, as a sort of reply, in which he asserted that he hoped to see the penal laws reduced and freedom of conscience for Catholics and dissenters established, but that he would not support the repeal of the Test act. This pamphlet was approved in many quarters in England, and before the news of the second Declaration of Indulgence had reached Holland, he had agreed in principle to an armed invasion of England. On June 30, 1688, on the day on which the seven bishops were acquitted, an invitation was sent to him signed by leading Anglicans, Tories, and Whigs, inviting him to depose James II.

William landed in England on November 5, 1688. James II, realizing that London was against him and that London now played the predominant part in English politics, fled as William and his Dutch army approached. He was captured by overzealous soldiers, but was placed under such carefully instructed guards that he could not help escaping again and reaching France. A convention Parliament was assembled in January,

1689, which declared that James II had abdicated his throne by his flight. It then discussed the next king. William let it be understood that he would not accept the throne to the prejudice of Mary, but that a joint sovereignty would meet his views. After Parliament had drawn up a Declaration of Right, which recited James's acts and denounced them as illegal, and after William and Mary had accepted the limitations and restrictions upon the royal power contained in this document, they were offered the throne as joint sovereigns of England. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 was accomplished, but nothing was settled, and it required the events of the next generation to give permanence to the principles of constitutionalism asserted at this time.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

G. Burnet, *The History of My Own Time.*
R. Lodge, *The Political History of England, 1660-1702.*
T. B. Macaulay, *History of England.*
G. N. Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade 1689-97.*
Kent Feiling, *History of the Tory Party.*
W. F. Lord, *England and the French in the Mediterranean 1660-1830.*

THE ARMY AND NAVY.

G. Callender, *The Naval Side of British History.*
J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army.*
A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660-1783.*
A. W. Tedder, *The Navy of the Restoration.*

ECONOMIC HISTORY.

See Books in Previous Lists.
G. L. Beer, *The Old Colonial System 1660-1754.*
W. A. Shaw, *The Beginnings of the National Debt.*

SOCIAL HISTORY.

A. C. A. Brett, *Charles II and His Court.*
J. Evelyn, *Diary.*
G. B. Hertz, *English Public Opinion after the Restoration.*
R. Newdegate, *Cavalier and Puritan 1675-89.*
S. Pepys, *Diary,* Ed., H. B. Wheatley.
W. C. Sydney, *Social Life in England 1660-1690.*
Lady Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family.*

CHURCH HISTORY.

See list in previous chapter.
W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism.*
J. W. Legg, *The English Church from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement.*
A. A. Seaton, *The Theory of Toleration under the Later Stuarts.*
W. B. Selbie, *A History of Nonconformity.*

Biography.

O. Airy, *Charles II.*
V. Barbour, *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington.*
A. Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby.*
W. D. Christie, *The Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury.*
J. S. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second.*
J. Corbett, *Monk.*
H. Craik, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon.*
A. Fea, *King Monmouth.*
H. C. Foxcroft, *The Life and Letters of George Savile, First Marquis of Halifax.*
A. Hamilton (Ed.), *Memoirs of Count Grammont.*
F. R. Harris, *The Life of Edward Montague, First Earl of Sandwich.*
T. H. Lister, *The Life of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon.*
W. C. Mackenzie, *The Life and Times of Lauderdale.*
R. North, *The Lives of the Norths.*

Sources.

C. G. Robertson, *Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents 1660-1832.*
T. G. Stone, *England under the Restoration.*

CHAPTER XIV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF 1688.

The Revolutionary Settlement in England

By the events of the Revolution of 1688 recognition was given to the first Whig principle of the limitation of the power of the crown. Under the provisions of the Declaration of Right, which William and Mary accepted before they were offered the throne, and which was given statutory form as the Bill of Rights in 1689, the king was henceforth an official bound by a contract and subject to dismissal if he broke the terms of that contract. The later Stuart absolutism had recognized the impossibility of doing without Parliament, but had tried to give the crown control of Parliament. This attempt was now defeated, and the monarchy was, in actual legal fact, set up by Parliament and responsible to it.

The second Whig principle, of toleration in religion, was in part established. William had promised toleration before he started for England, and the Anglican church had promised it during the revolt from James to keep the dissenters from selling themselves to James at the last moment. To redeem these promises, the Parliament of 1689 enacted a half-hearted measure of toleration. Nonconformist ministers who accepted the Trinity, and could subscribe to thirty-five out of the Thirty-nine Articles, and parts of two more, could now legally exercise their functions. But Unitarians and Catholics received no relief, although they were saved from renewed persecution through William's refusal to enforce the laws against them. Moreover, the Test and Corporation acts were continued in force. Under their operation dissenters continued to be excluded from all political, civil, and military offices in the national and local governments. This was true until 1727, when Walpole began the practice of allowing them to hold office without submitting to the tests, and securing them against punishment afterward for breaking the law by an annual act of in-

demnity. Catholics were excluded from any participation in public life for a century longer, until 1828 and 1829.

It must be realized, however, that no settlement was given assured permanence by the events of 1688 and 1689. The Whigs, whose principles had been asserted to sanction the Revolution, were only lukewarm in their support of William and Mary. As for the Tories, some of whom had taken the leading part against James because of their exasperation at his interference with their monopoly of officeholding, many refused to acknowledge William and Mary at all, and others were ready on the slightest chance to turn back to James and accept his restoration. All things were uncertain and were kept in a flux by a long period of warfare which continued until 1697. The reconquest of Scotland and Ireland to their allegiance occupied the first years of the new reign, and after that William succeeded in involving England in active operations against France, a matter which represented his real desire in seeking the English throne. For many years English armies and English fleets shared the disasters and defeats of the League of Augsburg against Louis XIV, by which, at length, a check was placed upon his policy of aggression by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

During the course of these years, the lot of William as King of England was not to be envied. Some of his most able officers, such as Lord Russell, admiral of the fleet, and John Churchill, the most renowned English military captain of his time, together with many of his political advisers were constantly in communication with the enemy, and his measures were abused by both Whigs and Tories in Parliament. Yet William consented to bear almost any insult in order that he might keep the power of England actively on the side of his own native country, the Netherlands, in the life and death struggle with France. Out of his balancing of forces, factions, and politicians, certain advances were made in determining the place of the political groups in the government, and their relation to the king and to each other.

The Whigs and Tories in William and Mary's Reign

It must be kept in mind that the period before the Revolution of 1688 had witnessed the struggle on the part of the political leaders for the control of the spoils of office for themselves and their followers. There was no radical change in the attitude thus revealed toward the *raison d'être* of political life—

the control of the government and its jobs—after 1688. In theory, the Tories still continued to believe in strong central government. Even though certain Tory leaders had taken part against James and thus virtually denied their principles of non-resistance to authority and hereditary right, a number of the Tories remained true to their old professions, rejected the right of revolution, and refused to forswear James as their king. Many of the most logical churchmen, led by Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, refused to take the oath of allegiance to William. It was necessary to deprive nearly four hundred of these of their churches by act of Parliament, and they continued as the "Non-juring" church until the death of their last archbishop in 1805. The extreme Tories who actually expected to see a restoration of James or of his sons came to be called Jacobites, and if they never really endangered the continuance of the revolution settlement, they did succeed in giving the government several bad scares. Other Tories openly disapproved of the origin of the government of William and Mary, but accepted it as an established fact and were willing to work with it. In general practice, Tories considerably modified their principles of strong government. It may be that they felt that since the King was only a usurper after all, it would be well to reduce his power. Moreover, they distrusted William because he was a Dutchman and put the Netherlands first in his affection. Most important of all, the whole trend of William's policies was opposed to their interests. They were country gentlemen with nothing to gain by a war with France, which meant only a larger army, which they hated, and heavier taxes, which they detested. They were, therefore, willing to put as many limits upon the king's power in practice as ever the Whigs had put in theory.

The Whigs were the more sympathetic element in William's eyes on his coming to England. Their chief strength was among the mercantile classes of the cities. They believed in checking rival economic interests like those of France by active warfare and in expanding markets by colonization and trading companies. They believed in William's foreign policy against France and, in consequence, supported him as the protector of the liberties of Europe against Louis XIV. The war which they welcomed inevitably led to a real increase in the king's power, so that in fact the Whigs exalted the prerogative which in theory they so bitterly condemned. The whole problem of giving an adequate description of the attitude of the Whig and

Tory groups to William, and of his relations with them, is made extremely difficult by the fact that, while there were Whig and Tory principles surviving from the period since 1678, these were obsolescent and no longer divided men into definite parties.

By 1697 or 1698 a certain reality of issues between the Whigs and Tories was superseding the old outworn shibboleths. The first of these was the support or opposition to the war with France. The second was a more specialized consideration, which, however, affected many of the wealthiest and most influential Englishmen of the day. It concerned the policy to be adopted toward the leading commercial companies. The three outstanding companies in the Restoration period were the Royal African Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the British East India Company. Participation in their ownership was very strictly limited, and their control was in the hands of very small groups. The Hudson's Bay Company had 32 members in 1672; the Royal African Company, 198 members in 1682; and the British East India Company, 320 in 1688 and 482 in 1693. With their trading monopolies and closed directorates, the companies were the objects of envy from those who wished to break through their trade monopoly and, above all, from those who wished to displace the existing managements to their own advantage.

The story of the British East India Company is particularly illuminating in this regard. As early as 1681 Thomas Papillon, the deputy governor, a capitalist merchant of London, sought to oust Josiah Child from his dictatorial position as governor. In the contest Papillon was defeated; whereupon, he and his supporters sold their East India stock and proceeded to trade in India as interlopers in defiance of the company's monopoly. The company at once brought suit against certain of the intruders and cultivated the favor of James by ardent support of the royal prerogative, by which its charter had been granted. James secured large holdings of stock in the company, and the royal courts gave judgment in its favor. In consequence, Papillon and his friends looked to Parliament for aid. After the Revolution they formed a syndicate with a campaign fund of £180,000, appealed to Parliament for damages, and sought to secure a reorganization of the company which would place them in control, or the organization of a new company which should entirely supplant Child's organization and enjoy its monopoly. Just as Child and the company supported the prerogative and relied upon Tory politicians, who had been their

friends before the Revolution and were at the moment the most prominent men in the government, such as the Duke of Leeds (formerly the Earl of Danby), so Papillon and his syndicate insisted upon the powers of Parliament and sought the help of the Whigs. The real issue, however, was not the question of royal prerogative or parliamentary control, but whether Papillon or Child should control the East Indian trade. As a result of the connection between Child and the prerogative, all those who favored the British East India Company and its monopoly called themselves Tories, and those who desired to see the monopoly transferred to Papillon were counted as Whigs. Eventually in 1698 a new "Whig" company was formed, although some arrangement was made by which the old "Tory" company continued to operate as a special syndicate under the new charter. Finally, in 1708 the two companies were united; but during the course of the first ten years after the Revolution support of one or the other was a major political issue, made more so, incidentally, by the expenditure of nearly four hundred thousand pounds in bribes by the two groups.

A similar business rivalry, which was transmuted into politics, was that between two groups of bankers in 1694-1696. One group headed by William Paterson appealed especially to the commercial interests, and its scheme was considered "Whig"; another group headed by Nicolas Barbon and John Brisco, which announced its purpose to lend money on the security of land, had the support of landed proprietors and was called "Tory."

To apprehend the political situation after the Revolution still more clearly, it must be kept in mind that the Whigs and Tories were not political parties of the modern variety with efficient organization, centralized control, and party platforms. Rather each "party" was a loose combination of factional leaders who were personal friends and acquaintances and agreed to pool their political influence for mutual advantage. The most important form of political influence was the control of members in the House of Commons, which was secured in various ways. Thomas, Duke of Wharton, for example, a notable politician of this period, interested himself in elections in every county in which he had land and is said to have spent £80,000 during his various campaigns. As a result, he always had a considerable number of henchmen sitting in the House, whose votes he placed at the disposal of any combination which he entered. There was little hesitation in rearranging combinations, and leaders shifted from one group to the other, were

excluded by former friends, or made alliances with old enemies as best suited their objects. Since Parliament now dominated the state, the object of political manipulation was the control of Parliament.

The development which followed is largely affected by the fact that William himself took part in the political game. His purpose was to secure suitable combinations of leaders who would accept his measures and could at the same time secure their passage through Parliament. Immediately after his accession, he called to his service a number of ministers representing many varieties of political interest. He discovered, however, that he had failed to effect just that combination which would control the House and at the same time accept his program. Many of the Whigs who wanted revenge for their sufferings since 1681 refused to pass an act of indemnity, granting a general pardon for past offenses during the reign of James II. They insisted, moreover, on a Corporation act, which would have excluded many who had been their enemies from political life during the next seven years. The Whig policy was most unwise, since it would have resulted in throwing the Tories into the arms of James II as their only hope of return to political life; and William III, feeling that the support of the Tories was essential to avoid civil war, dissolved the House of Commons and effected a new combination of politicians, chosen predominantly from among the Tories to carry through his program.

It was William's wish, above all things, to secure efficient parliamentary action in support of the war through coöperation with politicians who controlled the House of Commons and were willing to act under his direction. During the next few years, William called to his aid the best minds of all groups. As things worked out, he was unable to be in England more than a small part of the time, and, consequently, the ministers had to carry more responsibility than William had intended. In view of this circumstance, it was desirable to secure greater unity among the ministers, so that they might pull together more smoothly. This was brought home to the King by a delicate political situation in 1692, when the Earl of Nottingham, the Secretary of State, and Lord Russell, the Lord Admiral, had a violent quarrel, which threatened to impede English participation in the war. At about the same time the Earl of Sunderland, who had been thoroughly discredited by his actions as James II's chief adviser, made an effort to return to public

life. He succeeded in getting a group of leading politicians, Lord Russell, the Duke of Wharton, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Somers, and Charles Montagu, to gather at his house and to effect some kind of close alliance known as the Whig Junto. He then showed William the advantages of taking his ministers from a single group, which would not be torn by internal dissention, and in 1694, on the occasion of a great naval disaster, the loss of the Smyrna fleet, William dismissed some of his chief Tory ministers and replaced them with members of the Junto. The success of such a united group as the Junto gave some impetus to the idea of closer party organization, and the fixing of party distinctions was advanced by the complete exclusion of Tory ministers from office in 1696. Those in office were Whigs, who had worked together to attain their position; those out of office were Tories, who must join their forces to recover their power.

Although William attempted to secure ministries which could control the House of Commons in the interests of convenience, it was not as yet asserted that the political complexion of the House had any necessary connection with the ministry. The House was actually Whig for a year before the shift to a completely Whig ministry was completed; and when the House became Tory again in the election of 1698, William kept his Whig ministers. He found himself in close harmony with them; and, inasmuch as the proclamation of peace in 1697 made appeals for war taxes unnecessary, it was no longer necessary to pay the closest attention to the House of Commons. But the Tory leaders were groping toward the idea that the party with a majority in the House of Commons ought to control the ministry, and they hit upon the device of attempting to remove the Whig ministers by impeachment in 1701. They were unsuccessful in this, since the Whigs still controlled the House of Lords, where impeachment trials were conducted. The whole development of the reign, however, contributed something to the establishment of the idea that the ministry should be chosen from that party which had a majority in the House of Commons, and that the ministry should retire from office when the opposing party secured a majority in the House.

Assurances of the Revolutionary Settlement

One important development in the assurance of the permanence of the revolutionary settlement grew up out of the dis-

satisfaction of the Tory majority in the House from 1698 onward. To discredit all of William's earlier policies, the Tory leaders in the House of Commons used language about the crown, which was essentially the language of Whiggism; and finally, in 1701, they enacted their criticism of the King into an act of Settlement. In this they tacitly accepted the principles of the Revolution of 1688. They did this first by filling up gaps in the Bill of Rights, to limit the power of the king still further and to prevent repetition of certain of William's unpopular acts, such as grants to his Dutch friends. The act made it impossible for the king to secure interpretations of the law in his own interest by intimidating or removing judges, as the Stuart Kings had done, by providing that judges were no longer to be appointed during the king's pleasure, but were irremovable except for cause. Finally, under the terms of the act of Settlement, the crown was conferred by Parliament. In view of the danger to the succession involved in the fact that William and Mary had no children and that the Duke of Gloucester, the only one of Anne's seventeen children to grow past infancy, had died, it was necessary to provide for the succession to prevent a Catholic Stuart restoration. Passing by the son of the deposed King, the Tories selected Sophia, Electress of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth (daughter of James I) and Frederick of the Palatinate, and her heirs "being Protestant" to succeed to the English throne after Anne, the sister of Mary, and second daughter of James II. When William died in 1702 as the result of a fall from his horse, which was thrown by stumbling in a mole-hole, some Tories still drank to the "King over the water" and toasted the little gentleman in black velvet (the mole), who had relieved them of William; but the rank and file of the party accepted the Revolution as irrevocable and only wished to make as much out of the new situation for themselves as possible.

Another important factor in fixing the revolutionary settlement was the financial question and its solution. The weakest point in every English government since Norman times had been its financial problems, and this was equally true of the government of William and Mary. During the period of the Long Parliament, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, Englishmen had had driven home to them the lesson that it was impossible to run a government without great sums of money, and a beginning was even made of raising that money by direct and indirect taxation on a larger scale than anything ever

known before. When Charles II returned to the throne at the time of the Restoration, there was no more talk about the necessity of the king's "living of his own." The nation in Parliament accepted the responsibility of financing the state and voted Charles II an annual grant of £1,200,000, made up of many kinds of taxes, especially excises and customs dues, and a new tax on hearths or chimneys. But as in earlier times, taxes, even when voted by Parliament, were hard to collect in full, and in some years they yielded only half the annual grant. As a consequence Charles II had to resort to Parliament for supplies, and there was high debate about the royal extravagance. Some of this criticism was, of course, justified in view of the luxury of Charles's mistresses; but assertions that Lady Castlemaine never went out with fewer than eight milk-white horses to her coach were beside the point, and represented the traditional unwillingness of Englishmen to pay for the expenses of their government, rather than any real answer to the King's declaration that the parliamentary grants could not be collected.

When England entered the war against France on the side of the League of Augsburg, after the accession of William and Mary, it was William's plan that England's chief function should be to act as paymaster to the forces of the alliance. The consequent expenditures raised the revenue problem in sharpest fashion. William's first experiments in finance were far from happy. He was forced to consent to the repeal of the hearth or chimney tax, because of the unpopularity of the inspectors or "chimneymen," who "invaded" the privacy of Englishmen's houses to count the hearths and chimneys. To make good the annual deficits, the land tax of a certain number of shillings in each pound of the value of the annual rent of land was introduced, together with taxes on births, marriages, burials, bachelors and widowers, peddlers, hackney-coaches in London, and on windows in houses. Stamp-duties were imposed on legal documents, and the customs and excises were increased. A tax on Jews failed only because the Jews threatened to leave England if it were imposed. While an actual revenue of over four million pounds was collected by these means in 1692 and in 1693, an insignificant army and an ill-equipped fleet absorbed £3,100,000 in 1692 and £4,300,000 in 1693; and the government was anticipating the revenues of years further and further into the future to pay its expenses. This was done by issuing tallies

to the creditors of the government. Tallies were orders to the collectors of the several revenues to pay certain of their receipts directly to the bearers in such and such a year. As the date of payment on the tallies was pushed further and further ahead, their discount value fell as much as forty per cent, and of course prices to the government from the army contractors rose accordingly.

Fortunately for William he was served by an able financier, who brought to play a certain amount of originality, that had been sadly lacking in government finance for many a year. Sir Charles Montagu, one of the lords of the treasury, and later Chancellor of the Exchequer, not only levied new taxes, but had the brilliant inspiration that instead of using the revenues to pay day-to-day expenses, for which they were inadequate, he might use them to provide the interest on loans which need not be repaid before a distant date. The capital sums borrowed on the faith of the government, for which the revenues would provide the interest and gradual repayment of the principal, would be more than adequate to pay all war expenses without stirring up undue opposition in Parliament or in the country. At first it was somewhat difficult to find the inducements which would persuade men to lend their money to the government. Montagu's first device in 1692 was a "tontine" loan, under the terms of which the government paid annuities of ten per cent until 1700, and seven per cent after that date, with a division of the annuities of deceased subscribers among all who survived, until only seven were left, when all payments ceased. In 1693 Montagu agreed to pay fourteen per cent a year on any subscription during the life of any person indicated, the principal to be amortized and interest to cease with the death of the person. In 1694 he issued a lottery loan, bearing interest at ten per cent for sixteen years (at the end of which time the principal was to be considered repaid) with 2500 lucky numbers, the first of which secured an income of £1000 a year for sixteen years. In this same year Montagu accepted another plan for a loan to the government. It was suggested that the government might attract large sums if it offered not only interest, but certain concessions of privileges which the state could make. Several years before, William Paterson had brought to Montagu a plan for a loan to the government from a syndicate, provided that the government granted the syndicate a charter to open a bank. In the extremity of 1694, when the government was still a million

pounds short under its estimates, Montagu accepted Paterson's plan. The syndicate was to subscribe £1,200,000 to the government at eight per cent plus a small additional sum and to receive a charter incorporating it as the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. A number of loans of this sort were made during the next twenty years or so, by the East India Company, the South Sea Company, and by the Bank, for privileges, or extensions and increases of existing privileges. Eventually, the payment of a smaller annual interest with the repayment of the principal in a lump sum at the end of a certain long period was found to be the most desirable terms for government loans, and became generally adopted.

In this way the national debt of England came into being. It is probably more than a coincidence that the invention of the national debt followed so shortly after the Revolution of 1688. The political classes had assured themselves against arbitrary taxation by one device after another since the Petition of Right. But they had not been able to keep down government expenditure; and now that they were the responsible authors of state policy, they were morally accountable for finding the necessary funds. Yet even now they desired to secure their fortunes against the state's necessities. The national debt enabled them to carry out vast projects and great wars without taxing themselves for their total cost. Thus they ate their cake and kept their penny. In a narrow sense, the creation of the national debt did much to give security to the revolutionary settlement of 1688. There was much surplus English capital in the market, for which there was no "attractive" demand in the rather restricted industry of the time, and little even in the commercial ventures of the day. This was given good terms and security in the "funds" of the national debt; and once their money was invested, moneyed men became active supporters of the government, whose continuance alone assured them of repayment. Any restoration of the Stuarts was obnoxious to them, because the return of that family probably meant the repudiation of the obligations of the government of William and Mary.

Moreover, as the security of national stock, as the English call their government bonds, became recognized, large blocks of this national stock could be used to constitute a "fund of credit" for undertakings on the largest scale. Such enterprises might not attract capital in sufficient amount on the strength of their own prospects, yet arrangements might be made to turn all their subscribed capital into government stock,

and on the security of this stock to issue bonds to provide working capital. The idea was an alluring one and furnished ground for an argument that the very existence of a national debt made for prosperity, until it was tried on an extensive scale in connection with the South Sea Company and apparently disproved by the cataclysmic failure of the company in 1720.

While the creation of the national debt undoubtedly did a great deal to make the Revolution of 1688 permanent, there is much to be urged against national debts on ethical grounds. In the first place, the so-called surplus capital which went into war and conquest through the medium of the national debt could have been used to greater advantage in building up English agriculture, or even in raising the standard of living of Englishmen. In the second place, granted that the objects for which the money raised by the national debt was spent were good in themselves, the creation of the debt was a shifting of the burdens from the present generation which benefited, or at least had the fun of spending the money, to future generations, and from the classes especially interested, to all Englishmen. It is probably good ethics to let each generation spend its own money, and not to load it with unpaid debts of the past. Even if a new generation gets advantage from past expenditure, which can seldom be proved, it is its birthright to get something from its fathers. Another way of putting this objection to a national debt is to say that its existence constitutes a long-continued drag and burden on agriculture, industry, and commerce, which need never have come into being, if the generation which made the debt had been honest enough to pay it. A close examination into the economics of national debts seems to suggest that the debt represents originally either economic goods created by special effort, or goods unconsumed by special abstention. The generation which made these special efforts has already received its rewards in the benefits arising from its expenditures, and should not seek further repayment from the future. On a lesser count, national debts are also objectionable in that they lead governments to relax care and caution in expenditure, when money is easily obtainable by means of loans.

The Development of Party Government

In spite of the rapid development of the party system during William and Mary's reign, many details of its practice were as yet undeveloped when Anne became queen on William's

death in 1702. There was no rigid party discipline. There was no single party chief who spoke for the party and represented it in dealing with the king and the rival party. No leader actually controlled more than a very small number of men in his party, so that both the Whig and Tory parties were still confederacies of factions and groups loosely held together by ties of common interest. While William had chosen his ministers on one occasion from the party which had a majority in the House of Commons, there was no feeling that this must be done. Indeed, ministers were frequently chosen from both parties. There could in such case be no unity of the ministry in the sense that they were united in their policy and stood and fell together. The relationship of the ministry to the House of Commons and Parliament was ill defined. The modern notion that the ministry is a parliamentary committee acting as the executive authority was so far from being evolved that many politicians actually held that ministers should not be members of Parliament. There was no necessity for ministers to resign after an adverse vote in the House of Commons, and on the other hand, they could be dismissed by the king while still possessing parliamentary majorities.

The contest of the Whigs and Tories for the control of the government, which had begun in 1688, was not interrupted by the King's death in 1702. William's last years had been marked by Tory majorities in the House of Commons, which went so far as to impeach the Whig ministers in seeking to secure the control of the government for the party which mustered a majority of voters. This process was interrupted in 1701 by England's participation as the ally of Holland against Louis XIV, in the War of the Spanish Succession, the causes of which will be discussed in the next chapter. The real control of the state passed into the hands of John Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough, the "General," selected by William to lead the allied armies, and Sydney Godolphin, the "Treasurer." They dominated the Queen through Sarah Churchill, the general's wife, and worked through Parliament to secure England's fullest participation in the war. Parties continued, however, to carry on their struggles against each other, and party lines were more definitely formed. William's last Parliament was dissolved in July, 1702, after his death and the new Parliament was made up of Tories by a majority of two to one. The war became the issue. The Tories charged the Whigs with burdening the nation with heavy war taxes to their own profit, and

the Whigs issued the names of 167 members of the last Parliament who had been "friends" of France. To forestall similar charges against themselves, the Tories of this Parliament zealously supported the war. In the next few years the influence of the Tories was considerably weakened. One faction, the High Church Tories, was discredited by an attempt to attach to a financial measure a bill against "occasional conformity," prohibiting conformity to the Anglican church merely as a means of passing the tests for public office, and their leader, the Earl of Nottingham, was replaced in the ministry by more moderate Tories, Robert Harley and Henry St. John.

In 1705, the Whigs won a victory at the polls. Ministers from both parties continued in office, but to avoid the embarrassment which might be produced by the inclination of even the moderate Tories to discuss peace before the war aims of the allies had been attained, Marlborough and Godolphin were led to depend more completely upon the Whigs. In 1708, when Robert Harley and Henry St. John sought to undermine Churchill and Godolphin's power by replacing the Duchess of Marlborough as the Queen's companion by a Mrs. Masham, the General and Treasurer threatened to resign unless their rivals were dismissed. The removal of Harley and St. John in 1708 left all the ministers of the Whig party; Parliament was also Whig; and thus, for the first time since the war opened, the Whigs were in complete control of the government. Their one fear was a political reaction; and as they saw things in 1708, such a situation would be precipitated most surely by the coming of peace. In 1706 Louis had asked for peace on the condition that Philip, his grandson, whom he had placed on the Spanish throne on the death of Carlos II in 1701, should give up the throne of Spain with compensation from the Spanish dominions in Italy, and the barrier fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands should be given up to Holland. But the Emperor had by this time determined to win all of Spain's dominions for his son Charles; and although no such agreement had been made in the treaty of the Grand Alliance in 1701, the English government, supported by Parliament, took the stand that "no peace would be safe or honorable if Spain, the West Indies, or any part of the Spanish Dominions be entrusted to the house of Bourbon, till the entire monarchy of Spain be restored to the House of Austria." In 1709 Louis again offered to make peace. His finances were ruined; his armies had been defeated by Marlborough in the Netherlands and in Germany. He offered

to abandon his grandson; to give up Strassburg, Brisach, and Luxemburg to the Emperor; to give ten barrier fortresses to Holland; to give two great fortesses to the Duke of Savoy; to recognize the title of Anne as Queen of England (which he had hitherto refused to do); to expel the Pretender, James II's son, from France; to destroy Dunkirk; and to give Newfoundland to England. The Whigs were aghast at the danger of peace. So they denounced Louis as wanting in faith and trust and insisted, as a pledge of his good intentions, that he not only abandon his grandson, but actually drive him out of Spain within two months. Since the allies had been trying to drive Philip out of Spain ever since the war started, and had been unable to do so in the face of the passionate loyalty of the Spanish people, such a demand was equivalent to a refusal of Louis's offer. Their old formula of "No Peace without Spain" was equivalent to "No Peace till Doomsday."

The occasion for a reaction which the peace might have entailed was gratuitously furnished by Godolphin and the government. On November 5, 1709, the anniversary of the landing of William of Orange in England, a London preacher, Dr. Sacheverell, had preached a Tory sermon in St. Paul's cathedral, full of very strong language about dissenters, and about passive obedience and nonresistance to authority, with innuendoes at the Glorious Revolution. He made pointed allusions to Godolphin in the character of Volpone, a character in Ben Jonson's play, *The Fox*. The sermon was printed and 40,000 copies of it were sold. Godolphin insisted that such language as Sacheverell had used could not be passed over, and that, instead of being left to the ordinary courts, he be impeached in Parliament. His trial was a political event of first importance. It focused the attention of political England and stirred such depths of feeling that, although Sacheverell was found guilty, he was merely suspended from preaching for three years, but not from public prayers. He immediately undertook a praying tour through England. In prayers to God of extreme length he managed to convey to the crowded congregations something of his Tory message, even more effectively than he could have done in any sermons. The popular excitement was increased when Marlborough asked the Queen to make him captain general for life. Cries of the danger of another Cromwell arose; and with the backing of public opinion Anne dismissed Marlborough and Godolphin and the Whig ministers in the summer of 1710, and appointed Robert Harley and Henry St.

John to head the government. When the next elections were held in September, 1710, attended by lavish bribery and corruption, the Tories carried the polls and controlled the House of Commons.

The victorious party felt they must secure their new-won power by making peace at once. By January of 1711 Henry St. John was in communication with France. For the next eight months the correspondence was carried on secretly through the poet, Matthew Prior. St. John repeatedly denied that there were any negotiations on foot; and it was not until they were nearly ended and a general conference arranged for the next year at Utrecht, that they were revealed through a customs house official's search of Prior's baggage. The Whigs at once made every effort to stop the peace. The Dutch and Austrian ambassadors denounced the peace before the Queen. Marlborough was trotted out to declare that unless the Bourbons were driven from Spain all his victories were useless and wasted. The High Church Tories were won over by the Whigs by promises of an occasional conformity bill, and the dissenters were told that if the Tories fell acts against them would be repealed. On December 7, 1711, the Earl of Nottingham, leader of the High Church Tories, introduced a resolution into the House of Lords for "No peace without Spain." It was carried by a vote of 62 to 54; and the Whigs believed that they had definitely checked the Tory plans for peace, since the treaty would now fail of ratification in the House of Lords. But Harley and St. John were not at the end of their resources. On December 31, 1711, Anne created twelve new peers, and the peace was assured of acceptance.

Meantime the Tories were already at work at the favorite game of assuring the perpetuity of their power. They passed an act requiring every knight of the shire or member of Parliament from a county to have an income of £600 from land a year, and every member from the towns to have £300 a year from land. They passed a bill against occasional conformity; they adopted a Schism act, forbidding dissenters to be schoolmasters and shutting them out of the universities. In six months more they would have deprived dissenters of the parliamentary franchise and of the right to sit in the House of Commons. In other words, they would have stripped the Whig party of a great part of its voting membership and assured to themselves the unquestioned control of the British government.

The Tory program was stayed, however, by a personal quarrel

between Harley and St. John. The two men were temperamentally incompatible. Harley was slow and rather plodding, and was generally muddled with too much port wine. St. John was quick, daring, brilliant. When Harley was raised to the peerage as Earl of Oxford, and St. John was made only Viscount Bolingbroke, a rank lower, St. John felt a personal slight, and presently the two men quarreled. After much intrigue Bolingbroke succeeded in inducing Anne to command Oxford, on July 27, 1714, to give up his staff of office as Lord High Treasurer, the insignia of the chief minister of the crown. Before Bolingbroke could establish himself in Oxford's place, the Queen was stricken with apoplexy, and for five days she lay in her palace at Kensington between life and death.

Under the act of Settlement the throne was to go to George, Elector of Hanover, the son of Sophia, the granddaughter of James I. Anne had absolutely refused to allow her own death to be thought of by those in attendance upon her. Consequently, they were prevented from making any arrangements for the future; specifically, they had been unable to enter into any correspondence with George. The Whigs, on the other hand, had flattered and courted the German prince and attached him completely and absolutely to the Whig party.

Now that the Queen lay dying, Bolingbroke and his Tory friends saw the imminence of a Whig return to power. In their determination to keep control of the government, they thought of altering the succession and restoring the Jacobites. Bolingbroke was in secret correspondence with the young Pretender, James III, and was making preparations for a government in England willing to receive him back as king. But at the last moment he lost his nerve, or had not completed his plans. On July 30 the political committee of the Privy Council, the group of ministers who controlled the government, were summoned to Kensington Palace. While they were in session, two Whig Dukes, Argyle and Somerset, who though not ministers were members of the rather amorphous Privy Council, of which the ministry was technically a committee, demanded admittance. They had a legal right to enter, and their contention was upheld by the Duke of Shrewsbury. The three dukes took charge of the meeting, which resolved to recommend Shrewsbury to the Queen for the lord treasurership. Rousing herself she handed him the white staff on July 31, and next day she died. The three dukes proclaimed the succession of the Elector of Hanover, and the Tories accepted the situation. "In six

weeks more," wrote Bolingbroke to Dean Swift, "we should have put things into such condition that there would have been nothing to fear. But Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the Queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us." To which Swift replied, "It is true, my lord, the events of five days last week might furnish morals for another volume of Seneca."

On reaching England, George I appointed an almost exclusively Whig ministry; and from that moment until 1761 or 1762, the Whigs controlled the House of Commons and the government.

Bolingbroke soon fled to France, where he remained some years as Secretary of State to James III, although later he was pardoned and returned to England. In 1715 the disappointed Jacobites made an attempt to recover the throne by force of arms. The revolt, almost nothing in England, but more serious in Scotland, was a failure. Its most important effect was to give an excuse to the Whigs to pass a Septennial act for seven-year Parliaments. Under the law of 1694 Parliament continued in session for three years. There would normally have been an election in 1717. But in the crisis of 1715 the Whig leaders declared that it was impossible to hold an election two years hence in the excited state of the country, lest they be turned out of office. They, therefore, prolonged their own session to a seven years' period, which made it easier for the Whigs to manage the House of Commons, which was now more independent of its constituents. With the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty and the establishment of the long Whig control, the permanence of the Revolution settlement was assured in England.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTERS XIV AND XV

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

I. S. Leadam, *The Political History of England 1702-1760.*

E. S. and M. S. Grew, *Court Life of William III.*
William Bentinck and William III.

W. T. Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders during the Reign of Queen Anne.*

Philip, Earl of Stanhope, *The Reign of Queen Anne.*

H. D. Traill, *William III.*

F. W. Wyon, *The Reign of Queen Anne.*

CONSTITUTIONAL PRACTICE AND POLITICAL THEORY.

W. R. Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution.*

R. Filmer, *Patriarca, or the Natural Power of Kings.*

T. Hobbes, *Leviathan.*
H. J. Laski, *Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham.*
John Locke, *Two Treatises on Civil Government.*
A. S. Turberville, *The House of Lords in the Reign of William III.*

Economic History.

A. Andreades, *History of the Bank of England.*
C. F. Dunbar, *Theory and History of Banking.*
H. E. Fiske, *English Public Finance from the Revolution of 1688.*
Shafaat Ahmed Khan, *The East India Trade in the XVIIth Century.*

Social History.

J. Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne.*

The Union of England and Scotland.

P. H. Brown, *The Legislative Union of England and Scotland.*
J. Mackinnon, *The Union of England and Scotland.*
W. L. Mathieson, *Scotland and the Union.*

Biography.

C. T. Atkinson, *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army.*
W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough,* Ed., J. Wade.
H. Elliot, *The Life of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin.*
L. Melville, *The Life and Writings of Philip, Duke of Wharton.*
S. J. Reid, *John and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough.*
J. M. Robertson, *Bolingbroke and Walpole.*
E. S. Roscoe, *Robert Harley.*
J. Russell, *The Life of William, Lord Russell.*
W. Sichel, *Bolingbroke and His Times.*
A. W. Ward, *Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession.*

See also general works on the Eighteenth Century at the end of Chapter XV.

CHAPTER XV

LATER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY LIFE AND THOUGHT

The Revolutionary Settlement in Ireland

With the restoration of Charles II in England in 1660, the Commonwealth conquest of Ireland by Cromwell and the forcible union of the Irish Parliament with the English Parliament were revised. Charles II's purpose in dealing with Ireland seems to have been to organize a state there so submissive that it would be ready, if necessary, to aid him in reducing England to like submission. He restored the independent Irish Parliament. He did not apply the penal laws against Catholics to Ireland, and consequently, there was no religious persecution in the island. Even the Test act was not extended to the country, so that Catholics were not excluded from public office as they were in England. In spite of such notable concessions, Ireland was far from contentment or internal peace and unity. It will be remembered that, at the time of the conquest of Ireland by Cromwell, the native Catholic landowning aristocracy and gentry had been dispossessed of their lands and removed to the unfertile regions of the west of Ireland. Their estates were distributed to English colonists, largely made up of soldiers and officers of Cromwell's army, many of whom became absentee landlords. When Charles II was restored to his throne, the dispossessed Catholic landowners clamored for voidance of the Cromwellian grants and their own restoration, on the ground that they had aided Charles I during the Civil wars. Their claim to royal gratitude was, however, of recent origin, since it was only with the beginning of the Civil wars that they had ceased to be rebels against the crown, and then only because they recognized that if Parliament should be successful in the struggle, it would be a harder taskmaster than ever the King was. Charles II did not revoke the Cromwellian grants, but subjected them to certain scrutinies, which assured at least two-thirds of the land of the country to the

English Protestant colonists and did not return much of the other third to the native Catholic element.

With the accession of James II the Irish Catholics hoped for much from the King who professed their faith. They looked forward not only to restoration to political life, which had become a monopoly of the English settlers, but to the recovery of their lands. James really had no desire to see the native Irish element supreme in the island, since their supremacy unquestionably meant a renewed attempt to secure freedom from England, which James was no more inclined to grant than any of his predecessors. But as he saw England growing more and more restive under his rule, he believed that he could rely upon Ireland for help against his English subjects, if he made concessions enough. Such was the counsel of the Earl of Tyrconnel, and at last James gave him a free hand in turning the municipal governments and the commissions in the Irish army over to Roman Catholics, in order that they might help him maintain his power in England. When James fled to France after the coming of William, the Irish Catholics remained loyal to him; and under Tyrconnel's lead they planned to resist William and Mary's claim to be their sovereigns. The French King, Louis XIV, immediately decided to aid the Irish to maintain their refusal to accept the new English government, since as long as Ireland was in rebellion England could take no decisive part in the war which William was waging on France. James felt that he might use Ireland as a stepping stone to the reconquest of England, and in 1689 he left France and went to Ireland in person with French officers, and French supplies of arms, ammunition, and money. For a time it seemed that the Catholic Irish everywhere were on the verge of overpowering and driving out the minority of English Protestant settlers. Even in Ulster, where the Protestant settlers were longer on the soil and more numerous, they were driven into Enniskillen and Londonderry for refuge and were being besieged by Irish troops. At the moment when Londonderry seemed doomed, an Irish Parliament met in Dublin, controlled by the native Irish. It attempted to repeal the whole Cromwellian settlement of the land, restore the Roman Catholic church, and make Ireland independent of England. This was a policy to which James, as King of England, was opposed, but which in his present state he felt obliged to accept.

Alarmed by the impending loss of Ireland and the loss of the vast estates held by Englishmen there, the English public

demanded the reconquest of the island. A force was sent to relieve Londonderry, and Marshal Schomberg, the most distinguished general in William's service, was placed in charge of the army of reconquest. Schomberg's forces were ill-trained, badly equipped, and inadequate, and James was able to hold most of the country against him. To end the drain of the army in Ireland, which had helped in this year to prevent a series of victories on the continent, William took command in Ireland in person with an army of forty thousand men. James awaited his coming on the south bank of the river Boyne, while William reached the north bank on the thirtieth of June. The battle of the Boyne was fought on the next day, and James, thinking all was lost by his defeat, fled to France. Ireland was not, however, completely subdued until Limerick capitulated in the next year (1691).

On this occasion a treaty was arranged, called the treaty of Limerick, which was to fix the status of Ireland on fair and generous terms for Roman Catholics. It provided free exercise of the Catholic religion as in the days of Charles II, amnesty for acts committed during the war, and the restoration of such estates to the native Irish as they held before the war. But the English Parliament proceeded to tear up the treaty without the slightest regard for the observance of engagements. All Roman Catholic clergy were banished from the kingdom, and all Roman Catholic rebels, except those provided for by the narrowest and strictest construction of the treaty of Limerick, were to suffer confiscation of goods and property. Roman Catholics were excluded from public office and even (for the first time) from the Irish Parliament; and a new set of penal laws, among the most atrocious in history, was perfected to burden the Roman Catholics in the exercise of their religion. Roman Catholic teachers were forbidden to teach, and Roman Catholic Irishmen were forbidden to send their children overseas to be educated as Roman Catholics.

By a series of enactments of William's reign and later, Catholic Irishmen were prevented from acquiring property and excluded from various occupations in which they might earn their living. They could not own a horse worth more than £5; they could not buy land or take any lease for a period longer than thirty-one years; they could not inherit lands from a Protestant; they could not devise their estates to an eldest son if he were a Catholic, but must break them up by dividing them among all their sons; and if the son of a Catholic became a Protestant,

the father's rights in his property were greatly reduced. Catholics might not be employed as fowlers; they might not be solicitors, law officers, or constables; and if engaged in business, except in the hemp and linen manufacture, they might not have more than two apprentices. The principal purpose of this code was the economic degradation of the Irish Catholics. It was no worse than similar codes which Catholic nations were enforcing against their Protestant subjects, and it was thoroughly justifiable in the thinking of the time. Unfortunately, it degraded the whole Irish nation, Catholics and Protestants alike. The English Protestant domination of Ireland was absolutely complete, but the peace of deadness settled upon the unhappy country. The history of Ireland in the eighteenth century is preëminently the history of Ireland in the hands of the English Protestant landlord, very often a nonresident landlord, who drew the rents of the country year after year to England to enrich and beautify her life.

To make the wretched country even more wretched the policy of restricting Irish industry, agriculture, and commerce in favor of English interests, which had begun in Charles II's reign with the prohibition of the importation of Irish cattle into England and the exclusion of Irish ships from the colonial trade, was extended. By acts of 1696 and later years, everything exported from the plantations was forbidden to be sent to Ireland; and although the leading Irish exports, consisting of provisions, were permitted to be sent to the colonies, "it was of no avail to be permitted to export goods to the Plantations when the ships which carried them had to return empty." The export of Irish woolen cloth and of Irish glass was prohibited, and the export trade in beer was cut off by the prohibition of the importation of hops except from Great Britain. By the imposition of heavy duties in England, the provision market in England was cut off, but no duties on imports of British goods might be imposed in Ireland. All that remained to the Irish was the provision market of the continent and the smuggling trade in wool, by means of which the cloth manufacture of the continent was in part built up to rival the British industry. On the other hand, the British did encourage the hemp and linen industry in the island by favorable tariff rates and bounties on production. Even the English settlers in Ireland resented the selfish mercantilism of the government's policy; and in his bitterness Dean Swift could justly cry a few years later, "The conveniency of ports and harbors which nature

bestowed so liberally on this kingdom is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon."

The Revolutionary Settlement in Scotland

With the Restoration, Scotland, like Ireland, recovered its earlier status, which had been destroyed by Cromwell. For centuries Scotland had been an independent country, not subject to either the English king or the English Parliament. In 1603 her King, James VI, had become King of England also. But the connection between England and Scotland did not go very far beyond the fact that the same individual was King in each country. When Charles I was executed, the Scottish estates proclaimed and crowned his son, Charles II, as their new king almost immediately, to show that they were masters of their own fate and not dependent upon their ally England. In answer, Cromwell conquered the country in the battles of Dunbar and Worcester; and for some years Scotland was forcibly incorporated with England and Ireland into a single republic and, under the Instrument of Government, sent representatives to the Parliament at Westminster. With the Restoration, Scotland recovered her independence with her own Parliament, her own law courts and system of law, her own Privy Council, and her own state church, which Charles II established on an Anglican basis, even though the larger number of the Scottish people were Presbyterians. Scotland was not included in the scope of the benefits of the Navigation acts as reënacted after the Restoration; and to many Scots business men the complete recovery of independence was illusory, when coupled with the exclusion from the valuable trade of England and her colonies and the loss of valuable business opportunities. Attempts were made by the Scots to restore so much of the identity between England and Scotland as would admit Scotsmen to English trade. Their policy of retaliatory Navigation acts to bring the English to terms were of no avail, since they themselves had no valuable trade in which the English were interested.

There was in Scotland a deep attachment for the Stuarts, if only because they were Scots, and James II felt confident of his hold on Scotland in the midst of his difficulties with his English subjects. He met, however, with strong resistance from the Scots when he suggested relief for his Roman Catholic subjects in Scotland. As in England, he was forced to fall back upon the prerogative to accomplish what could not be

achieved through the Scots Parliament. He proclaimed toleration for Catholics by a Declaration of Indulgence and sought to win supporters by including in it the Presbyterians, who had been proscribed by Charles II. His policy was not popular, but no serious resistance was offered. But once the English subjects revolted against James II, his Scottish subjects were ready enough to join in the movement. Mobs destroyed the new Roman Catholic chapels, and other mobs ousted the Anglican priests from the churches which had been Presbyterian before the Restoration. A convention Parliament assembled upon the advice of William, whom delegations from Scotland had visited in London. Since the exclusion of Presbyterians was suspended at William's suggestion, the Scottish convention Parliament came almost entirely under Presbyterian control. It declared the Scottish throne vacant, abolished the episcopal church in Scotland, drew up lists of grievances, and offered the crown of Scotland to William and Mary with the same order of succession as had been laid down in England. William and Mary accepted the crown under the conditions attached and thus succeeded James II in Scotland as in England without difficulty.

Among the Highland clans, however, there was a tradition of eager devotion to the house of Stuart. They resented James II's deposition by a convention in lowland Edinburgh, and they had no thought of being ruled by a Dutchman. Moreover, they saw that the fall of the Stuarts would revive the influence of the Argyles whom they hated; and so, under the leadership of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, they raised the standard of revolt in favor of James II. Dundee was killed in a brilliant charge (called the battle of Killiecrankie) upon a small force sent against him by William, and with his death active revolt petered out. As long, however, as hope could be expected from James by way of Ireland, the Highlanders hesitated to submit; only after the surrender of Limerick was it obvious that nothing could be done against the new government. Finally, William set a day for the submission of the Highland clans, with a proviso that all who had not submitted by that time should be visited by fire and sword and all manner of hostility. One Highland chief, MacDonald of Glencoe, took his time, but actually made his submission before the day set. His clan was notorious for its wildness, and certain Scots officials of William's looked forward with pleasurable anticipation to wiping it out. Not knowing of his submission made to an official in a remote district, they eagerly gave the order for

punishment, the extermination of the whole clan. The cruel massacre of Glencoe which followed is the one stain upon the memory of William and his Scottish ministers.

During the progress of the Revolution of 1688 in Scotland, two changes of greatest importance were effected. The Presbyterian church was restored as the national church, as it remains to this day. Even more significant for the immediate future of Scottish history, the Parliament of Scotland asserted and made good a claim to independence from royal control. Hitherto, the Parliament of Scotland had been so completely under the domination of the crown that there was no possibility of its pursuing a line of policy which might result in a quarrel with England, or be antagonistic to English interests, or affect England's foreign relations in any way. This situation was altered after 1690, and before long an independent policy was inaugurated which reacted directly upon English foreign policy.

Ever since their exclusion from the English colonial trade at the time of the Restoration, Scottish business men had sought larger trade opportunities. They now turned to the Scottish Parliament to induce it to create Scottish colonies and trade monopolies on the English model. In 1695 an act of the Scottish Parliament created a "company trading to Africa and the Indies," authorized to seize unoccupied territory in Asia, Africa, or America, plant colonies, construct forts, maintain troops, and conclude treaties. The company planned to raise a capital of £600,000 (half of it to be subscribed in England) for investment in the lucrative East India trade. It was the time of Thomas Papillon's attack upon the British East India Company in England. He had been unsuccessful so far in his designs against the company and planned to use the Scottish enterprise to enter the Indian trade under cover of its charter. The British East India Company raised such a protest against the Scottish company through its parliamentary lobby, that representations were made to William to prevent this injury to English trade. The English subscribers were induced by this protest to withdraw their subscriptions and the project failed. Bitter with resentment, the Scots reduced their capitalization and raised £400,000, which represented an unusual effort for a country as poor as Scotland was in 1696. They now planned a colony upon the isthmus of Darien or Panama to conduct the overland trade between the Atlantic and the Pacific. By this colony "at this door of the seas, this key to the universe," trade routes would be diverted, and Scotland would supplant the Netherlands as

the emporium of the world's trade. Twelve hundred men set out to build New Edinburgh in New Caledonia, but Spaniards, who claimed the region, together with the climate and disease destroyed the venture with the loss of many lives and of all the money that had been invested. The Scots were aroused; they declared that the whole disaster was due to English jealousy, and Scotland was full of denunciation of the King and of England. The project came at a moment when William was concluding a delicate bit of diplomacy in which Spain was involved, and the presence of Scots in the Spanish colonial world came near to wrecking the whole negotiation. William saw that Scotland could not continue in her present status. Either she must be completely separated from England, or completely amalgamated with her. In his last message to the English Parliament, he urged that steps should be taken to perfect a complete union.

The need was rendered imperative by the events of the next years. Flaunting their independence, the Scots imitated the English act of Settlement of 1701 with an act of Security in 1703-4, which provided that, after the death of Anne, her successor as King of Scotland should be chosen from the house of Stuart, but should not be the same person as the next King of England, except under limitations giving Scotland rather complete independence of England. This act was supported by a strong party working for separation from England altogether, which the English Parliament was loath even to consider in view of the War of Spanish Succession, in which England was then involved. To prevent the possibility, the English Parliament put economic pressure upon Scotland to appoint commissioners to negotiate a more perfect union involving the fusion of the English and Scottish Parliaments into one body. The populace in Scotland was wildly hostile to the idea. The Scots Parliament, which was popularly believed to have been bribed, only consented to accept a treaty which the commissioners had drawn up because all English trade was opened to Scotsmen on the same terms as to Englishmen, and England agreed to pay Scotland the sum of £400,000 to compensate for the losses at Darien, though, of course, this was not the reason stated in the treaty. By the act of Union of 1707 the Scottish Parliament was merged with the English Parliament. Forty-five Scottish members were sent to the House of Commons, and sixteen peers, elected from among the Scottish nobility, to the House of Lords. England and Scotland ceased to be separate

countries, and the kingdom of Great Britain came into being. The cross of St. Andrew was superimposed upon the cross of St. George to make the Union Jack as the new national flag. The act of Union of 1707 is at once the culmination of the Revolutionary settlement in Scotland and the logical end of the process which began when Henry VII married off his daughter, Margaret, to James IV, King of Scotland.

Material Progress of the Restoration and Revolutionary Periods

Many of the political developments of the period of the Restoration and after the Revolution of 1688 were essentially expressions of changes in social life, which represented a shift in power from the aristocracy of land to the rapidly incrementing wealth of commerce and trade. Interest in commercial activity and development, it must be kept in mind, was not confined to the professional merchant class. The most notable enterprises, such as the East India Company and the Bank of England, were organized under the joint stock form, and consequently all sorts of people were able to participate in them through the ownership of shares of their stock. The commercial classes include all these stockholders, but their widespread extent is obscured by the anonymity of the individual investors. The broader participation in business is revealed by a comparison of the numbers of shareholders in joint stock enterprises at different periods. The Hudson's Bay Company had 18 shareholders in 1670, 32 in 1672, and 89 in 1720. The British East India Company had 320 shareholders in 1688, 482 in 1693, and 1200 in 1698. The Bank of England began with 1267 subscribers in 1694, and the Scottish Company trading to Africa and the Indies had 1317 in 1696. The stockholders in the commercial ventures included, among others, many of the wealthiest landowners and nobles, who, by reason of their personal interest in both commerce and land, had a divided allegiance in the effort of commerce to secure recognition at the expense of the land. Because of these considerations it is not possible to divide the political parties, the Whigs and the Tories, on economic grounds, except in the most general way. It might be said that, in the period after the Revolution, when men put their commercial holdings first, they were Whigs; when they put their landed interests in the foreground, they were Tories. Even this statement is far from being entirely true. The British East India

Company was largely Whig in its membership before the Revolution. During the struggle with Papillon, Josiah Child, the governor of the company, definitely advised that the company become Tory, since it was unwise to limit the authority of the crown upon which the company's charter rested, as the Whigs were doing. Later, the South Sea Company, the greatest of all the English commercial ventures of the eighteenth century so far as its capitalization was concerned, was definitely a Tory company, founded by Robert Harley, the Tory politician. At any rate, the union of interests in important individuals somewhat softened and obscured the economic differences and issues, and made it possible for other older questions, like that of religion and the Anglican church, and for personal ambitions and antagonisms to continue to dominate party politics.

While party politics were not determined by economic considerations, it is nevertheless true that the growth of the mercantile interests exercised an important influence on the larger aspects of public policy. Toleration in religion was a concession to the London Presbyterian or Congregational merchant in recognition of his new importance. The limitation of the monarchy by Parliament harks back to old London merchant class desires of the middle of the century, though the Revolution of 1688 was not chiefly due to London merchant influences. The national debt and the Bank of England were essentially commercial class gains; and the end of the long subservience to France, the entry into the war against France on the side of Holland, the shifting of the heaviest burden of taxation to land (as was done in William and Mary's reign), the maintenance of the Navigation acts and other laws safeguarding the monopolies of English merchants, and the commercial throttling of Ireland fulfilled the real desires of the mercantile classes and attest their new power in the state.

As in the earlier part of the century, the mercantile classes were in largest part associated with the city of London. Some indication of the growth of their interests is afforded by the development of the city. From a population of 339,000 in 1634, it had grown to nearly half a million in 1661, and 669,000 in 1682, and was at that time only slightly smaller than Paris. But in 1682 it was quite a different city from 1661. Then it had been a dirty tumbledown rookery of rotten medieval houses of wood and plaster, with narrow alleys for streets, endemic with disease and plague. In 1665 one of the periodic visitations of the plague swept over the city and during a year of unabated

violence "swept away about a hundred thousand souls." This was, however, the last serious visitation, for within a year medieval London with its picturesqueness and germs ceased to exist. On September 2, 1666, a fire broke out in the city which, fanned by a violent gale, frustrated all attempts to check its ravages. For five days it kept up the work of leveling the old city; and when at last the gale dropped, and gunpowder had blown a clear area in the path of the flames, two-thirds of London lay in smouldering embers with an estimated loss of £10,700,000. In no other way could the worn-out houses, the narrow streets, and disease-infested quarters have been scrapped so quickly; and the loss, heavy as it was, should really be charged to the depreciation account for the renewal of used-up apparatus.

The work of rebuilding the city was entrusted to a royal commission with extraordinary powers. Fortunately for modern London, the guiding genius of this commission was Christopher Wren, a mathematician, who had turned architect. Without regard for ancient property lines or the former streets, Wren laid out straight and wide streets in all directions over the old area, and these were so generously conceived that only the coming of the automobile in our own time has given London a major traffic problem. As an example to private builders, Wren personally took in hand the design of the churches, about fifty in all, for the new city. His supreme architectural achievement was the cathedral church of St. Paul's, the second largest church in the world, though some of his smaller parish churches, such as St. Dunstan's in the East and St. Bride's, which still stand in every part of the city, are extraordinarily beautiful. The style adopted for these buildings was the Renaissance, which Wren had learned from his master, Inigo Jones, and private builders tended to follow his example. London was accordingly rebuilt as one of the most beautiful capitals of its time in Europe. Though, of course, most of modern London dates from the nineteenth century, some of the seventeenth century buildings still remain.

To outward beauty were added many comforts and conveniences as the seventeenth century progressed. There had been water companies to supply the city with water ever since 1546 and 1582, and another company, the New River Water Company, was founded in 1605; but after the Restoration, and especially after the Revolution, a large number of companies laid wooden pipes to all parts of the city and its suburbs to

supply good water. Hydrants were placed at regular intervals in the streets, and these were turned on at certain fixed times every day by an official of the company to supply water to subscribers in the neighborhood. Water companies were also formed in a number of the other towns of England in this period.

Another convenience was the institution of a system of a penny post for London in 1680, to carry letters anywhere in the city for a penny. This was a private venture, providing six to eight deliveries a day in the city of London proper, and four in the suburbs. The rest of the country was served by the royal post office, established by Charles I in 1638, but its rates were high, and in some places deliveries were made only once a week. After the Revolution, London was for the first time lighted at night. A company, known as the Convex Lights, controlled a newly invented whale-oil lamp of several candle-power, and in 1688 it contracted with the London authorities to maintain three thousand of these lamps at street intersections throughout the city on moonless nights during the period from September 29th to April 25th only. Shortly before the Restoration the first coffeehouse appeared in London, and before the end of the seventeenth century there were said to be three thousand coffeehouses in the city. They were much more than shops where coffee could be drunk. They provided centers for the discussion of politics, literature, and business, and for the spread of information and ideas, as well as lounging places and clubs for the comfortable enjoyment of leisure. Every business trade and profession, every faction and party had its own particular coffeehouse, as earlier they had had inns, where men of any special interest were always sure to find each other. It was here, too, that newspapers were kept on file, and the habit of newspaper reading was formed.

For the first time in English history, it is now possible to indicate definitely something of the amount of English wealth and its annual increase. Economics and statistics were beginning to be studied in England as "political arithmetic"; and from the calculations of its earliest practitioners, Sir William Petty, William Davenant, and Gregory King, it is possible to give some definite figures. Petty, writing in 1665, estimated the total wealth of England at 250 million pounds sterling, including the value of the land, houses, merchandise, farm stock, ships, and coin. The annual income of the country was forty-one and one-half million pounds sterling, the annual expendi-

ture forty million pounds sterling, and one and one-half million pounds sterling were saved or added to the national capital each year. Davenant and King, writing between 1688 and 1696, estimated the capital value of the kingdom at 650 million pounds sterling, (including in that figure the capitalized value of earnings, which Petty had omitted), the annual income at forty-three million, and the annual expenses at forty-one million seven hundred thousand pounds, leaving about two million pounds a year to be added to capital. If the calculations are in any sense complete and correct, there was steady progress in English economic life between the Restoration and the end of the century.

Some part of the annual surplus or savings was unquestionably due to agriculture; but profits in agriculture were apt to go into more elaborate country houses, as we know from the fine country houses in England built after the Restoration, and into improvements in farming, and do not figure largely in the accounts of the political arithmeticians, who were not particularly concerned with improved farms or fine houses. Ireland contributed from £400,000 to £622,000 annually to the English surplus, in the form of rents paid to absentee landlords living in England; and this sum, equal to from one-fifth to one-third of the annual national surplus, gives the real explanation of the determination of Englishmen in the later seventeenth century never to let Ireland go. Manufacturing was of comparatively less importance. The woolen cloth industry, the greatest of English industries, did not recover from the slump of the civil war period and even went backward after the Restoration. At the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV of France in 1685, there was an influx of Protestant French refugees into England, who brought with them not only implements and valuables estimated to be worth three million pounds, but processes, techniques, and skills of much importance. "They instruct us in manufactures which support millions of poor," wrote one contemporary, "increase the wealth of every person in the state and make us formidable to our neighbors." Following on their heels came a Dutch migration in the train of William III. By these foreigners many new industries were introduced and established, and an inventiveness and adaptability were introduced into English industry which had not been much in evidence to this time. It is not, however, until the eighteenth century that manufacturing came into its own.

The chief source of the admitted prosperity of the second half of the seventeenth century was overseas trade. Some idea of the profits made in such trade may be caught from figures like these; the African Company made 210 per cent profits between 1660 and 1664, and the British East India Company paid 840½ per cent dividends between 1657 and 1691. Gregory King gave overseas trade credit for practically the whole of the annual national savings, except for the Irish rents. Without the profits of overseas trade apparently the nation would just have been making both ends meet. If this be true, even approximately, there is a certain justice in the new political importance taken, since the Restoration, by the mercantile classes.

Finally, as a part of the discussion of the material progress of the second half of the seventeenth century must be indicated the developments in civilization with which it was accompanied. Even as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, geographical discoveries had greatly enlarged men's outlook and had given them a new attitude toward their place in the world and toward the value of their own ideas and systems. The realization of the wealth and dense population of China, for example, with its 300 million inhabitants, had led western Europeans to see that their continent was but a small fragment of the world. More striking still was the existence of happiness, virtue, and culture among the Chinese in the absence of western civilization; and thinking men were presently led to question the value, or at least the necessity, of certain characteristic western institutions, such as Christianity. Attempts were subsequently made to work out those religious ideas which had universal validity, from which an important speculative movement, known as Deism, developed an abstract deity. The enlargement of the infinite was even further advanced by astronomical investigations, which were capped by Sir Isaac Newton's demonstration that the world was but an atom in space, whirling around the sun, and the sun itself was only another atom whirling around something else. Newton's concept of the universe was strictly mathematical and actually provided a basis for a mathematical philosophy long before the present twentieth century development in that direction. While there was nothing verbally or logically impossible in a reconciliation between the God of the Bible, who walked in gardens and looked after the everyday life of individuals, with the ruler of the vastness of the newly unfolded cosmos, it was

difficult for men's imaginations to make the transformation, and a mechanistic concept of the world might have been accepted. There was available, however, an abstract god of reason, whom the seventeenth century philosophers had evolved in their attempts to answer the question of the essential requirements of religion; and this rational deity now came into his own to replace the God of Christian tradition, at least in the minds of the leaders of thought and among those who followed the current intellectual fashion.

The consequent rejection of the theistic notion of God's daily intervention in the affairs of this world had important reactions upon late seventeenth century life and thinking. It made impossible further arguments in favor of the divine right of kings, which could not be impugned successfully as long as people thought of the king as the direct representative of the personal ruler of the universe. Those politicians who spoiled the attempts of Charles II and James II to reëstablish a divine right government in England by overthrowing James II in 1688 would have seized control under any circumstances, but they found their way made easier by the general attitude of mind which rejected divine right. They were provided with an elaborate justification for what they had done in the writings of John Locke, who drew his best arguments from the antitheistic armory. In place of the king as a divine agent, Locke represented him as exercising his powers as the result of a compact, which was the only way of fixing relations of men to each other without relying upon the intervention of a superior power. The compact idea had already been used for the purpose of justifying absolute power by those earlier political philosophers who rejected divine right but continued to uphold absolutism. Locke's great significance is due to the fact that since he was defending a Revolution which created a constitutional monarchy, he understood how to make the compact idea the basis of a limited government; and as a result his works were used as the standard text-books of constitutionalists everywhere all through the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, neither Locke nor his fellow political scientists had sufficient data regarding the actual historical processes by which governments came into existence, and why, to produce anything of scientific value in the field of political science, even though their own ideas are interesting and have been of the greatest importance, especially in the case of Locke's, in shaping political institutions of later times in England, France, and in the United States. Unfortunately

too, later political theorists have followed very closely their methods.

In a more general way, over and beyond politics, the new nontheistic point of view of the world, together with the reaction from other-worldliness which attended the failure of Puritanism, created a new interest in the study of nature, from the human body up to the laws of the universe. Sir Isaac Newton, for example, in addition to propounding the theory of gravitation to explain the motion of the heavenly bodies, worked out the compound nature of white light and invented calculus; and Sir Robert Boyle advanced his law regarding the relation between pressures and volumes of gases. There was also a greater tendency to investigate social phenomena as necessary parts of the world in which men lived. In this connection, however, there was less objectivity than in the natural sciences, since men were less interested in abstract truth than in justifying their actions and requirements by elaborate explanations and logical expositions of general postulates which seemed to give them support. Much of the same criticism that is made of the political theorists holds for the new economic theorists, who make their first appearance in the Restoration period. They wrote books on political arithmetic or statistics, such as Sir William Petty's book already mentioned, and they also wrote more theoretical expositions of the laws and rules which influenced business and prosperity, such as the tracts of Sir Josiah Child, governor of the British East India Company. But while they gave an air of generality to their work, they were nearly always interested in advancing some particular interests, such as those of woolen cloth industry or, more generally, those of the British East India Company, under cover of their general laws. They did, however, alter the prevailing notion of mercantilism, the national trade policy, and were responsible for its later eighteenth century form.

In the narrower field of fine arts in the Restoration and Revolution periods, English letters flourished as always, though the prevailing laxity in English society gives to much of the work of the Restoration a salaciousness which is un-English. On the other hand, Milton and Bunyan carried on the Puritan tradition across the boundaries separating the Puritan age from modern times, and Pope and Swift, Addison, Steele, and DeFoe created so brilliant an era in the reign of Queen Anne that their time is often called the Augustan Age of English literature. In painting, there was no English artist of first rank,

but foreign artists, such as Peter Lely and Godfrey Kneller, found employment doing portraits of the great and near great. In architecture, Inigo Jones and Wren are among the masters, and the fire gave Wren the opportunity to make London his monument. In the lesser art of wood carving, Grinling Gibbons decorated the rooms of William and Mary's additions to the palace at Hampton Court and many a country house with his beautiful mouldings and cornices, which are the envy of collectors today. In music, which was enthusiastically patronized by Charles II, Henry Purcell stands as the one musical genius of the very first order produced by England. He was organist of the Royal Chapel, and some distinguished church music as well as grand opera stands to his name. Such cultural achievements as these lead in a procession of notable general increases in the standard of living, which were to play an important part in the life of the eighteenth century. When the existing organization of production no longer sufficed to provide the increasing demands for goods to meet these new standards, the way was ready for those changes in production, called the Industrial Revolution, which are the most important factor in the history of the next period.

GENERAL WORKS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(See also General Works)

Political and Narrative History.

J. W. Jeudwine, *Religion, Commerce, Liberty.*

W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century.*

W. Michael, *Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert.*

Church History.

C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.*

C. Lacey May, *Some Eighteenth Century Churchmen.*

J. H. Overton, *Life in the English Church 1660-1714.*

J. H. Overton, and F. Relton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.*

Social History.

D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century.*

H. G. Graham, *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century.*

E. S. Roscoe, *The English Scene in the Eighteenth Century.*

W. C. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century.*

History of Thought.

L. Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.*

Economic History.

G. O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.*

CHAPTER XVI

DYNASTICISM AND MERCANTILISM FOREIGN POLICY, 1697-1763

After the death of Queen Anne in 1714, England was ruled by the house of Hanover. This house was chosen by the English Parliament in 1701 in the act of Settlement to succeed to the English throne in the event of Anne's dying without any surviving heirs. In framing the act of Settlement, Parliament passed over various Catholic members of the Stuart family and went back to Elizabeth, daughter of James I, who had married Frederick of the Palatinate. The older children of Elizabeth and Frederick had become Catholic; but there was one, Sophia, who had remained Protestant and had married the Elector of Hanover. She and her heirs "being Protestant" were to succeed Anne. Sophia lived to be a very old lady but actually died shortly before Anne, and her son George came to the English throne in 1714.

The kings of the house of Hanover, who have ruled England from 1714 to the present time, are

George I, 1714-1727
George II, 1727-1760
George III, 1760-1820
George IV, 1820-1830
William IV, 1830-1837
Victoria, 1837-1901
Edward VII, 1901-1910
George V, 1910-ω

George II was the son of George I; George III was the grandson of George II; George IV and William IV were the sons of George III. Victoria was the daughter of the Duke of Kent, another son of George III; Edward VII was the son of Victoria; and George V is the son of Edward VII. Early in the World War, George V changed the family name from Guelf, which is German, to the English Windsor; and the English royal family now chooses to be known as the house of Windsor.

Europe in the early eighteenth century was still a world of comparative poverty, in which there was not enough food, goods, and wealth to insure even a minimum of well-being for everybody. In such a world statesmen of every country desired to get a disproportionate share of what there was for their own nation by various laws and practices designed to ad-

vance the economic interests of their own people at the expense of every other group. This policy was called mercantilism. The desire to increase the national wealth faster than it increased in other countries was not merely a desire for more creature comforts. It had an idealistic side in an aspiration for power and importance in European politics, which only the possession of wealth could give. The ideas of the proper ways of carrying out of the mercantilist aim were tinctured in England by certain old notions, surviving from the Middle Ages. The first of these was that gold and silver were the sole forms of wealth, or commanded all forms of wealth, and that no nation could be powerful which did not control large stores of gold and silver. It was believed that it was the duty of governments to stimulate all forms of wealth-production at home, in agriculture, shipbuilding, and industry, so as to provide materials for export to other countries, since in a state like England, where there were no gold and silver mines, the only method of increasing the supply of gold and silver in the country was through the process of foreign trade, by selling more to the foreigner than was purchased from him. The suspicion that every business deal involved a loss for the buyer or the seller gave even greater vogue to the purpose to sell more and buy less. There would thus be created a favorable balance of trade, which would be paid in precious metals. At first, the strict economist insisted that England should have a favorable trade balance with every country, but later writers were satisfied to have the general trade balance favorable. To insure such favorable trade balances tariffs were built up, favorable trade treaties were negotiated, and prohibitory schedules imposed upon goods from nations, such as France, which threatened to sell more to England than England sold to them.

While the desire to prevent the foreigner from selling more than he bought was never overlooked in such tariff manipulation, a further consideration in the eighteenth century was the reaction of trade upon English industry and agriculture. The importation of certain manufactured goods was practically prohibited, not only to insure that the superior foreign article would not be purchased in such quantities as to help create an unfavorable trade balance, but to encourage manufacture at home and to raise the rent of lands by creating work for the poor and a demand for English agricultural products. At the same time markets for English manufactured goods abroad

were definitely encouraged by trade treaties, such as the Methuen treaty with Portugal in 1703. Under its terms English woolen manufacturers received a monopoly of the Portuguese markets. In return, the better French wines were practically excluded from the English market in favor of the heavy heady wines of Portugal, and those who protested were assured that "the preserving our looms and the rents of Great Britain was of greater consequence to the nation than gratifying our palates with French wines."

A second idea, surviving from the medieval tradition, was that of the beauty of self-sufficiency. The early medieval town had to be self-sufficient, that is, provide for all its own needs from its own resources, because of the absence of communication with the outside world. When the development of transport made this no longer necessary, the continuance of self-sufficiency was insisted upon as desirable. The vested interests which had grown up under the protection of natural isolation were entitled to some consideration against the unfair competition of outsiders. Moreover, in time of discord or war, the very existence of the community might be threatened by the sudden cutting off of some essential product, if outside supplies were depended upon. In the reign of Edward III, this town policy was taken over as a national policy, and ever since the end of the fourteenth century the ideal was national self-sufficiency. In the seventeenth century, the desire to be independent of other nations for goods and products was an important factor in stimulating colonization and the acquisition of the colonial empire; and in the eighteenth century, when the value of sugar, coffee, tobacco, dyestuffs, and furs in the economy of Europe came to be realized, self-sufficiency was subtly changed into a desire to control these colonial products and acquire them at the lowest possible price for European distribution. The self-sufficient empire was substituted for the self-sufficient nation. That empire was an integral whole, with certain regional subdivisions of labor and activity. To Great Britain was allocated the business of manufacture for the whole empire, while the colonies were to be markets for British manufactured goods and were not to establish competing industries of their own. So keen were the British for the exclusive right to carry on imperial manufacturing that Franklin once twitted them by remarking: "Nature has put bounds to your abilities, but none to your desires. Britain would, if she could, manufacture and trade for all the world, England for all Britain, London for

all England, and every Londoner for all London." Adam Smith asserted of the British, "You have sought to raise up a nation of customers in the colonies," and William Pitt the Elder confirmed these views by his declaration "that if the Americans [and he might have added the West Indians and Irish] should manufacture a lock of wool or a horseshoe, he would fill their ports with ships and their towns with troops." When the colonials in Ireland and in America began to develop a woolen cloth manufacture which might compete with that of Great Britain, the woolen cloth manufacturers carried through the prohibition of the export of the cloth except to England and Wales, where heavy duties denied it a market. When the fine printed calicoes and chintzes of East India came into fashion, the woolen interests again succeeded in getting Parliament to protect English woolens by forbidding the use of calicoes and chintzes in England. Similarly, the manufacture of beaver hats and of iron in the colonies was strangled by parliamentary statutes during the first half of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the colonials were to have monopolies of the production of colonial wares, such as tobacco. This would grow in eighteen counties in England and had to be stamped out regularly by regiments of dragoons because planted in defiance of the law. Colonial shipping, excepting that of Ireland, was, moreover, admitted on absolutely equal terms with the shipping of Great Britain into the carrying trade of the empire. Finally, the production of tar, pitch, hemp, and masts and yards in the colonies for export to England was encouraged by bounties.

It should be noted, however, that mercantilism was never a consistently developed and purposefully applied policy on the part of the English statesmen and politicians of the eighteenth century. They were too much concerned with the exploitation of the government of England and the enjoyment of its perquisites and patronage to show any initiative in forcing the ideas of mercantilism into law, or putting them into practice. The pure abstract theory of mercantilism was scarcely formulated and certainly never led to government action. On the other hand, certain vested interests were constantly seeing opportunities for larger profits if they could get special privileges, concessions, bounties, tariff schedules, and restrictions upon foreign competitors. By defending these on the ground of the mercantilist idea, which every Englishman accepted, and by clever identification of private advantage with the national welfare, certain groups were able to call upon the generally

held beliefs of Englishmen as their justification and right, through which they were able to secure government action in their interests. It is this series of concessions, interventions, and diplomatic actions obtained by the vested interests from a rather phlegmatic government that constitutes the concrete practice of mercantilism in England in the eighteenth century. The special interests most clamorous for this sort of help were the woolen manufacturers, the agriculturalists, the fur traders, the ship owners, the slave traders, the sugar planters, and the land speculators. All of these groups had close connections with the colonies in Ireland, America, and India; and their powerful influence made the colonial aspects of mercantilism especially important, not only in shaping the practical details of the policy of the government toward the existing colonies, but in initiating policies which led to aggressive measures against other powers and led to the acquisition of new colonies.

The influence of special interests in initiating war and peace is most clearly shown through a study of the more important wars of the eighteenth century. These were:

The War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713
(Queen Anne's War in colonial history)
The War of the Polish Succession, 1733-1738
The War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739-
The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748
(King George's War in colonial history)
The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763
(The French and Indian War in colonial history)

The War of the Spanish Succession was concluded by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713; the War of the Polish Succession was concluded by the treaty of Vienna in 1738; the War of the Austrian Succession ended with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748; and the Seven Years' War, in the treaty of Paris in 1763.

In all these wars a number of European states were engaged, among which France, Austria, Prussia, and Spain were always found. These four nations were largely influenced by dynastic ambitions and desire for territorial aggrandizement. Their ruling families were determined to extend the number of cities and provinces over which they held sway and to secure the vacant thrones of Poland and Spain for themselves or for members of allied houses. Great Britain, likewise, took part in all these wars, excepting the War of the Polish Succession. Unlike

the other powers, however, Great Britain had no desire for territorial gains on the continent and had, in general, very little interest in continental affairs, except for the fact that after 1714 the King of England was also Elector of Hanover. Hanover did not belong to Great Britain, however, and the only connection between the two countries lay in the fact that one man combined in his own person the separate offices of elector in one and king in the other. In a very general way, Great Britain claimed to be interested in the balance of power in Europe, which these wars constantly altered; but no British government in the eighteenth century went to war solely for the sake of maintaining the balance of power, or of preserving the liberties of Europe from destruction. A closer study of events shows that in every case where Great Britain entered one of these wars, her government was driven to action by influential business interests which saw themselves excluded from expansion or threatened in their present activities by events in Europe and elsewhere, unless Great Britain went to war. In the one case where there were no British business interests involved, in the War of the Polish Succession, Great Britain did not participate in the hostilities.

This whole matter of the influence of the mercantilist theory and its relation to other factors in shaping British policy is made clearer and more vivid when the developments of the century are studied in some detail.

The War of the Spanish Succession

Ever since 1665, it will be remembered, an idiot and imbecile named Carlos II had been on the throne of Spain. He had no heirs of his body. His elder sister, Maria Theresa, was married to Louis XIV, the King of France, who was, furthermore, the son of Carlos II's aunt; and his younger sister was married to the Emperor, who was the son of another aunt of Carlos. Both these sovereigns had expectations of inheriting the crown of Spain, based on their various claims of marriage and blood relationship to the Spanish royal family. The rivalry of the two sovereigns threatened to precipitate a new war; and to avoid this William III made a secret treaty with Louis XIV in 1698, in which a division of the territories of the King of Spain was arranged for. Louis, realizing that William would not permit his acquisition of Spain, was anxious to forestall the formation of an Austro-Spanish empire which would con-

trol European affairs, while William's object was to prevent such an increase in the power of France as might endanger Holland and England. Both sovereigns were dominated by political considerations; and, convinced of each other's good faith, they made mutual concessions. Louis was to receive Naples and the Basque provinces, the Emperor was to receive Milan, and a young prince of the house of Wittlesbach, the Elector of Bavaria, a grandson of the Emperor, was to receive Spain proper, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Indies. The arrangement was as nearly an ideal solution of the question as could be found, but the young prince died within a few months of the negotiation of the treaty. In 1700 a second treaty was made, which provided that Louis was to get all of the Italian possessions of Spain, Milan as well as Naples, and the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Leopold, was to receive continental Spain and the colonies. The territorial acquisitions of France seemed slight in comparison with those of Austria; but Louis, with his knowledge of geography, had achieved control of the strategic passes of Europe and had split the new Austro-Spanish state into such isolated sections that it could have no real strength. Leopold refused to accept the treaty, and the Spanish people would not consent to any partition of their empire. When Carlos II ceased to live in November of 1700, it was found that, disregarding the partition treaties, he had made a will, bequeathing his dominions in their entirety to Philip, the second grandson of Louis XIV. Should Philip refuse to accept the inheritance, it was to go to the Archduke Charles.

In the face of this will, Louis XIV believed that unless he took all for his grandson, Charles would claim all for himself. With the feeling that William III of England would not fight against his own ally Leopold, and his son Charles, to force them to regard the treaty and disregard the will, Louis XIV at once installed his grandson as king in Madrid, and by the spring of 1701 he had occupied all the Spanish lands with a force that defied dislodgment.

The Tories were in power in England and refused to join any war against Louis XIV to prevent his "destruction of the liberties of Europe." They were too busy impeaching Whig politicians, such as Somers and Montagu, to concern themselves with the overturn of the balance of power. In a general way, the Tories who took this stand represented certain agricultural classes who were not much concerned with going to

war with France. As they knew from their experiences during the recent war, which ended in 1697, hostilities meant high land taxes; and, having no material interests which were threatened by the recent French move, they preferred peace.

On the other hand, those agriculturists who were wool raisers were vitally interested in the cloth trade, since an active demand for British cloth meant high wool prices and high rents. They particularly valued the Mediterranean market, and they could not be unconcerned with basic political changes in that region. They probably recognized that the coming of French influence to Spain might be followed by the imposition of a high protective tariff, similar to the French tariff, to keep out English cloth. Later these interests, represented politically by the Earl of Nottingham and the High Church Tories, played an important part in negotiating the Methuen treaty with Portugal, which assured the Portuguese cloth market to England; they were responsible for those naval expeditions to the Mediterranean, which led to the capture of Gibraltar and Minorca; and they were the authors of the policy of "No peace without Spain."

The commercial classes saw themselves in even greater danger from the aggressions of France. In America, the Hudson's Bay Company was being harassed. Holland and the Spanish Netherlands were the most important channels of communication with central Europe, through which immense volumes of woolen cloth and East Indian goods passed to Britain's best market in Germany. Louis's seizure of the Spanish throne for his grandson involved the Spanish Netherlands and imperiled the trade lines, and to protect them Holland and Austria must be assisted. Later, the commercial men insisted that the only adequate security against France would be provided by restoring to Dutch hands a series of Barrier forts, originally provided for in 1697 in the treaty of Ryswick, on the borders of the Spanish Netherlands and France; and the provision of such a barrier became an object of their policy, which was adopted by their political representatives, the Whigs.

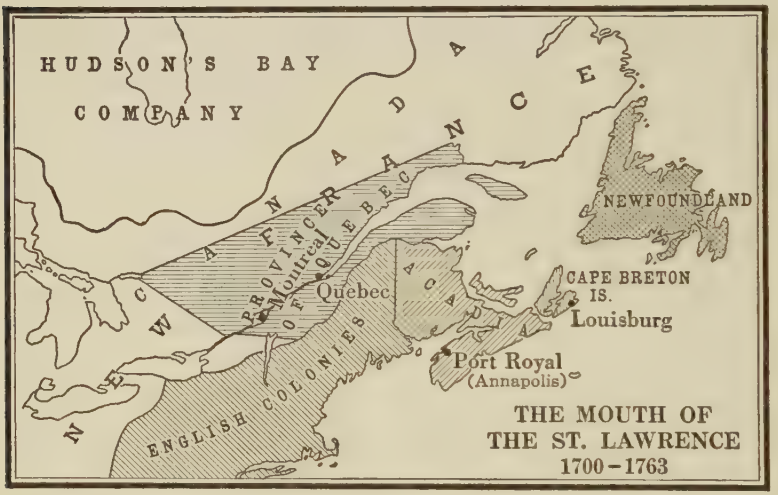
Most specifically, Louis's action in 1701 thwarted the hopes of English investors, the "moneyed-men" of London. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, capital accumulated rapidly in England. While considerable amounts of this were consumed by the war with France in William and Mary's reign, and other sums were invested in commercial companies, such as the British East India Company, the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany, and the African Company, in water companies, and industrial undertakings, there was not sufficient outlet there; and capitalists turned to colonial expansion and development in America and Ireland. After the peace of Ryswick they became particularly interested in the possibilities of trade development in the markets of Spanish America. They wanted the right to share in the fabulous profits to be made out of the slave trade in Spanish America. In exploiting that business they believed there would be untold opportunities for investment with the assurance of a lucrative return. As in Elizabeth's reign, when John Hawkins had sold his negroes in Spanish America to the anger of Philip II, this trade was a jealously guarded Spanish monopoly. Political conditions in Europe which indicated the imminent dissolution of Spain led Englishmen to expect to achieve the long-desired entrance into this trade.

Louis XIV was not content only to increase the territories over which his dynasty ruled. He was ready to further the interests of French business men, who, like those of England, were looking to the slave trade of Spanish America as a field for investment and profit. In August of 1701 he secured the Asiento, or monopoly of the slave trade in Spanish America, for the French Guinea Company, a step which gave a sinister cast to his practical rejection of an English proposal that English traders be given the same privileges as the French in Spanish America. At the same time the navy of France promised to put an end to the smuggling trade between the Spanish and British colonies. English traders saw themselves cut off from the riches of the Spanish colonial world, and a vigorous agitation for war with France spread through the commercial classes. Pamphlets were written and petitions circulated for war with France; and although the gentlemen who presented one petition to the House of Commons were put into prison, the force of public opinion was so great that the House and its Tory leaders finally gave way. Meanwhile, Louis had alarmed Holland by seizing the Barrier fortresses between Holland and France in the Spanish Netherlands, which the Dutch regarded as essential to their liberty; and on September 7, 1701, William III was able to bring the Grand Alliance of England and Holland and other nations into existence to check French aggression. Louis presently made another move which assured even the Tory support of the war. Standing at James II's death-bed, he acknowledged his son James III as King of England. The

Tories were determined to have no Catholic Stuart restoration in England, and in the face of Louis's gesture they voted the war taxes which assured England's active participation in the contest.

It is worth while to note what England and Holland were chiefly thinking of when they joined the war, as indicated in the treaty of the Grand Alliance. They were not concerned with Louis's control of Spain in Europe. They pledged themselves to "redress the balance of power" by turning Italy over to the Emperor, they insisted on the retention of the Barrier fortresses by Holland, and they stipulated for the Protestant



succession in England. Above all, they determined to win commercial rights in the Spanish colonies, to retain everything they could make their own in the colonies, and to exclude France entirely from the transatlantic markets. The treaty of Utrecht, which concluded the war, shows clearly the same mercantilist aims. England acquired no continental European territory except the fortress of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca, which controlled the Mediterranean. In America the fishing grounds were safeguarded by the acquisition of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and the French surrendered all rights in the fur trading regions in which the Hudson's Bay Company operated. By a special treaty with Spain, called the Asiento treaty, English merchants were to be given a monopoly of the

slave trade in Spanish America, together with the rights to trade in a limited way at Panama. So highly valued were the slave trade and the Panama concession that they were the effective causes of England's entry into her next war. Other important, though indirect, advantages accrued to England as a result of the war. Holland was enfeebled by the struggle and sank from her premier position among the maritime powers. She was not able even to make good her desire to share in the Spanish American trade, which her ally monopolized. France was impoverished and was not in a condition to threaten the peace of Europe for a generation. Louis XIV's grandson, Philip V, was permitted to retain the throne of Spain, but he was stripped of the Spanish Netherlands and the Italian provinces, which went to the Emperor, and careful stipulations were laid down forbidding the union of the crowns of France and Spain.

The Long Peace, 1713-1739

The interplay of dynastic and mercantilist motives is well illustrated by the history of events after the treaty of Utrecht. At the time of the negotiation of the treaty, Tory ministers controlled the government. Their interest in mercantilist policies extended only as far as the Mediterranean cloth trade and the slave trade, which they safeguarded and secured. For the rest, they were willing to see France build up her industries to the utmost extent through freer trade with England, on the theory that greater wealth in France meant greater prosperity for England. They went so far as to negotiate a trade treaty with the French, supplementary to the political clauses of the treaty of Utrecht, but with some Tory help, the Whigs, whose policy was more thoroughly mercantilistic, prevented its ratification in England.

As the situation in foreign affairs developed in the years following the settlement of 1713, the peace of Europe was disturbed not by France, but by Spain. On the death of Louis XIV, his grandson, Philip V of Spain, desired to secure the regency of France for himself at the expense of the Duke of Orleans, who had been named to that office. The Spanish Queen, Elizabeth Farnese, was the second wife of Philip. Since her stepson was to inherit Spain from his father, she wished to acquire kingdoms in Italy for her own sons at the expense of Austria. The personal position of the Duke of Orleans in opposition to Philip, the Whig determination to prevent a union

of France and Spain under Philip's control, Elizabeth's ambition, and George I's desire to secure a guarantee of two little provinces, which he had just secured for Hanover at the expense of the Swedes, led to an understanding between France and England, which soon developed into a quadruple alliance of France, Great Britain, Holland, and Austria. In the year or two which followed, treaties were made under British influence to tie up the whole of western and northern Europe by means of dynastic guarantees to insure peace. There were, however, certain difficulties: the restless purpose of Elizabeth Farnese in Italy, the chartering of an Imperial and Royal East India Company of Ostend by the Emperor in 1722, and the desire of the Emperor to secure the acceptance of certain pledges, called the Pragmatic Sanction, providing for the succession of his daughter to the Hapsburg inheritance intact. At first Spain and Austria seemed to draw very closely together, and Austria abandoned England and France. The Italian question was settled by an agreement for double marriages between the Spanish and Austrian houses, and Spain accepted the Pragmatic Sanction and gave the Ostend Company more favored nation treatment in Spanish dominions than was accorded to either the Dutch or the English. The British government replied by new treaties in 1725 with France and Holland, which sought to enforce most favored nation treatment in Spanish dominions for the South Sea Company and used all available diplomatic devices to secure the suppression of the Ostend Company entirely. For a time war threatened between the Austro-Spanish group and England and her allies, and the common cry was, "We must lose our trade or engage in war." The Spaniards went so far in 1727 as to attack Gibraltar, and the British blockaded the treasure fleet at Porto Bello, but war was not declared, and within a few months negotiations were successful in maintaining peace. The Emperor agreed to suspend the charter of the Ostend Company for seven years, and in 1731, in a treaty signed at Vienna, this suspension of the charter of the Imperial and Royal Company was made perpetual in return for British acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction. The British East India Company was protected from competition, the South Sea Company was restored to its privileged position, and Great Britain was pledged to support the accession of Maria Theresa to all the dominions of Charles VI on his death. The gain to British business interests was undoubted; entanglements in central European politics were to prove portentous.

The War of Jenkins's Ear and the War of the Austrian Succession, 1739-1748

The Spaniards always resented the privileges of the South Sea Company and in 1733 offered the company two per cent of the returns of the Spanish flota and galleons in exchange for the right which the company had of sending one ship a year to Porto Bello. The company, which was making only an average of £32,000 a year on its capitalization of many millions of pounds, refused the offer, because the members of the company who made the decision were personally interested in the more remunerative illicit trade which could be carried on under cover of the "permission ship." The Spanish coast guards then redoubled their vigilance and exercised the right of search against English ships so ruthlessly that bitter complaints of mistreatment were raised by the English captains. Public opinion was so excited in England over this matter during the later 1730's, that, in 1739, after a long period of peace, the British government was forced to declare war on Spain.

England's entry into war with Spain had a good deal to do with involving her in a greater war which broke out in Europe in the next year over the question of the right of Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI, to enter into the undiminished Hapsburg inheritance. No sooner was Charles VI dead than Frederick, the new King of Prussia, supported by French promises of assistance, seized Maria Theresa's rich province of Silesia. France immediately attacked the Austrian lands on the Rhine. Since the Spanish and French royal families were now in closest alliance through a family compact made in 1733, it was easy for the British government, already at war with Spain, to reverse their previous policy of alliance with France, and to give aid to Austria against France. Great Britain did not, however, engage in war against France directly until 1744. In 1743 the family compact between France and Spain was renewed; and on this occasion, the Asiento or monopoly of the slave trade in Spanish America held by the South Sea Company was cancelled, and the privilege turned over to French interests. This led to direct hostilities between Great Britain and France. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle at the end of this war, the British recovered the Spanish slave trading monopoly for a further period of four years, only to surrender it two years later for the sum of £100,000.

After the middle of the century less influence was exerecised on government policy by the slave trading interest. Its center moved from London to Bristol and Liverpool, and the ruthless entrepreneurs who carried it on asked no favors. Attention shifted to other problems.

The Seven Years' War: The Situation in India

The acquisition of colonies, especially in the form of the control of supplies of colonial wares, was one of the corollaries of the doctrine of self-sufficiency; and in the middle period of the eighteenth century the British empire was greatly enlarged by new territories in America and India. Here again the accomplishment was not due to any aggression or initiative of the government; it was begun by the advance of British business men, fur traders, and settlers into new territories. When these men found their interests threatened by Frenchmen of the same type, they took up arms to oust the French, and, in the name of mercantilism, called upon the British government for help, or authorization of what they were doing.

After the setback to the French plans for the hegemony of Europe in the treaty of Utrecht, French business men turned their attention to overseas expansion both in India and in America. The French had been trading in India ever since 1664; but until the beginning of the eighteenth century, their main bases were in Madagascar, Bourbon, and the Isle de France or Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, although factories or trading posts were established in India also, at Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Mahé. In the early part of the eighteenth century able agents, such as Dupleix, developed trade on a large scale and also began to interfere in the tangled maze of Indian politics. They were tempted to this course by the break-up of the Mogul Empire and the consequent disorder of the feudal and dynastic wars of the Indian princes. In 1741, for example, a new Nabob or local prince was appointed at Pondicherry by the Nizam or overlord of the region to the exclusion of a family which had been in office for thirty years. Dupleix decided to take a part in the quarrel, and lacking French troops, he trained natives to fight under French discipline.

Meantime, the British East India Company was also extending the scope of its trade and business. The company had been reorganized several times in the seventeenth century and eventually got a capitalization of £2,000,000 in the reorganiza-

tion of 1708. It had three factories: at Bombay, which Charles II had received as part of his dowry from the Portuguese when he married Catherine of Braganza, and turned over to the company in 1668; at Fort St. David near Pondicherry; and at Fort

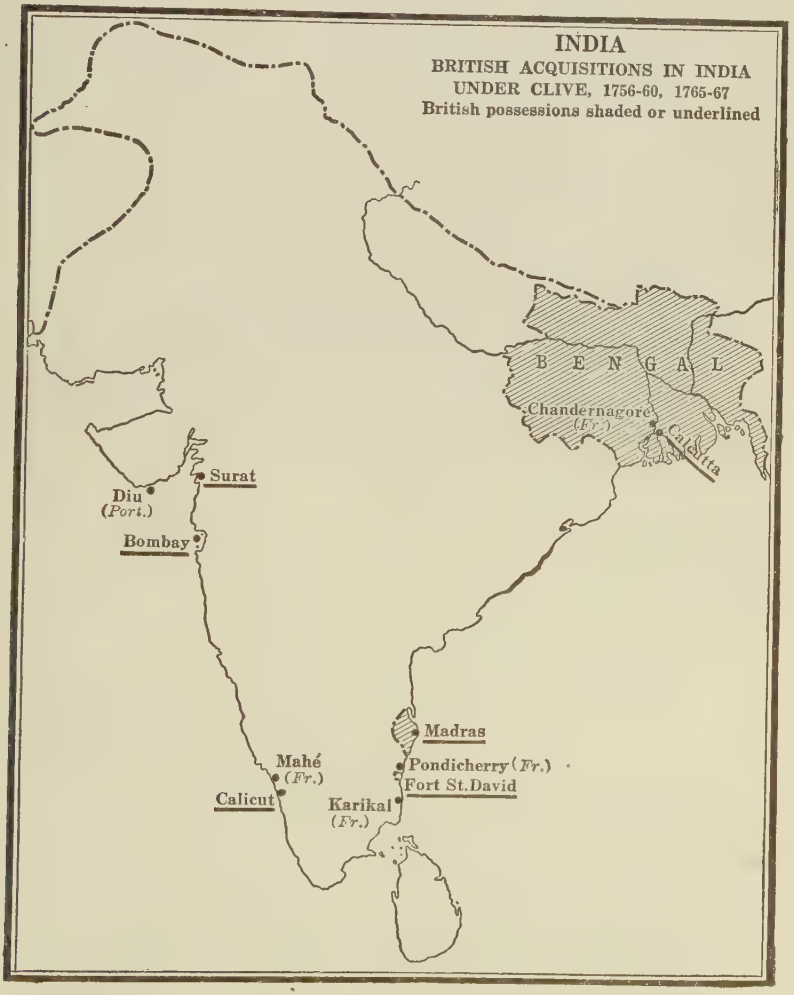
William in Bengal, near Chandernagore. The English had no territorial sovereignty in India except in Bombay. Between the British and the French companies there was the most intense rivalry; but, since both companies were in business for

profit, their authorities at home enjoined peace upon their agents in India when the War of the Austrian Succession involved France and England in war in Europe. Governor Morse of Madras, however, decided to take the French station at Pondicherry. Forbidden by the local Indian authorities to move the company troops overland, he attacked Pondicherry by sea; but a French fleet stationed at Mauritius attacked him and compelled his withdrawal. The French then assailed Madras, captured it in 1746, and held it for an indemnity of £440,000. The efforts of a British fleet to capture Pondicherry in 1748 were unsuccessful. The business of the British East India Company was almost ruined by the loss of Madras. During the war in America, however, the colonists had captured Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, on which the French government had spent 30,000,000 livres; and when peace was signed in 1748 at Aix-la-Chapelle, the French agreed to restore Madras in exchange for Louisburg.

The war between the two companies continued after 1748, even though their governments made peace in Europe. Both the French and English companies now interested themselves in a disputed succession in the Deccan, or southern India. Dupleix was the more successful and, in 1751, attempted to consolidate his success by taking Madras and driving out the British entirely. At this juncture Robert Clive, a young clerk, was given permission to take a regiment of native soldiers or sepoys, drilled along the plan used by Dupleix, to attack Arcot, the capital of the Nabob of the Carnatic, who was a protégé of Dupleix. The place was surprised and easily taken by Clive; but when the French sought to recover it, Clive put up such a brilliant defense and so inspired the natives with his own spirit that the French failed to recapture it. Almost at once the French prestige, which means so much in the Orient, collapsed like a house of cards. Because he was not earning dividends, Dupleix was recalled in 1754 to die in disgrace and want in France; and with him went all French influence and importance on the eastern coast of India.

Two years later, in 1756, Clive returned to India as governor of Fort St. David. On his arrival he heard of the infamy of Surajah Dowlah, ruler of Bengal, who had thrown 146 Englishmen into a noisome pit-jail in Calcutta, where all but 23 died overnight. Clive hastened to Bengal to inflict punishment. With 900 men he went to face Surajah Dowlah's 50,000 troops at Plassey. Thanks to European training and discipline, European artillery, and the corruption of Surajah's commanders

by Clive's promise of gold, the English won a notable victory. Surajah was deposed, and a rival, Mír Jafar, put in his place; but to all intents and purposes the British East India Com-



pany ruled Bengal. It collected the land tax of Bengal and kept the proceeds after paying a quitrent to the puppet ruler. The British East India Company, a group of London merchants, suddenly found itself the absolute ruler of a vast territorial

state with millions of inhabitants, which was soon to be extended to larger limits.

In the region of Madras and Pondicherry the French made one last effort to regain their importance. They attempted to drive out the British, but, in 1760, in a decisive engagement at Wandewash, the British troops under Colonel Eyre Coote defeated them, and the British remained the paramount power in that region.

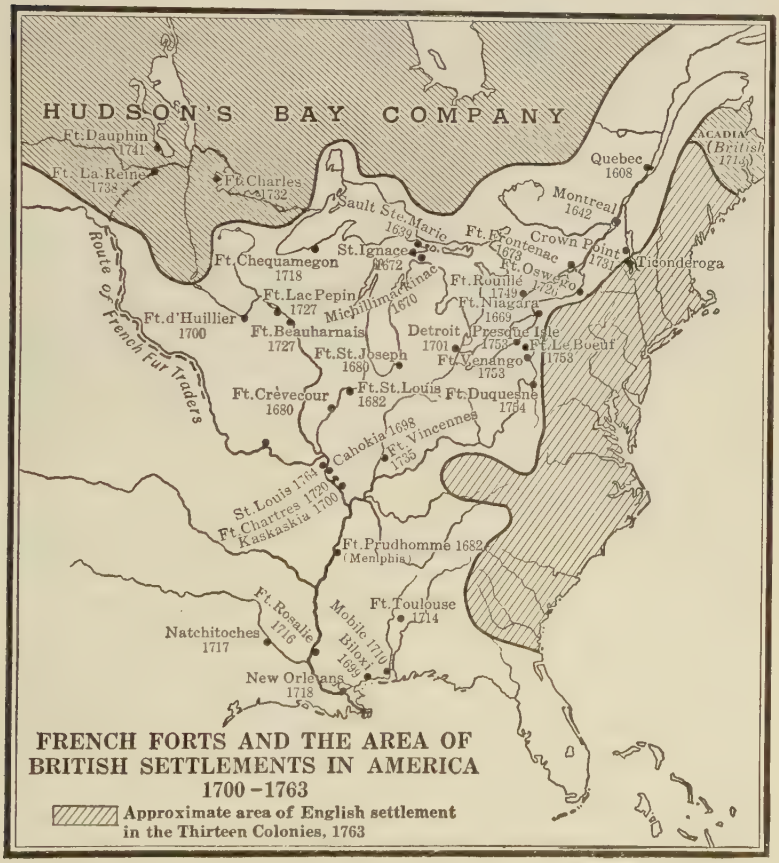
The Seven Years' War: The Situation in America

At the time when the French began their expansion in India, they also began to spread out in America. Even before 1700, they had established themselves at stations in the Mississippi Valley from Michillimachinac, Fort St. Joseph, Fort St. Louis, and other places in the north to Fort Prudhomme and Biloxi in the south. After this date, and especially after the treaty of Utrecht, they began to colonize the valley, settling new cities or enlarging old stations at Mobile, New Orleans, Natchez, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Detroit. Their fur traders and trappers explored the valleys of the rivers emptying into the Mississippi from the west, the Red River, the Platte, and the Missouri, and before 1740 they had reached the Dakotas and Manitoba. Here they traded with Indians whose furs had hitherto gone to the north. They were beginning to cut behind the fur trade of the Hudson's Bay Company, and on this ground alone conflicts between the French and the British in the interior of the American continent might have developed. Developments were anticipated, however, by trouble in another quarter.

In 1749 the French authorities at Quebec began to become interested in the Ohio Valley. In that year they sent Celeron de Bienville to explore the Ohio Valley and take possession of it in the name of the French king by burying lead plates at various points. Three years later new life was infused into French interest in the Ohio country by the coming of the Marquis Duquesne to be governor of Canada. He ordered the building of forts at the strategic points in the valley to insure its control by France, and sent a force of 1000 Frenchmen into the Ohio country to make an effective occupation. They built forts at Presque Isle (now Erie) and at Fort Le Boeuf (now Waterford); they occupied an English trading house at Venango and drove out Captain Trent, an English trader, from

a site at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. Here they built a fort, which they called Fort Duquesne.

In their progress the French came into contact with colonial fur traders from Philadelphia, such as George Croghan and Conrad Weiser, who had already established themselves on



Will's Creek (where Cumberland, Maryland, now stands) and were pressing on to the Ohio, where Captain Trent was building his blockhouse from which the French expelled him. These fur traders sent protests and petitions for help to the Quaker government of Pennsylvania, where they were disregarded, and to the governor of Virginia, who was more apt to respond.

The Virginia governor was all the more ready to send forces

against the French because their arrival threatened important Virginia interests. The leading Virginia families were engaged in large scale land speculations; and when toward 1750, they had staked out the whole colony of Virginia into private estates, they began the same business in territory further west. In 1749 Lawrence and Augustine Washington and George Mason, representing the Ohio Land Company, procured from the King a grant of 200,000 acres to be chosen between the Monongahela and the Kanawha rivers, south of the Ohio, with a promise of 300,000 acres more if 100 families were settled there within seven years and a fort maintained. In 1750 the Ohio Company began to choose and survey its lands. At the same time another company, the Loyal Land Company, secured a grant of 800,000 acres in the Ohio Valley from the Virginia assembly. Nothing much had been done by either of these companies to occupy their grants, and they realized that the French occupation of the valley meant their expropriation.

In response to the petitions of the fur traders and the gentlemen interested in Ohio Valley land, in November, 1753, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent a message by George Washington to the French force, ordering them to withdraw. At Fort Le Boeuf the commander took Washington's letters and promised to forward them to Duquesne.

Dinwiddie now decided to seize and occupy the forks of the Ohio, the site of Captain Trent's post. An expeditionary force under Colonel Joshua Fry and George Washington was sent out. At Great Meadows (now Washington, Pennsylvania) they ambushed a French force under Coulon de Jumonville; and here they built "Fort Necessity," from which the French at Fort Duquesne drove them on July 4, 1754.

The British government presently became interested in these colonial skirmishes. The cause of the colonists was defended on the ground that, while there was no immediate need for the lands across the Alleghenies on the part of the British, it was necessary for statesmen to provide for future generations and, if the territory were lost now, it would be closed to English trade and settlement for all time. William Pitt, already one of the most powerful leaders in the country, took this point of view, and the government decided to back up the colonists. An effort was made in the Albany Convention of 1754 to secure united action on the part of all the colonies, and two military and naval enterprises were prepared. One, starting from Philadelphia, was to drive out the French from Fort Duquesne, and

the second was to take control of the St. Lawrence Valley and the strategic forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The military expedition against Fort Duquesne was commanded by General Braddock, an able commander, unused, however, to fighting in a frontier country, and it barely escaped annihilation at the hands of the French and their Indian allies. The second expedition was no more successful but the French chose to regard a naval demonstration in the St. Lawrence in connection with it as a *casus belli*, and in 1755 war was renewed between France and Great Britain over the question of territorial expansion in America.

The Seven Years' War: The Situation in Europe

This war soon became wider in its scope. It spread to Europe and involved the great states of the continent. Although the war was in its origins a war for colonial power, the government of France has never been able to follow a single-minded colonial policy. French statesmen have always been inclined to combine colonial ambitions with an effort to win the hegemony of Europe. On this occasion the temptation was offered by Baron Kaunitz of Austria. He desired to recover Silesia, which had remained in the hands of Frederick of Prussia by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. In the face of generations of hostility between France and Austria, he offered an alliance between the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons. Louis XV was to desert Prussia and ally himself with Austria to recover Silesia, in return for Austria's acceptance of the destruction of the balance of power in Europe through French annexation of the Prussian Rhine provinces. The King's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, was won over, and through her, the King; and presently England found herself at war with Austria, her ally in the former war, and in alliance with Prussia, against whom she had been fighting. When peace was made at Paris in 1763, Great Britain acquired Canada and all the territory westward to the Mississippi. Spain had joined in the war near its close on the French side, and to secure the return of Havana, captured by a British fleet, she was obliged to cede Florida to Great Britain; to compensate Spain for the loss of Florida, France ceded to her all French territory west of the Mississippi. The French sugar islands were all captured during the war; but, while some of the smaller islands were retained by Great Britain, the island of Guadeloupe was restored. The Indian

factories of the French East India Company were restored, but under such conditions as rendered them unable to compete seriously with the British East India Company. French trading posts or factories in Africa remained in British possession. Great Britain emerged from the war unquestionably the greatest colonial power, even though all possible gains were not realized.

New Imperial Problems After the Peace of Paris of 1763

The terms of the treaty of 1763 afford a good deal of evidence of the influence of another group on British policies, the sugar interest, which now rose in importance to the place once held by the slave traders in affecting government policy. Sugar growing was carried on extensively in the Barbados, Jamaica, and other West India islands, largely by planters who lived in London, managed their estates through agents, and kept and enjoyed their vast incomes at home in England. The produce of the West India sugar islands was thus a direct addition to English capital wealth, and on that score alone the planters demanded respect and attention. They were, moreover, closely organized. Living in and around London, they met frequently in their coffeehouses and organized an able and powerful lobby to support their interests before Parliament. Although ostensibly mercantilists, they never hesitated to demand nonmercantilist measures, when they felt these might benefit them. Thus they demanded and obtained the right to send raw sugar directly from the sugar islands to Europe. This is quite contrary to the mercantilist notion that raw materials of the colonies must be sent only to the mother country. When, however, the same article of the mercantilist creed aided them, they were most insistent upon the enforcement of its teachings. The whole superficial area of the sugar islands was given over to sugar plantations, worked by negro slaves. No foodstuffs were raised, since these could be produced more cheaply in the North Atlantic colonies. This was true for both the French and British sugar islands. Since the French islands were nearer, and higher prices were paid by the French planters, a brisk trade grew up between the British North Atlantic colonial merchants and the French West Indies in codfish, grain, and barrel staves in exchange for sugar and molasses, which, moreover, were cheaper there than on the British islands. To avoid the French competition the British sugar planters

wished to confine the colonial traders to the British islands. They painted the beauties of the three cornered trade—the continental American colonies providing the food to feed the slave laborers on the islands, the islands providing molasses which the colonists made into rum, the rum used as specie on the African coast to buy more slaves. All would benefit from the arrangement, and even if the colonists would not make as large profits as they might by trading with the French islands, they ought to be zealous enough for the empire to make concessions. To enforce that view on the colonists and to compel them to trade with the British rather than the French islands, Parliament passed the Molasses act in 1733, which imposed such heavy duties on French sugar and molasses imported into the colonies as to make trade in them unremunerative. Fortunately, from the colonial point of view, the British government had no effective customs service in America, and the act could not be enforced.

When the Seven Years' War approached its close, the French West India islands were in British control. The colonists looked forward to their annexation to the British empire, since it would then be possible for them to carry on their usual trade without the danger of its being interfered with by the sugar interests. The colonial agents in London urged the government to retain the French islands when the peace was signed. The whole procedure would have been justifiable on the grounds of the purest mercantilism and would have left the colonists, that is, the colonial merchants, satisfied. The sugar planters, however, protested. The soil of the French islands was more fertile, and methods in use in growing sugar were more efficient than in the British islands. French sugar could be sold so much cheaper that once the islands were annexed and the sugar admitted to the British market, there was no question but that it would drive out sugar from the original British plantations. The British planters were willing to accede to the annexation of some of the smaller islands, but declared that the annexation of Guadeloupe, the largest French sugar island, would ruin them. Instead of Guadeloupe, they urged the government to annex Canada, which had also been captured during the war. They were backed in their demand for Canada by the rising manufacturing classes, who were beginning to recognize the importance of temperate zone colonies, such as Canada, as markets for British goods. So keen was the struggle between the colonial agents and the sugar planters that William Pitt

once said, "Some are for keeping Canada; others Guadeloupe. Who can tell me which I shall be hanged for not keeping?"

Eventually the sugar planters won the contest. Canada was annexed, and Guadeloupe was restored to France, much to the dissatisfaction of the colonial business interests. To heighten their grievance, a new Sugar act was passed in 1764 to replace the act of 1733 which lapsed in that year. While the duties on sugar and molasses were lower than under the act of 1733, new duties were laid on coffee, pimento, wines, and other goods. Worst of all, the government showed an intention of enforcing the new act by coupling with it a new customs act to erect a more efficient customs service in America. Customs houses and revenue coast guard vessels were to end the lax conditions under which nine-tenths of the colonial goods were smuggled and colonial customs revenues brought in £1900 a year at a cost of £7600 for collection. The colonial merchants were already irritated over the enforcement of British trade regulations because of the government's attempts to suppress their profitable trade with the enemy by way of the West Indies during the Seven Years' War. By means of general warrants, called Writs of Assistance, the government had seriously restricted the smuggling enterprises of the Americans, and a great outcry was raised in the colonies against the illegal character of the government's use of Writs of Assistance. The real opposition was, of course, to any interference by the British government in colonial trade, and this feeling was revivified by the new trade acts of 1764.

The decision to return Guadeloupe to France, to enact the Sugar act, and to enforce the customs regulations by a more efficient revenue service in opposition to colonial protests seemed to the colonists to be a notice that their interests were again to be subordinated to those of powerful business interests in England, who were able to justify their requirements by appeals to the shibboleths of mercantilism. As a matter of fact, the mercantilistic considerations in the new government policy have been overstressed. While the influence of the sugar lobby was unquestionably strong in securing the return of Guadeloupe, the new regulations for colonial trade can be explained without much reference to the sugar interests. The more important factors in bringing about the adoption of the new tariffs and the institution of the new customs service were the government's financial situation and the difficulty of finding any new taxes at home which did not strengthen the opposition to the ministry, together with certain personal views and political needs

of the various leaders. The widespread notion of the subserviency of the colonies to home interests, which had been so thoroughly indoctrinated into the English people as part of the general mercantilist theory, gave a general appeal to the possibility of raising a revenue in America to ease the fiscal situation at home. The development of the situation was closely connected with internal politics, and to understand it completely, it is necessary to turn to a study of party history in the eighteenth century

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XVI

NARRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY.

C. G. Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians.*

Philip, Earl of Stanhope, *History of England 1713-1783.*

IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENT.

C. W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics.*

C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period.*

E. S. Furniss, *The Position of the Laborer in the System of Nationalism.*

G. B. Hertz, *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century.*

J. W. Horrocks, *Short History of Mercantilism.*

K. Hotblack, *Chatham's Colonial Policy.*

A. D. Innes, *A Short History of the British in India.*

A. C. Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India.*

J. Mill and H. H. Wilson, *History of British India.*

F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies.*

F. P. Robinson, *The Trade of the East India Company 1709-1813.*

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

E. Armstrong, *Elizabeth Farnese.*

A. G. Bradley, *The Fight with France for North America.*

J. F. Chance, *The Alliance of Hanover.*
George I and the Great Northern War.

J. S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War.*

H. Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive.*

A. Hassall, *Balance of Power 1715-1789.*

R. Lodge, *Britain and Prussia in the Eighteenth Century.*

G. B. Malleson, *Dupleix and the Struggle for India.*

A. W. Ward, *Great Britain and Hanover.*

BIOGRAPHY.

G. Forrest, *The Life of Lord Clive.*

W. D. Green, *Chatham.*

Lord Rosebery, *Lord Chatham, His Early Life and Connections.*

A. von Ruville, *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.*

B. Williams, *The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.*

CHAPTER XVII

THE WHIG ASCENDANCY

George I, who became King of Great Britain in 1714 on Anne's death, was a heavy, cold, silent man of fifty-four years of age with all the dull sodden quality of the house of Hanover, of which he was the head. He had seen active service against the Turks and in the War of the Spanish Succession and was popular in Hanover. When he upheld the strictest moral standards by the perpetual imprisonment of his own wife because she had sought relief from his stupidity in flight with a young officer, George considered his duty done in this business of morality. He had a penchant for ugly women and brought to England as his mistresses two of the ugliest women in Europe. The first was the great fat von Kielmansegge, advanced to the English peerage as the Countess of Darlington, but nicknamed the Elephant by the English; the second was the thin scrawny von der Schulenburg, Duchess of Kendal, popularly called the Maypole. They carried on a brisk business in patronage, and their rapacity in selling favors did much to make George I unpopular in England, as did his uncouth manners, his unconcealed preference for Hanover, and his ignorance of English. Only one man in the ministry could speak to him in his own tongue, and he could not speak the language of his ministers. Consequently, only a minimum of business was transacted by him. Most important of all, he absented himself from the sessions of the political committee of the Privy Council, that is, the ministry or cabinet council as it was already called, because he could not understand what was going on; and presently the notion developed that the cabinet council was an entity in itself, in which the king had no place.

The early years of George's reign were marked by Whig control of the House of Commons and of the ministry, and the passage of the Septennial act gave assurances of the continuance of this situation. The Whig party was still a sort of confederation of the greater leaders and their followings, without any real unity or centralized control. Every political chief

had a certain number of members of the House of Commons in his appointment or nomination through his ownership of small decayed boroughs, and the crown also controlled a large number of members of the House. In addition, the crown disposed of the patronage to influence members, if it chose to exercise its power; but for practical purposes, George I and George II allowed the ministers to whom they gave their confidence to manage both the patronage and the crown members of the House of Commons. While popular opinion as expressed in the elections still had something to do with deciding the political complexion of the House of Commons, much depended upon the formation of the proper combinations among the party chiefs, and above all, upon the king's favor. George I and George II were absolutely committed to the Whigs, especially after the Jacobite revolt of 1715; but there was still a great deal of leeway in regard to which of the Whig leaders they would choose as their chief advisers, endow with the crown members, and invest with the distribution of the all important patronage. Any group of ministers with the disposal of the patronage and the control of the crown members in their hands was in a strong position. Since George I was also Elector of Hanover, he had a keen interest in European affairs. Some members of the ministry, especially the Earl of Stanhope and the Earl of Sunderland, sympathized with George's continental interests and desired to continue the Whig policy of Queen Anne's reign to play a big part in European politics. In 1716 they joined in a Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and France to maintain the treaty of Utrecht against Austria and Spain. As a consequence, they were given control, while others of the ministers, Charles, Lord Townshend, and Sir Robert Walpole, who disliked further commitments in Europe, resigned office and created a rift in the Whig party known as the Whig Schism. It was less a schism, however, than the withdrawal of certain factional chiefs from the still unorganized and undisciplined aggregation of the Whig party, the nature of which is clearly revealed by the foregoing incident.

The perfection of the party system and the imposition of party discipline was the work of Robert Walpole during the generation from 1721 to 1742. During these years he not only fused the various confederated groups into a single unitary party under his own absolute control, but he secured something like acceptance of the idea that the party which had the majority of members in the House of Commons had the right to have

the ministry selected from its ranks, and that in this ministry one person, the Prime Minister, was all powerful. He spoke in the name of the ministry, he dismissed his subordinates at his pleasure and chose new colleagues, and when he resigned, the ministry was at an end.

Walpole's return to office after his resignation in 1717 was due to the great financial crisis of 1720. The monopoly of the slave trade in Spanish America for thirty years, granted by Spain in the negotiations of 1711 and ratified in the Asiento treaty, signed with the treaty of Utrecht, had been conceded by the government to the South Sea Company. This company had a capitalization of £10,000,000, and it was soon found that the business in Spanish South America was not great enough to use more than a small part of the potentialities of the company. Its directors thought of turning to financial operations as one source of business. From France came the news of large scale flotations and mergers of companies into the Company of the Indies by John Law, followed by accounts of his scheme to convert the whole of the French government debt bearing four per cent into company stock at three per cent plus the expectation of sharing in the vast profits to be made by the company. The directors of the South Sea Company decided to undertake some such refunding scheme in England, and in 1719 they carried through an operation by which one and three quarters million pounds of government securities were converted into company stock. The interest formerly paid by the government to the bondholder was paid to the company, but at a lower rate; and the former bondholder had the opportunity of sharing in the profits of the company from its business ventures. In the course of this operation, the company was empowered to lend the government £500,000 to be raised by the sale of 5000 shares of company stock. The popular expectation of profits, stimulated by stories from France, was so great that the new stock to cover the new government loan was sold to the public at 114. Selling the new issue for £572,000 and lending the government only £500,000, the company thus took a profit of about £72,000.

The success of the venture of 1719 suggested a more grandiose scheme to convert the whole of the national debt into company stock. The directors even went so far as to plan to absorb the Bank of England and the British East India Company, but ultimately satisfied themselves with a plan to convert £30,000,000 worth of the national debt into company stock with the right to

issue £100 worth of new stock for every £100 worth of national bonds exchanged. For this right the company, bidding in competition with the Bank of England, finally offered the government a bonus of over £7,000,000. Since the company's stock was selling above par, the government bondholder received only enough stocks at or near the market price to cover the value of his bonds, while the company sold the rest and took its profit. Thus when the stock reached 400 and was exchanged at 375, the company gave the holder of £375 worth of bonds one share of stock, but issued three and three-quarters shares, two and three-quarters of which it sold in the stock market at 400—making a profit of £1100 on the operation. By rigging the market with false rumors, stories of fantastic dividends not earned, and by loans to prospective purchasers of stock out of the company treasury to keep alive the demand, the directors drove up the stock to 1050 on June 24.

Meantime all sorts of other schemes were being promoted: insurance companies of all sorts, including one to insure against death from rum-drinking and another to insure female chastity; textile companies; mining and copper companies; a company for furnishing funerals to any part of Great Britain; another to print, paint, and stain calico, resolved "as one man to admit no man" to membership, the subscribers to which must be women dressed in calico; and still another, the Fish-pool, to convey fish alive in tanks to market, the stock of which, with nothing paid in, stood at 160. One projector announced a company "for an undertaking which shall in due time be revealed," each subscriber to pay at once two guineas and afterward receive a share of a hundred with a disclosure of the object. It is said that in a single morning he received 2000 guineas, with which he decamped. The directors of the South Sea Company thinking that such questionable flotations were absorbing capital, which should rightly be used to maintain their own stock at its inflated levels, had already secured a parliamentary statute, called the Bubble act, to prevent the formation of joint stock companies except under parliamentary charter. When prices began to sag a little, the South Sea Company directors began to enter suits against four rival concerns to compel them to withdraw their issues. The court decisions were favorable to the company in three out of the four cases. The direct result was a rapid fall in shares of various other companies which might be involved in similar suits. These stocks had been bought largely on margin and fell so quickly that the

bankers could not cover their margins. Where owners of such stocks also owned South Sea stock, they sold it to cover their losses, with the result that the prices of South Sea stock broke from 850 to 180 between August 18 and September 28. Everyone had speculated—"Landlords sold their ancestral estates, clergymen, philosophers, professors, men of fashion, poor widows flung all their possessions into the new stock. The ministers of the crown engaged in the speculation." When the break came, disaster and ruin were carried through all classes.

During the whole course of the frenzy of speculation one man, Robert Walpole, had denounced the unsound and dizzy character of the whole South Sea Company plan. He had used the speculation to make a tidy sum for himself, while at the same time warning all of impending disaster. When the panic broke all turned to him as the saviour of the nation. With his brother-in-law, Charles Townshend, he was called to assume control of the government and accepted the posts of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, while Townshend became principal Secretary of State. So successful was Walpole in bringing some kind of order out of the financial chaos, in saving from 60 to 70 per cent of their incomes to the original holders of the national bonds, that his permanence in office was assured. Stanhope died in the midst of the South Sea Company investigation, and Sunderland was so deeply implicated in the current corruption that he could no longer hold office. His death in 1722 closed the Whig schism and left Walpole without any serious obstacle.

Walpole in his own private life was a gross, material man, coarse to the extreme, whose ordinary conversation reeked of the stable and smoking room. He had no belief in virtue—least of all in women—none in idealism or patriotism. He frankly loved power, and in his control of the government he was determined to exercise all the power in the state and in the party in his own person. He surrounded himself with little men, partly because he could not endure a rival in the government, and partly because men of outstanding ability refused the implicit acceptance of his policies which he demanded. His first serious crisis came in 1727. When George I died in 1727, it was confidently expected by many that Walpole's rule was at an end. The Prince of Wales had quarreled with his father over the treatment of his mother, and had gathered Whigs discontented with Walpole around him. Immediately after George II became king, he signified his intention of dismissing Wal-

pole and of calling one of the factional leaders into his service as chief minister. Before he did so, however, the financial settlement of the civil list and of the Queen's jointure turned him in Walpole's favor. While the Whigs out of office promised £700,000 a year to the King and £60,000 to the Queen, Walpole offered £800,000 to the King and £100,000 to the Queen. The King took him by the hand and said, "Consider, Sir Robert, what makes me easy in this matter will prove for your ease too: it is for my life it is to be fixed, and it is for your life."

It was the first lesson that the factional leaders had of the impossibility of getting control of the government in opposition to Walpole and of the necessity of following him if they desired to share the spoils of office. At this time Walpole's control was strengthened by a kind of alliance or understanding with Queen Caroline, the able wife of George II, who completely dominated her dull husband, without, however, permitting anyone to know that she knew her power. When Walpole decided upon a policy, he had the Queen introduce it into the King's mind as though it were his own, and thus no royal opposition was ever encountered.

Secure in the royal favor through Caroline's help, Walpole began to insist more strongly on his own leadership and control in the Whig party. He brought about the resignation of his own brother-in-law, Charles Townshend, and whenever a man was able enough or daring enough to question his control, he was at once dismissed from office and excluded from the party. Walpole's most important assertion of his party leadership came in 1733 in connection with an Excise bill, which he introduced in that year. The Tories, led by Bolingbroke, roused the people to an unreasoning fury over the measure, by making them believe that it would destroy Magna Carta and degrade them as low as the wretched slaves of France. In the frenzied state of public opinion many Whigs wavered and withdrew their support from Walpole. Although he still commanded enough votes in Parliament to pass the bill, he withdrew it, but immediately thereafter visited the most summary punishment upon all who had not stood by him. In one day he dismissed from office two dukes and six other noble lords, and thus compelled recognition of the facts that party regularity consisted in obeying his behests, and that opposition to him was immediately punishable by dismissal from office. He was henceforward recognized as the supreme party chief and the chief or Prime Minister in the cabinet with autocratic power over his colleagues.

Walpole's control over the party and over the ministry was largely due to the fact that, by an elaborate system of corruption and bribery, he still further increased his power over the House of Commons, already large through his control of the crown members and of the nominees of the Whig politicians. He thus made of that unruly independent body, which ever since 1688 had vaunted its supreme place in the state, a kind of registering body to give effect to the wishes of himself and his friends of the Whig party. Emancipated from the control of the sovereign, the House of Commons had not yet been made subject to public opinion. Its debates were secret. Its members were appointed by the peers of the realm, into whose hands the control of many of the boroughs had fallen, or were elected with the accompaniment of bribery and corruption. The House was thus a law unto itself and the powerful interests which created it; and in order to get it to do better things for the party than it would have done of its own accord, it had to be managed. Walpole realized the situation and used a certain government fund, called the secret service fund, as a slush fund, from which to pay the members to keep them in line to support his projects of party, and even national, importance. He once said of the members of the House, "All these men have their price," and Walpole knew exactly what that price was and offered neither too much nor too little. Through the combination in his own person of the position of Prime Minister, party chief, and leader of the House of Commons, Walpole worked out one of the most efficient devices for giving effect to party control of the government; and thus he solved the problem which had been created when the bases of political power were enlarged in the later part of the seventeenth century and parties came into existence to take the place of individuals in the struggle for power.

One thing more was requisite for the smoothest working of the new machinery of party government, and that was some generally accepted method of securing the transfer of power without friction from one party to another, or from one set of leaders to another, when the incumbent party or leaders controlled less votes or adherents than their opponents. Walpole provided that also. In 1742, finding that he no longer controlled a majority of members of the House of Commons, he resigned and turned the leadership of the House, the control of the party, and the ministry over to those who had that majority.

There were thus worked out the general lines of what came to

be called the cabinet system and responsible government, a cabinet or ministry dominated by a prime minister, chosen from the party which controlled the House of Commons, continuing in office as long as it maintained its majority in the House of Commons. Many details remained to be settled later, but the substantial ideas were fixed by Walpole.

Walpole did not try to raise the tone of his time. The young men in Parliament, fresh from the universities, made ardent for reform by their studies of Latin and Greek classics and seventeenth century English history, were scoffed at as Boys, Spartans, Romans; the word "patriot" was turned with a sneer that made it in Walpole's mouth a blast of contempt. But if he laughed at Reform and preferred to "let sleeping dogs lie," was materialistic and corrupt, he did have one noble purpose in view, the greatness of his country. This he was convinced depended upon the expansion of English trade, the increase of England's material prosperity, unhampered by the appalling wastes, losses and drains of war. His sentiment is best expressed in the speech from the throne in 1721, "We should be extremely wanting to ourselves if we neglected to improve the favorable opportunity given to us of extending our commerce, upon which the grandeur of this nation chiefly depends."

In pursuit of the expansion of English commerce he stood for two things, the removal of burdens on trade and peace in foreign relations. Even before his return to office in 1721, Walpole was concerned with the pressure of the public debt upon the country's prosperity. As early as 1717, when in office under Lord Stanhope, he had reduced the interest on part of the debt from six and seven to four per cent and had created a sinking fund to retire certain kinds of bonds. In 1733, however, Walpole was faced by the prospect of raising the land tax or meeting a deficit. To avoid both he borrowed from the sinking fund and continued to do so regularly after that, so that there was little alleviation of the burden of the debt. Nevertheless, taxes were kept down. To encourage overseas trade, Walpole believed in freer trade, but not free trade. His freer trade policy first expressed itself in the form of removing duties on exports of manufactured goods and on imports of raw materials. In 1730 he gave the Carolinas and Georgia more direct trade with Europe and in 1739 permitted the West India sugar planters to send their sugar directly to Europe. He held that the larger American commerce, the greater would be American prosperity, and the heavier would be the American demands for English goods.

On the other hand, he was responsible for certain restrictions upon colonial trade. The Molasses act was passed, copper smelting in the colonies was prohibited, and the colonial beaver hat manufacture ended during his administration. At the same time, he refused to attempt to tax the colonies on the ground that he had troubles enough with taxation in England. His greatest fiscal and trade measure was the Excise bill of 1733, designed to transmute the customs duties on certain goods into an excise. His plan was to have imported goods stored in warehouses. If they were taken out for sale and use in England, an excise tax was paid on them, but if they were reëxported, they paid no tax. In this way the bringing of colonial goods to England for distribution throughout Europe would be encouraged, and London would become the *entrepot* of Europe. Bolingbroke's malicious and dishonest campaign compelled Walpole to withdraw the measure, and the populace celebrated the failure of one of the most beneficial measures of the century as if it were a national victory over a foreign foe. The Monument was illuminated, bonfires were lighted, and the mob burned effigies of Robert Walpole and a fat woman intended to represent Queen Caroline.

To the success of all his policies peace was essential. It was necessary alike for England's material development and for political consolidation. War meant a land tax of four shillings in the pound; if Walpole could keep the tax low, he might reconcile the landed interests to the Hanoverian dynasty. War involved the destruction of material wealth, the interruption of industry and commerce, the accumulation of new debts, and new checks and burdens on that national development which Walpole wished to further.

A peace policy in the second quarter of the eighteenth century was exceedingly difficult to follow. The treaty of Utrecht was becoming irksome to Spain and Austria; new powers were arising in Russia and Prussia to question the status quo; and Holland, Sweden, and Denmark were declining. "My policy," said Walpole in 1723, "is to keep free from all engagements as long as we possibly can," and after that he meant to do as much by negotiation as possisble. The threat to the treaty of Utrecht involved in the treaty of Vienna of 1725 between Austria, Spain, and Russia was met by the treaty of Hanover in 1726 between Hanover, England, and France. Spain actually laid siege to Gibraltar, and a British fleet was dispatched to the West Indies—with instructions not to act on the offensive!

Walpole was abused then and afterward for pusillanimity, but he was soon justified. The Emperor of Austria withdrew from his engagements, and in 1729 Great Britain was guaranteed her rights under the treaty of Utrecht in the treaty of Seville. Two years later, in return for accepting Maria Theresa as the successor of Charles VI in Austria, the danger to British commerce from the Ostend Company was ended by the suppression of that body.

In 1733 Europe was embroiled by the question of the succession to the throne of Poland. France and Spain supported Stanislaus, father of the French Queen; Russia and Austria favored Augustus, Elector of Saxony. The King and court in England were violently anti-French. When the Austrian Emperor appealed for aid as an ally, the opposition to Walpole raised the cry of national honor and fidelity to allies. But Walpole refused to hearken. Speaking to the Queen in 1734, he said, "Madame, there are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe, and not one Englishman." And he was determined that not one Englishman should be killed. To keep England from being drawn in, he strained the resources of negotiation and eventually did much in bringing about a compromise settlement between the contestants, in the treaty of Vienna in 1738.

Very soon after this success, however, he encountered a storm in his own country which he could not weather. The abuse of the Asiento treaty by British merchants led to the attempt on the part of Spain, as already explained, to exercise the right of search. The difficulty which developed between the Spanish and British governments might have been settled by negotiation; but the Tory remnants and the Whigs whom Walpole excluded from the party saw a chance to rouse a hysteria of opposition against Walpole, by which they might sweep him from office. Gentlemen arose in the House of Commons and read touching letters about brave British sailors languishing in Spanish dungeons in chains, and slaves to the Spaniards. An old sea captain, named Jenkins, was trotted into the House to tell the story of how the Spanish guard ships had arrested and imprisoned him, how he had been mistreated and his ear cut off by the cruel Spaniards. When he drew the withered ear from his pocket to thrill his auditors to the proper horror, he was asked what he had done then. He replied, "I commended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." That reply struck the popular imagination, and Walpole recognized that public opinion demanded war so strongly that he must yield or lose his control. Though

he believed in peace, he preferred to sacrifice his principles rather than his office, and reluctantly committed the nation to a war with Spain in 1739. "They are ringing their bells now; they will be wringing their hands soon," he said.

Walpole's reluctance to engage vigorously in the war which he had joined gained constant strength for the Whig opposition. Finally, in 1742, his enemies were strong enough to outvote him in the House of Commons. Walpole, recognizing that his power depended upon his control of the majority of the House of Commons, resigned and thus did much to establish the principle that the party leader who has lost control of the House resigns and makes way for the leader of the new majority. This new majority was a curious assortment. It numbered Tory foxhunting squires, "fat with country ale," who drank to the King over the water, believed all fundholders were Jews, whose "religion consisted in hating dissenters," and whose knowledge of politics "led them to fear that their land might be sent over to Hanover to be put into the sinking fund." Then there were the "Boys"—young idealists who sought in political life a means of serving their country. Finally, there were those able politicians, dubbed "Patriots" by Walpole, who had dared oppose his will, had been removed from office by him, and had gone into the opposition. Although they united to drive Walpole from office by stimulating the people to the highest pitch of excitement with their cries of corruption and abuses, they had nothing to offer of a positive nature. One group wanted Walpole's head; another, the repeal of the Septennial act; and others concentrated on the prevention of the export of wool. In the uncoördinated desire

> "to reclaim private life by wisest arts
> to frame ardent youth to noblest manners,"

no practical program was worked out, and presently the country wearied of its emotional strain and fell into a lethargy of indifference. Within two or three years after Walpole's fall, the most popular declaration that a candidate could make was that he never had been, and never would be, a "Patriot."

In other words, the fall of Walpole was the fall of a politician, not the fall of the Whig party. Whatever the Tory remnants hoped for when they helped oust Walpole, they were disappointed; and when some of them had recourse to another rebellion in 1745 in favor of Charles Edward, the young Pretender, the Tories were exterminated as a political party. After

that failure there were for practical purposes no longer any Tories. The word Tory came to be the most hateful term of opprobrium that could be bandied about in politics, much like the word Bolshevik today. It was a term applied to any individual or faction which disagreed with the dominant element. All, however, were Whigs, and their only point of disagreement was the question of who should hold office.

After Walpole's fall in 1742, the government was taken over by some of his old associates together with some of the opposition, led by the Earl of Wilmington and the Earl of Carteret, one of the most wise and learned men of his time. Carteret had, however, an extreme contempt of drudgery and abandoned it to others. He allowed the patronage in the church and state to be handled by Henry and Thomas Pelham. Through their distribution of the spoils of office, they increased their parliamentary influence every day, until they controlled the majority of the House of Commons and in 1744 drove Carteret from office.

Henry Pelham became the leader of the government, and on his death in 1754 he was succeeded by his brother Thomas, Duke of Newcastle. Every one agreed that the Duke of Newcastle was a living caricature. His gait was a shuffling trot, his utterance a rapid stutter. He was always in a hurry and never on time. His ignorance was great beyond that of most cabinet ministers. On one occasion he was urged to take measures for the defense of Annapolis. "Oh yes, yes, to be sure, Annapolis must be defended—troops must be sent to Annapolis—Pray where is Annapolis?" On another occasion he was informed that Cape Breton was an island. "Cape Breton an island! Wonderful—show it to me in the map. So it is, sure enough. My dear sir, you always bring me good news. I must go and tell the King that Cape Breton is an island." On the other hand, he had an extraordinary knowledge of administrative detail and gave painstaking attention to business. He was not in politics for money and even used his own wealth—he was one of the richest men in England—to keep himself in office. He was obsessed by the love of power. He was thrilled with the control of the patronage, which he would not share with any one. To keep his power he was false beyond example, he debauched the House of Commons, he corrupted the electorate. He was justly ridiculed by abler men as a dunce and driveller, but so single was his purpose to compass power that he outreached them all. His career is an extraordinary example of what even a mediocre

man can accomplish by single-minded devotion to one aim and purpose.

As long as peace lasted, his power was secure; but the renewal of war with France in 1755 (the French and Indian War or the Seven Years' War) brought a crisis, to which he was not equal. Disaster overtook British arms, public opinion blamed the government, and Newcastle could not stand before the criticism of his own House of Commons. This was inspired by William Pitt. He was one of the "Boys," so contemptuously regarded by Robert Walpole. He had played a considerable part in the hostilities against Walpole and had won a great reputation for his oratory and power in debate, where he was especially distinguished by his sincerity and love of his country. Carteret had not admitted him to office, but Henry Pelham had given him the position of paymaster of the forces, which he held from 1746 to 1755. Since it was customary for the paymaster of the forces to take a fee of five per cent on all money passing through his hands, this office was the most lucrative in the British government. Pitt, however, though a poor man, refused to take the usual perquisites and at once created a reputation for disinterestedness and honesty, which gave him a power of appeal to public opinion of extraordinary potentiality. Pitt opposed Newcastle's measures for the conduct of the war in 1755-6 and was finally able to arouse a real opposition to Newcastle in the House. Newcastle resigned in the face of Pitt's confident assertion, "I know that I can save England, and that no one else can." Pitt headed the new government, though not actually Prime Minister; but, after all, he had no knowledge of the old political machinery and soon found himself without the support of the House of Commons. Newcastle controlled Parliament; Pitt had the backing of public opinion. When Pitt was actually turned out by the adverse House, he and Newcastle surmounted the *impasse* by agreeing to combine. Newcastle was to have control of the patronage and Pitt was to have the supreme management of the war. Pitt was not a remarkable organizer in his direction of the war, and he was extremely uneconomical in his expenditures, accomplishing what he did at enormous cost. But he was able to evoke a genuine enthusiasm for Great Britain's cause from admirals to drummer boys; he was able to fire even the meanest "powder monkey" with the consciousness that victory depended on what he did, and to put a moral fervor into the war which had hitherto been lacking. The war, fought for very real and material ends by

both France and Great Britain, became for the British a moral crusade. The fops and dilettantes who directed the fortunes of France were unnerved by the zeal and enthusiasm of the British forces. Victory begat victory, and in the end the British stood triumphant on every field.

It must not be overlooked, however, that part of Great Britain's success was due to the very policy which Pitt had most vigorously condemned before he entered office, the subsidization of Prussia. Pitt was not wholly inconsistent in his position. The previous subsidies which he condemned had been largely devoted to the interest of supporting the system of balance of power on the continent as it had been established by William III and maintained by Walpole, Carteret, and Newcastle, from which Hanover and not Great Britain now reaped the chief benefits. Pitt's real opposition was to British commitments in Europe for European ends. He held that the destinies of the British people turned on the empire, and that British policy ought to be concerned with the protection and extension of British interests in America and India. His accession to power involved a real revolution in policy from European to imperial objects, but he soon discovered that the best way of attaining victory in the colonial world was through subsidies to European allies. He even went so far as to assert that "America must be conquered in Germany," that is, while Frederick with the help of British subsidies was engaging the major French forces in Germany, the British forces would be free to conquer the colonial world. Without the victories of the King of Prussia in Europe, the victories of the British armies at Louisburg, Duquesne, Quebec, and Montreal would have been impossible or futile.

Before the war ended in the peace of Paris in 1763, an important change had come in the British political scene. In 1760 George II died and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. George III was the first of the Hanoverians who was really English. His notions of his duties were a curious combination of the ideas of many teachers. From his mother, he had learned "George be a King," meaning a king of the despotic, absolute sort to be found in the little courts of Germany where the Princess had been brought up. From his tutor, he had learned the political philosophy which Viscount Bolingbroke set forth in his essay on the "Idea of a Patriot King." Bolingbroke, disgusted with the corruption of the House of Commons and the Whig control which he could not break, had desired a re-

assertion of the royal prerogative, so that the king might be able to control the House of Commons and the government through it in the best interests of the nation, which, it was believed, were easily ascertainable. From politicians, such as Pitt himself, George had learned the evils of the Newcastle faction and its control of the Whig party, and had been led to see the desirability of destroying that faction and its power.

All these phenomena made for a determination on George's part to alter the system of ministerial government as it had developed since Walpole's time, and to go back to the situation as it had been in the reign of William III. George had no wish to be an absolute monarch, but he wished to recover powers which his grandfather and great-grandfather had lost; and instead of being the servant of a ministry drawn from one party, he wished to be his own chief minister, served by the best men in all parties or factions. To do this he must destroy the Whig domination. The King was enabled to make a beginning in his plans by the fact that about one hundred and fifty members of the House of Commons were practically royal appointees. Some of these were office holders who held their appointments from the crown as long as they voted as the crown desired. Others were representatives of boroughs where the voters were all treasury officers and holders of government sinecures, who voted as they were instructed for members guaranteed to take orders. Ordinarily these members, called Treasury members and placemen, were placed at the disposal of the ministry in power to strengthen their majority, but the king could assert himself and take control of the group himself. This George III did, and presently the Treasury members and placemen formed a party in the House of Commons, known as the King's Friends.

The King's Friends were, of course, only a minority of the members of the House; and, as long as the Whigs in Parliament stood solidly behind the ministry, the King could accomplish nothing. The Whig party, however, was not solidly behind Pitt and Newcastle. It had become badly divided into bitterly opposed factions. The bulk of the party, led by Newcastle, was called the Old Connection, or the Old Whigs. They represented the Walpolean tradition. Then there were the Grenville Whigs, led by George Grenville and the Earl of Temple; the Bloomsbury gang, the rapacious followers of the Duke of Bedford; the following of William Pitt; and others. These factions had split off from the Old Connection on the rock of greed for power and spoils, and they were willing to make any alliance to secure

revenge on the Old Connection and admission to office for themselves. With the nucleus of his own friends, George III now turned to the Whig factional leaders, to make terms with them against Newcastle and Pitt. They needed his help, but he needed them worse, and he found them hard bargainers. They consented to aid him to carry on the sort of government he envisaged, but only after such concessions as gave them the practical control of the policies of the state.

In 1761 Pitt was forced to resign because of a disagreement between him and the King over his war policy. Newcastle soon followed him into retirement. George made his own tutor, the Earl of Bute, Prime Minister with the backing of his own party, the King's Friends. The Earl of Bute was personally unpopular because he was a Scotsman; and he won general disfavor by his anxiety for peace and his failure, when making the treaty of Paris of 1763, to take everything for the empire that had been won by Pitt's genius. In the face of this already great popular disapproval, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced a new tax on cider and perry in the budget of 1763. Bute had no desire to increase taxation for its own sake, but he was faced by the necessity of meeting the charges on a national debt, which had been increased by the war from £72,000,000 to £132,000,000. The interest alone was almost as great as the whole government expenditure in 1755, and new taxation was absolutely essential. The cider and perry taxes were carried, but shortly afterward Bute resigned. The King then came to terms with George Grenville, the brother of the Earl of Temple; and a few months later the Duke of Bedford was also induced to enter the ministry.

The Old Connection had been "Little Englanders," satisfied with the empire as it was, and not particularly interested in colonies, as long as they could cultivate wealth at home by battening on the state. The Grenvilleites and Bedfordites, on the other hand, were imperialists of a very marked sort. They were interested in land speculation in the colonies; they were closely in touch with the powerful lobbies of the sugar planters, the British East India Company, and the Scottish tobacco importers. They hoped the colonies would provide more and ever more jobs for their needy followers, but their most pressing problem after they came into office was the service of the war debt. In view of the popular hostility to further taxes at home, Grenville and Bedford looked to the colonies for help in solving the pressing fiscal difficulty which confronted Great

Britain. It is in terms of these revenue problems, which were accentuated by the imperial ambitions of Bedford and Grenville, that the history of the next decade with its failures in the colonial world must be studied.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XVII

THE CABINET.

M. T. Blauvelt, *The Development of Cabinet Government.*

ECONOMIC HISTORY.

N. A. Brisco, *The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole.*

W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of the English, Scottish, and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720.*

BIOGRAPHY.

A. Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret.*

E. Charteris, *William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland.*

W. Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.*

W. H. Craig, *Life of Lord Chesterfield.*

W. E. Manners, *John Manners, Marquis of Granby.*

J. Morley, *Sir Robert Walpole.*

Earl of Ilchester, *Henry Fox.*

T. W. Riker, *Henry Fox, First Lord Holland.*

Lord Rosebery, *Lord Chatham, His Early Life and Connections to 1756.*

G. O. Trevelyan, *The Early History of Charles James Fox.*

P. C. Yorke, *The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke.*

W. H. Wilkins, *Caroline the Illustrious.*

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.

J. Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II to the Death of Queen Caroline.*

H. Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II.*

CHAPTER XVIII

REVOLUTION IN THE EMPIRE

The governments which held office in Great Britain from 1760 to 1785 were the ministries of

Duke of Newcastle and William Pitt, (1757)-1762
Earl of Bute, 1762-1763
George Grenville, 1763-1765
Marquis of Rockingham, 1765-1766
Earl of Chatham (William Pitt), 1766-1767
Duke of Grafton, 1767-1770
Lord North, 1770-1782
Marquis of Rockingham, (March-July) 1782
Earl of Shelburne, 1782-1783
Duke of Portland (Fox-North Coalition), (April-Dec.) 1783
William Pitt the younger, 1783-(1801)

The Duke of Newcastle carried on the tradition of Walpole, with the help of William Pitt, until 1762. Upon his resignation, the Earl of Bute formed a government of the King's Friends, but soon resigned in favor of a coalition of factions headed by George Grenville. For the next 20 years Great Britain was governed by coalitions of factions, in which the King's Friends were joined with other groups to form a government. In the Grenville ministry the Grenville faction had the leading place, joined within a few months by the Bedfordites; in the Rockingham ministry the Old Connection (Newcastle Whigs) controlled the government; in the Chatham and Grafton ministries all factions were represented—Pitt and his friends, the Grenvilleites and Bedfordites, the King's Friends, and the Newcastle Whigs. In the North ministry the King's Friends were more dominant, but Bedfordite elements were important. The return of the Marquis of Rockingham represented the momentary recovery of the Old Connection and the Chathamites, and on Rockingham's death, his place was taken by the Earl of Shelburne, the Chathamite leader. The Portland ministry was an "Infamous coalition" between the King's Friends and a part of the Old Connection led by Charles James Fox, and the ministry of William Pitt represented the King's Friends with certain new elements. In 1793 Pitt's followers were joined by the Portland Whigs to form the new Tory party.

Mercantilist policy was intended to keep the colonies in a "firmer dependence" upon the mother country and to render them more "beneficial and advantageous unto it." The interests

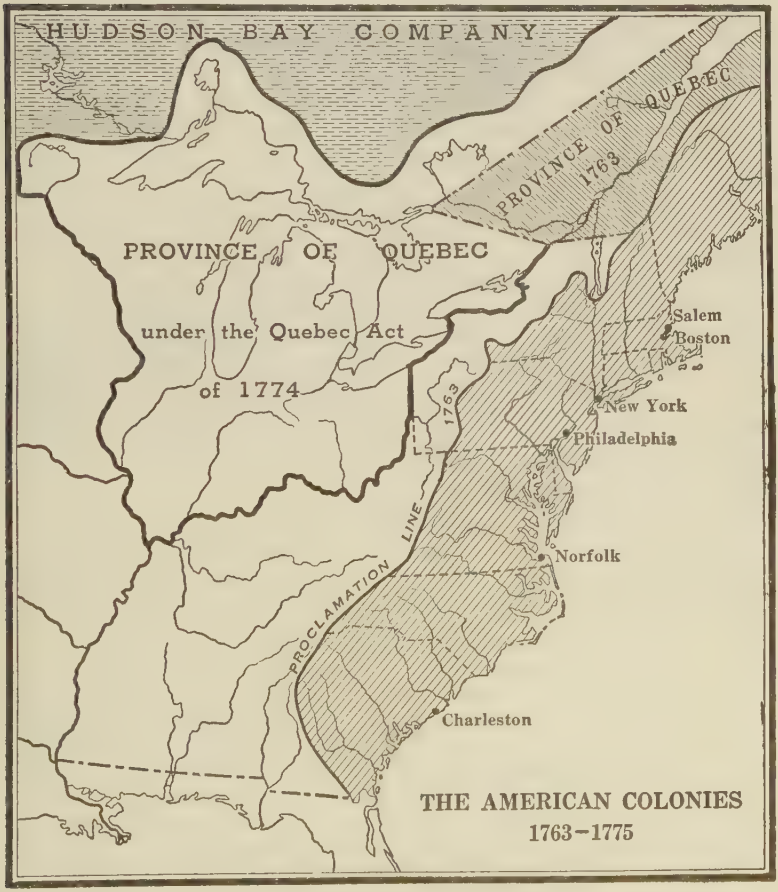
of the colonials were subordinated to the interests of business men at home, and whenever any conflict of interest between them arose, the decision of the government was nearly always in favor of the home interest. It was inevitable that the colonists should resent their treatment. The suppression and restriction of their industry, particularly of the iron industry in Pennsylvania; the attempt to compel the New Englander to produce masts and ship stores from his forests for export to England, rather than the more profitable timber and barrel staves for building purposes and the West India trade; the compulsion to trade only with Great Britain and British possessions created irritation in the colonies long before the first half of the eighteenth century had ended. In 1748 Kalm, a distinguished Swedish botanist, visited the colonies. He was so struck by their discontent with British rule, that he predicted their independence within thirty years.

As long as the French controlled Canada and the Mississippi Valley, there was no danger of colonial independence. As long as France threatened the colonies from the north and west, they would maintain their connection with Great Britain. The importance of French control of Canada as a bond of union between the North Atlantic colonies and Great Britain was pointed out in pamphlets during the course of the Seven Years' War, and the colonial agents urged the restoration of Canada to France on this ground during their campaign to secure the annexation of Guadeloupe instead of Canada in 1763.

It must be remembered, moreover, that the Atlantic colonies were not a single homogeneous area with identical interests. No single grievance had the same weight in every colony, or in all parts of the same colony, and common action to secure independence was chimerical in the middle of the century. It was even extremely difficult to get them to take any kind of united action in the case of the Seven Years' War, when France threatened them all.

Just when the removal of the fear of France through the annexation of Canada in 1763 made the thought of independence possible, the policy of the Grenville ministry created new grievances. As soon as the peace of Paris had been signed in 1763, many colonial speculators looked forward to operations in the Ohio Valley on an extended scale. It was no part of the policy of the government to close the valley permanently, but it was believed that France would make an effort to recover what she had lost in 1763, and that, to checkmate her, the Indians west

of the Alleghenies must be conciliated. This could not be done if the country remained open to indiscriminate exploitation on the part of the colonials of Virginia and Pennsylvania. It was, therefore, decided temporarily to close the country west of the



Alleghenies to settlement by proclaiming a line down the crest of the Alleghenies, "the Proclamation Line" of 1763, beyond which lay Indian territory, for which further regulation was to be made in the future. The feeling that colonial interests were being injured for the sake of larger imperial considerations found confirmation in the fact that, while Newcastle and the Old Connection had been Little Englanders, satisfied to let the

empire drift on its own course, George Grenville was an imperialist with a rather legal view of imperial relations. Both he and the Duke of Bedford wished to tighten up the imperial organization, and the notion that this was a general British policy was strengthened by other measures of these years. Reference has already been made to the annexation of Guadeloupe, the stricter enforcement of the Navigation acts, the enactment of the Sugar act, and the reform of the customs service in 1763 and 1764, and the colonial hostility to these measures. The Sugar act and the reform of the customs service were viewed as part of a scheme to make the colonies more profitable for the influential commercial interests and to provide more jobs for the hungry dependents of the Grenville tribe, but their chief purpose was to secure a revenue in America in view of the popular disapproval of further taxation at home.

In the discussions on the new Sugar act of 1764, Grenville had indicated that other revenue measures taking the form of stamp taxes applicable to the colonies would presently be necessary to provide for a defensive force in America. The need for this had been brought home by the Indian rising led by Pontiac in 1763, during the course of which the entire country north of the Ohio seemed on the point of being lost. A show of force in the colonies was essential and Grenville decided to station 10,000 men in the country. The sum of approximately £100,000, or about one-third of the total cost, was saddled on the colonies, and to raise that money a stamp tax was imposed in 1765 on white print paper, college diplomas, and legal documents. The imposition of a stamp tax payable in all the colonies acted as a focal point for colonial discontents.

Up until this time grievances had been sectional. There were in the American colonies three general areas. The first spread along the Atlantic seaboard from Charleston to Salem. The leading citizens of the large towns, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, were deep in empire trade. They did not dream of separation from Great Britain, since their participation in the trade of the British empire was a source of enormous profit to them. But they did resent the new Sugar act, which imposed duties on the wine which they imported from the Madeiras as well as on molasses and sugar, especially since the British government showed its determination to collect the new duties through its new customs service. The existence in each town of this section of a proletarian element made up of small shopkeepers and mechanics, poor, restless, and without

discipline, made it possible for the merchants to arouse fine displays of public emotion in opposition to regulations obnoxious to them, to bring home their protests to the British authorities.

The second colonial area was the tidewater South, the broad coastal plain from Maryland to Georgia, over which the planter aristocracy held sway. Although in romantic imagination these planters lived clothed with a mythical splendor, attended by troupes of servants bearing silver services amidst scenes of courtly grandeur in magnificent mansions, as a matter of actual fact many of the planters of the south were on the verge of bankruptcy. They were nearly always in debt and, in many cases, were tied from generation to generation by hereditary debts to London and Scottish financial houses. Their legislatures were always trying to pass liberal bankruptcy laws to enable them to free themselves from their shackles by going into bankruptcy, and the royal governors always vetoed the bills. There was consequently among them a real desire for independence.

Behind the fall-line of the rivers, back into the foothills and intervales of the Alleghenies, was the frontier, the West. This was inhabited by Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and Germans. They had no attachment for Great Britain at best, and a violent hatred for her in the case of the Scotch-Irish. In their bold struggle with nature to win farms, they had been unaided by any government, and consequently they cared little for any government; in each colony they had been discriminated against in the matter of taxation and of representation in the colonial legislatures, and hence they were apt to be radicals in opposition to the constituted provincial authorities. They had a full armory of theoretical justifications for revolt from their own provincial governments, which they eventually taught to the seaboard communities for use against Great Britain. Many of them looked for their salvation in settlements still further west across the mountains; and many of them depended on fur trading across the mountains for their livelihood. The proclamation of the frontier line in 1763 cut them off from access to the trans-Allegheny region and they became hostile to the mother country.

The most deep-seated grievances in the three sections of the colonies then were the enforcement of mercantilist measures in the seaboard cities; the refusal of the colonial governors in the south to approve of liberal bankruptcy laws, and the proclamation of the frontier line against the frontiersman. No one of these matters was of general interest in all the colonies. More-

over, not one of them was a basis for constitutional opposition or protest. The Stamp act, however, was both. It applied in all the colonies and called forth the denunciation of the New England newspaper editor whose paper was printed on stamped news print paper, of the Pennsylvania merchant whose contracts were written on stamped legal cap, and of the Virginia college graduate or of his father when he paid $30 for a stamp on his son's diploma. It was imposed by Parliament, which, in the soundest interpretation of the British Constitution, had no right to legislate for the colonies in internal affairs.

In English constitutional law the colonies were the creations and the subjects of the crown. This was recognized through the first half of the seventeenth century, and it was only when the High Court of Justice had executed Charles I in 1649 that the Rump Parliament had claimed to be "unitary and imperial" in control of all parts of the empire. Although this claim that Parliament had control over those parts of the empire outside England was reasserted by the Parliaments of 1660 and of 1688, it was never fully accepted by writers on constitutional questions; and the most expert opinion of modern times holds that Parliament had not made good its claim through its mere assertion, no matter how often repeated. Even to this day, certain parts of the modern British empire, such as the Channel Islands, have maintained their right to be free of parliamentary control.

The colonial leaders were willing to concede to Parliament the right to regulate trade, as a matter of imperial convenience, by customs tariff and navigation acts for example, especially since they had never protested such regulations which had been made ever since 1652; but they now took the stand that Parliament had absolutely no control over their internal economy, that Parliament had no power to tax them. It might be pointed out that the colonial stand implied the right of the king to tax them, but that they would have resented royal taxation as bitterly as parliamentary taxation. The point is, however, that at the moment Parliament was their danger; they were attacking Parliament and not the king, and the Stamp act supplied them with a sound legal and constitutional justification for protest, behind which all the other discontents could be marshaled. All this was popularized in the slogan of "no taxation without representation," but it would be a mistake to interpret that phrase as expressing a desire for representation in Parliament. It meant that since colonial representation in Parliament was,

in the nature of geography, impossible, no taxation could be levied.

Strong in the legality of their case, the colonial leaders began to make effective protests by organizing a most stupendous boycott of British goods. Colonial merchants signed nonimportation agreements, and the masses refused to buy British goods; the master-manufacturers of Lancashire and the merchants of London are said to have had unpaid debts of £4,000,000 and were threatened with bankruptcy. The government was overwhelmed by the pressure from the industrialists and commercial interests. Just at this moment the King and Grenville quarreled, and the Grenville ministry was dismissed. The King was forced to turn to the Old Connection, the old line Newcastle Whigs, now led by the Marquis of Rockingham. To ease the boycott and to repudiate anything which the hated Grenvilleites had done, Rockingham repealed the Stamp act. But it is worth while noting that Rockingham was enough of a parliamentarian to couple with that repeal a Declaratory act, in which he was supported by all factions, declaring the indisputable control of Parliament over the colonies in as complete a way as ever was claimed by the Parliament of 1649. All the so-called friends of the colonies, including Burke and Pitt, were unbending in their declarations of parliamentary sovereignty, although they were willing to make concessions to expediency. Pitt, for example, would have waived the right to levy taxes and actually opposed the Declaratory act in the form in which it was drawn up.

The Rockingham ministry's repeal of the Stamp act was regarded by the Grenvilleites and Bedfordites as the great affront, and they never rested until they could reimpose their system on America. Rockingham's ministry was a stop-gap; it soon fell before the opposition of the King and the factions. A new combination of the King's Friends and William Pitt, now created Lord Chatham, together with tags of other factions was brought into being. Before long, when Chatham himself lost his grip through illness, the Little Englanders and the imperialists carried on a bitter quarrel within the ministry, and in the House of Commons the imperialist opposition to concessions to America was extremely active. Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the minister who was most responsive to the wishes of the House, was himself an imperialist and had long cherished the plan of collecting taxes in the colonies. Sensing the temper of the House during a debate on army supplies in January,

1767, he boasted, amidst loud applause, that he could raise a revenue in America. Although he had not consulted with his colleagues before making this declaration, he now permitted George Grenville to force him to pledge himself to make his words good. Grenville made assurance doubly sure a few months later by defeating Townshend's retention in the budget of the land tax at four shillings and reducing it to three shillings. This left the Exchequer with a deficit of half a million pounds, which Townshend planned to raise by taxing America. Although the plan was opposed in the cabinet by the Earl of Shelburne, one of the best friends the colonies had, Townshend proposed a new series of duties on tea, glass, paper, paint, and other goods imported into the American colonies. Through the act he would not only ease the financial problem of the government and make up for the reduction of the land tax at home, but justify the Stamp act. Townshend won out against Shelburne; the new duties were imposed. The law further provided for another reorganization of the American customs service to make it even more efficient and to provide further new jobs for place-hunters. It is worth while to notice that at the same time that Townshend imposed a revenue on the American colonies, he succeeded in making India contribute to the British Exchequer. By an agreement with the British East India Company, he obtained from the company a payment of £400,000 a year, ten times the anticipated yield of the American duties. The new tariff was resisted in the colonies. The nonimportation agreements of the past year were revived. British trade slumped terribly; and finally, in 1770, the British government repealed the duties excepting those on tea.

By this time the merchants in the colonies had begun to be afraid of the storm of popular passions which they had aroused. There had been riots and disorders in connection with the boycott; and the merchants, fearing attacks upon British property might go further and lead to radical attacks upon their own property, were willing to be satisfied with the partial repeal of the Townshend duties. The tea duty was accepted, especially since the British government granted a full drawback or return of the import duty into England on all teas exported to the colonies. British tea could be purchased cheaper in America than in England, and in 1770, 1771, and 1772 colonial merchants imported large quantities through the customs house, paid the duty, and only hoped that quiet would return so that business could get back to normal.

Since the beginning of the agitation over the Stamp act, however, a good deal of bitterness had been created by the brusqueness, the authoritarian tone, the superior attitude of the British officials in America, on the one hand, and the hysteria and plain cantankerousness of the colonial mobs, on the other. The attempts of the customs officials to prevent smuggling of tea and Madeira wines led to conflicts between the people and the officials. One typical instance is the riot in connection with the sloop *Liberty* in 1768. It was reported to the commissioners of customs at Boston that this vessel, belonging to John Hancock, had entered a cargo of Madeira wine without paying the duty. Under orders of the commissioners, certain customs officials protected by seamen from the *Romney*, a war vessel lying in Boston harbor, seized the *Liberty* and sent her to be anchored out in the harbor under the guns of the *Romney*. As soon as the seamen went back to their ship, the mob which had gathered set upon the customs officials and beat them severely, and then visited the houses of the commissioners, broke their windows, and burned, on Boston Common, a pleasure yacht belonging to the collector.

The commissioners now demanded the protection of troops, and two regiments were dispatched. On their arrival their commander, Colonel Dalrymple, asked for quarters, to which he was entitled under the law requiring each colony to provide barracks for soldiers stationed in it. The colony of Massachusetts had provided barracks for 2000 men on an island in Boston Harbor and invited Dalrymple to use them. But in order to give any protection to the commissioners, it was essential that he remain on the mainland with his troops; and eventually he pitched camp on Boston Common and occupied certain public buildings.

The soldiers were well-behaved, but occasionally got into quarrels, in one of which James Otis, a leading citizen, was injured. Distrust of the soldiers deepened as the resentment against the Townshend duties increased, and rumors of bloodshedding by the troops were current. Finally on March 5, 1770, some boys snowballed a sentry. He called out the guard, and a crowd gathered. Some one in the crowd knocked down one soldier, some one else hit another with a club. The soldiers fired and four persons were killed and others wounded. But the authorities kept their heads, the soldiers were removed to Castle William in Boston harbor, and things looked brighter.

Colonial indignation was, however, again rekindled by the

publication in the colonies of a series of letters which passed between Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts, chief justice Oliver, his brother-in-law, and Whateley, private secretary to George Grenville. In these letters they expressed their opinion of the Americans in rather disagreeable terms. To make matters worse, the demand for their removal from office was met in England by a smoke-screen of indignation at the gross breach of honor which the publication implied. The letters had gotten into the hands of Benjamin Franklin in London, who had turned them over to friends in America with formal instructions not to print them, although he seems to have been morally certain that they would be printed. The English tried to conceal the barbs against the colonists by their outcry at Franklin's dishonorable and inexcusable action in securing the publication of the letters. Before a committee of the Privy Council, the Solicitor-general, Wedderburn, heaped upon Franklin's head the most insulting abuse which it was possible for language to phrase. While Franklin listened with unmoved countenance, he never forgave the offense; and men in the colonies never forgot that a coarse bully, merely because he happened to be a British minister, could shake the finger of scorn against one of the world's greatest thinkers who happened to be a colonial.

In 1773 the British East India Company cut across American history, and that quiet return to normal conditions so much desired became impossible. The British East India Company had been extending its export trade since 1767, mostly to the continent. It was by way of teaching the Germans to drink tea, but in 1771 business on the continent slumped, and the warehouses of the company were stuffed with unsalable tea. By December 1, 1772, there were 22,300,000 pounds of tea on hand. Meanwhile, the company had to meet exchanges on itself from India; it owed money in England, and, faced by bankruptcy, asked the government for help. The ministry was now headed by Lord North. He was an amiable man, in whom the King thought he had found the proper agent to carry out his policy of governing England as a Patriot King. But Lord North's ministry contained imperialist elements, now notoriously hostile to America; and his majority in Parliament was dependent upon a queer combination of factions, among whom the members of the House of Commons elected in the interests of the British East India Company took an important place. Under these circumstances, North extended a government loan of £1,400,000 to the company; he remitted the payments which

the company made to the government and alllowed it other privileges to help it on its feet. He gave the company the right to export the tea in its warehouses in England to its own agents in America without paying the auction duty and with a remission of the inland or export duty.

This concession made possible a reduction of the price of tea to the American consumer, but it also placed the British East India Company in a position to monopolize or control the American tea market. Its favored position in the matter of the auction duty prevented any competition on the part of the American tea merchants, should the company undertake to enter the retail tea business in the colonies. And this is what the company proposed to do. It did not open up stores in the colonies, but it selected certain merchants as its correspondents to handle the export and auction duty-free teas. The selection of its correspondents was made in such a way as would punish those merchants who had taken part in the nonimportation agreements of several years before, and reward those who had been "loyal," as well as provide for needy sons of governors and officeholders. They were to receive its consignments, and the recalcitrants were to be cut off from any supplies of this cheap tea. The probabilities were that, unable to sell their more costly tea in competition, the established dealers would be forced out of business and ruined.

From Charleston to Boston the colonial merchants were alarmed. In Charleston they got the tea stored in damp cellars; in Philadelphia and New York they forced the captains to take it back; but in Boston the matter was dramatically taken out of the merchants' hands while they were debating the best procedure. In Boston a popular leader of extraordinary skill in managing the crowd had appeared. He was Samuel Adams, a man who had made a failure of his private business of brewing and malting, but discovered in himself, in the course of the agitation against Great Britain, a genius for public business. He could smell tyranny further than any man in the colonies. He got an ascendancy over the mob; he organized committees of correspondence to keep alive discontent throughout the towns of the colony of Massachusetts; he presided over public meetings to force the governor of Massachusetts to withdraw the troops from Boston in 1770, and then prepared to make the most of the situation in regard to British East India tea. While the merchants were hesitant, he presided over a public meeting to protest the policy of the British East India Company; and dur-

ing the progress of the meeting, some of his henchmen, disguised as Indians, boarded the tea ships in the harbor and threw overboard 342 chests of tea valued at £15,000. This action made a peaceable settlement of the tea problem impossible and paved the way for legislation which led directly to the revolt of the colonies.

One of the most sacred English rights was the sanctity of private property. When the news reached Great Britain that this sacred right had been violated by Boston ruffians, there was universal denunciation of the act, and a general willingness to punish the whole colony of Massachusetts for the deed. The North ministry passed through Parliament a series of four coercive acts, suspending the charter of Massachusetts, closing the port of Boston, removing the capital of the colony to Salem, quartering troops upon the city of Boston, and providing for the trial of British officials accused of capital crime at Halifax or in Great Britain where they might get more certain justice. With these acts was passed another, applying to the province of Quebec recently annexed from France. The province was extended to the limits claimed by France in 1750 so as to include the territory between the Alleghenies, and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; and in this extensive area French law was recognized in civil cases, and the Roman Catholic church was acknowledged as possessing a certain legal position. The Quebec act was wise and generous in many ways, and its liberality assured the loyalty of the French Canadians. On the other hand, it cut off the western lands claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and other colonies, and it established the hated Catholic church on the borders of Puritan New England.

When these laws were published in America, even those who had deprecated the violence of the tea party became alarmed at the excessive punishment meted out to Massachusetts. Universal sympathy and material assistance in the form of money poured in to relieve the suffering citizens of Boston who were cut off from their livelihood by the closing of the port of Boston. A Continental Congress was called in Philadelphia to draw up a protest to the mother country; and in the next year, in 1775, hostilities between the colonial and the British troops began at Lexington and Concord.

The war began as an effort to compel the British government to redress the colonial grievances, and especially to admit the true constitutional position of the colonies in the empire as not

subject to parliamentary control. In 1776, it became apparent that this goal was not sufficient to enlist the support of the more radical elements in the colonies, while the more conservative classes wished to end the struggle. In the winter of 1775, a little staymaker in Philadelphia, Thomas Paine, wrote a flaming pamphlet, *Common Sense*, which sold like wildfire up and down the colonies, demanding complete separation from Great Britain. After that pamphlet there was less question of conciliation between Great Britain and the colonists. A few months later in 1776, the colonists decided to declare independence of Great Britain and, in order to appeal to the sympathies of the great nations of Europe, to do this on the ground of the natural rights of man. Europeans might not understand British constitutional questions, but they could understand a war for freedom based on men's natural rights.

The War for American Independence

The American colonies contained something over three million inhabitants; Great Britain had a population of about ten millions. The British army numbered about 38,000 men scattered throughout the empire. Because of the evil conditions of the service, the British would not enlist in the army, and to get additional troops the British government finally made agreements with the German princes of Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and Waldeck for certain numbers of men at a certain figure per head. In this way the British got together a force of about 40,000 men, the finest British army ever sent on an overseas campaign, to bring the Americans back to their allegiance. In addition to these soldiers, the British received considerable help from those colonials, called the Loyalists, who were unwilling to accept independence, of whom perhaps 30,000 all told fought in the British forces at one time and another during the war. Owing to the widespread nature of the theatre of war, 1,000 miles long and 30 to 40 miles wide, the British army was widely scattered, and no single field force ever exceeded 7,000 men. The initial difficulty of the British was the matter of adequately provisioning this army 3,000 miles from home. Except on only a few occasions when the British army was on Long Island and in Philadelphia, all supplies of food and equipment were brought from England; and it was soon found that sailing vessels could not be counted upon with less than three months of uncertainty. It has been estimated that the distance from its base reduced the

efficiency of the British army by 60 per cent. This was an important factor in the British defeat.

In the first year of the war General Howe, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was compelled to evacuate Boston. The colonials made a dash into Canada, hoping to rouse the French settlers and win their aid. The expedition did not succeed in its object, but it directed the first British troops to arrive from England to the St. Lawrence and held Howe and the main army in Halifax, to which he retreated from Boston, through to June, 1776. Howe then came south, captured New York, and made it his base. For the year 1777 he decided to carry out an expedition to Philadelphia. Meantime, General Burgoyne returned to England in December, 1776, and laid before the British government a plan to take about seven thousand of the troops left in Canada and effect a junction with Howe. In this way communication would be opened between New York and Canada, New England cut off, and Howe's army so strongly reinforced that he might move against Philadelphia with overwhelming strength. Burgoyne's plan depended for its success upon Howe's coöperation, but Howe had already decided upon his Philadelphia campaign, and this was approved by the British authorities in the thought that Philadelphia would be captured before Howe was needed in the north. Howe made the capture of Philadelphia his main object, and from early June to late September the British army was busy in its efforts to capture the city by way of the Chesapeake, while another month was needed and 4,000 men were drawn from the force left under Clinton in New York to clear the Delaware in order to open communications by sea to New York.

At the same time, Burgoyne was working his way down from Canada, winning initial victories at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Fort Edward. It was essential that Howe should soon begin to put pressure from the rear upon the American militia who stood opposed to Burgoyne in growing numbers, but Howe had not received definite orders from home, did not understand the absolute need of his assistance, and was unexpectedly delayed in his operations against Philadelphia. His assertion to the ministry that Philadelphia was the prime object of his campaign began to make the government uneasy, lest he should not be on hand to coöperate with Burgoyne; and on May 18 the war minister wrote to him that he must not neglect to work with the northern army. This dispatch did not reach him until

August 16, when it was too late for him to change his plans. A second dispatch was not ready for the war minister's signature when he wished to go to the country, and rather than keep his horses waiting in the street, he went off without signing it and then completely forgot about it. Meanwhile, Burgoyne was meeting unexpected resistance from the farmers along the route; and at last he found himself opposed to 20,000 Americans, mostly militiamen, to whom he was forced to surrender in October, 1777.

The surrender of Burgoyne was the turning point in the war. For some time past, Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin had been endeavoring to secure the help of France for the new nation; but, while the French gave secret aid, they hesitated to make a treaty until the Americans should win a signal victory. Burgoyne's surrender brought the French openly into an American alliance, and henceforward the Americans fought with French financial aid, the support of French troops, and with the help of the French fleet. The first French fleet fought no brilliant engagements, but its presence in American waters forced the evacuation of Philadelphia and compelled the British to withdraw their forces from Newport, and before long it withdrew two British fleets from American waters and kept them busy chasing it in the West Indies. The importance of French aid is well illustrated by the last years of the war. From the very beginning of the war, it was the belief in British government circles that the inhabitants of the Southern Uplands were intensely loyalist, and one of the earliest British efforts in the first year of the war was to get into touch with them. Consequently, in 1778, when the British forces in America were being reduced in numbers, it was decided to begin a second southern campaign. In 1779 Generals Clinton and Cornwallis sailed from New York to effect the capture of Charleston, South Carolina, which fell before them in May, 1780. The arrival of over 5,000 French troops under Count Rochambeau at Newport alarmed Clinton, and he hastily withdrew with part of the army to strengthen the British in New York. Cornwallis sought to rally the Loyalists, but instead roused the Carolinians to oppose him, and eventually he found himself between two American forces, who retreated before him. He won victory after victory until he had only 1,500 men left and found himself in Wilmington, North Carolina. Cornwallis now decided to continue northward into Virginia to join there with Benedict Arnold. The combined forces of Cornwallis and Arnold numbered about

7,000 men. At Clinton's orders, Cornwallis selected a position at Yorktown, where he would have access to the sea, and retired behind fortified lines to wait developments.

In the north Clinton was in some perplexity. Rochambeau in Newport and Washington at White Plains were known to be planning to join their armies, and to carry out a combined action with a French fleet. Until the American objective was revealed, Clinton decided to take no action. Eventually certain fictitious letters, written by Washington for the purpose, fell into Clinton's hands, which convinced him that New York was to be attacked. While he waited quietly in the city, Rochambeau effected a junction with Washington, and the combined French and American troops were half through New Jersey on the way to join Lafayette in Virginia before Clinton realized the situation. The fleet from which Washington and Rochambeau expected help in their operations against Cornwallis was that of De Grasse. He had been detailed during the summer of 1781 to bring reinforcements from the West Indies to Rochambeau. His operations in the West Indies were watched by Admiral Rodney with a British fleet; but at a critical moment Rodney returned to England for his health and to dispose of his prizes, leaving Admiral Hood to follow De Grasse. With fourteen ships Hood went northward in search of De Grasse, who had disappeared; and, reaching New York, he was joined by a second fleet under Admiral Graves. They turned southward and met De Grasse off the Chesapeake, who immediately stood out to sea and offered battle. During the engagement, a second French squadron under Count de Barras, which had lain in Newport, slipped in, bringing a siege train to aid the American army. On October 17, 1781, Cornwallis asked for terms and, two days later, surrendered with about 7000 men. On October 21, Admiral Graves arrived from New York with Clinton and 7000 reinforcements. They were too late and returned to New York.

The force which Cornwallis surrendered was not in itself very large, but the British government had no money with which to replace even 7000 men. After the French had joined the American cause, Spain and Holland had declared war on Great Britain, and Sweden, Denmark, and Russia had formed the Armed Neutrality to compel the British to recognize certain rules of warfare and to cease interference with neutral trade. As the circle of Britain's enemies widened, her markets decreased. The entry of Holland was particularly significant because it cut off Britain's approach to her markets in Germany. Insurance rates

went up to as high as 30 per cent, and added still further to the limitations of British commerce. In 1780-1781 Lord North floated his last war bonds, saying that British credit could stand no more loans. The fall of Yorktown was, therefore, the last straw.

It must be remembered, furthermore, that while the war was going on in America, the Spaniards and the French were conducting war in other parts of the world. In Europe, Gibraltar was besieged for three years, and in 1782 Minorca was captured. The French and Spaniards were planning a huge armament for the conquest of Jamaica in the spring of 1782; and the British government concluded that, in order to save the West Indies, it must abandon America, where there were still 35,000 British troops after Cornwallis's surrender, scattered throughout the widespread theatre of the war. In April of 1782 Sir Guy Carleton, the new commander-in-chief in America, was instructed to withdraw the British garrisons from New York, Charleston, Savannah, and other places; and in May, 1782, peace negotiations between the Americans and the British began.

Revolution in Ireland

England's need has ever been Ireland's opportunity. Ireland suffered all the restrictions upon her industry which the colonies experienced. In addition, she was excluded from the commerce of the empire, her land was owned by English absentees to whom her agriculture paid an annual tribute of rent, her religion was proscribed, and her leading families were in exile from their own homes. The English Protestant interest was in the ascendant, the native Irish seemed subdued and crushed. But in the middle of the century, the English landlords began a process of making their lands still more lucrative to themselves by appropriating the common waste of the villages, and by enclosing the old open fields into compact farms and renting them for grazing cattle. Deprived of still more of what little had been left to them, the Irish peasants began to organize in about 1761 in secret bands of "Whiteboys." They went about the country burning landlords' barns and houses, breaking down enclosures, maiming cattle, and carrying out a general policy of destruction and terrorism. Against them the government was powerless to maintain order, but they were rather symptomatic of real distress than any serious danger.

The English Protestant interest in Ireland was itself discon-

tented. Although benefited by the Penal Laws, which had as their object the maintenance of the Protestant ascendancy against the native Catholic landowning families of former days, the English Protestant landlords who actually lived in the country and identified themselves with it became dissatisfied with British repression of Irish commerce and Irish industry. They also resented the British control of the Irish Parliament, which still continued to meet, although it had no power of legislation without the consent of the English Privy Council. This Parliament was, of course, the assembly of the resident English Protestants, and they wanted some real control over their adopted country's politics by being given, for example, the right to initiate money bills in the Irish House of Commons instead of receiving them from the English government.

George III, however, was opposed to this suggestion, because he intended to enlarge the standing army quartered in Ireland and to tax the Irish more heavily to pay for it. He could not well permit the Irish House of Commons to originate money bills, lest they be inadequate for his purposes. Through bribery and concessions, George III succeeded in inducing the Irish Parliament to vote his army increases and to enlarge his revenues, and by 1771 he had acquired a practical control over the Irish Parliament much like that which he had secured in England. There was, however, a strong opposition led by Henry Flood. In 1772 the government proposed to conciliate Irish feeling and further increase its revenues in Ireland by laying a tax on the rents of absentee landlords. The measure was very popular in Ireland, but caused consternation in England, where many of the leading politicians, specially the Rockinghamites, were Irish absentee landlords. The English opposition to the tax was so strong that it was certain that the tax would be rejected in the Privy Council in England should the Irish Parliament adopt it. To avoid the friction which would be created by a Privy Council veto, the measure was dropped, much to Irish chagrin and displeasure.

With the beginning of the war in America there was the widest sympathy in Ireland for the colonial cause. To quiet things the King made overtures to Henry Flood, the leader of the opposition, who accepted office, but a new leader of the reformers arose in Henry Grattan. Some concessions were made to the Irish. In 1778 they were included in the benefits of the Navigation acts. In the same year the penal code was relaxed, and some relief given to the Catholics. When France

declared war upon Great Britain in 1778, Ireland, stripped of her soldiers for the war in America, was faced by invasion from France. The Irish used the occasion to organize a volunteer force, ostensibly to defend the country from invasion, but in reality to enforce further concessions from Great Britain.

The Protestant ruling class had no desire to separate from Great Britain, since Great Britain was necessary to them to maintain their own supremacy in Ireland. But they did want economic and legislative independence. When the Irish Parliament met in 1779, Flood and Grattan joined forces to secure freedom of trade and relief for Protestant dissenters (Presbyterians in Ulster) from the Test act. The British government could not resist and granted their demands. With this success the Irish leaders went on to obtain the complete legislative independence of their country from the British Parliament. Eventually in 1782, when the British arms were defeated in America and the government was powerless to act, meetings of Irish volunteers declared that the act of 1719, which declared the supremacy of the British Parliament in Ireland, and other acts similar in import had no validity in Ireland; that for the future Ireland was bound to Great Britain only through the fact that both had the same king. The Irish Parliament was free from restraint by the British Parliament, and Ireland was not subject to any legislation passed by the British Parliament.

The Restoration of Peace

In 1782, in the face of the cumulation of disasters in America and in Europe, the surrender at Yorktown, the loss of Minorca, and the capture of several islands of the West Indies by the French, Lord North resigned his ministry. In spite of his control of the Treasury boroughs and of the expenditure of thousands of pounds of secret service money in the elections to secure the return of members of the House of Commons attached to his interests, George III had not succeeded in building up an absolutely dependable majority in the House of Commons. In 1779, shortly after North had brought in a plan of conciliation, the imperialists resigned from the cabinet and made the first breach in the royal control. The successes of the Americans, French, and Spaniards and the demand of the opposition that American independence should be recognized, in order that the war against France might be more vigorously carried on, finally brought about the fall of the North ministry,

and gave a great setback to the realization of George's policy of making himself the "Patriot King." He turned to the Earl of Shelburne, leader of the Chatham Whigs, to induce him to form a ministry. But Shelburne refused, realizing that the support of the Old Connection, whose power was still unbroken in spite of twenty years of effort on George III's part, was essential to the success of any ministry. The King then fell back on his old enemies, the Whig Connection. The Marquis of Rockingham became Prime Minister, although George refused to negotiate with him personally. The Chathamites agreed to give their support in return for which the Earl of Shelburne became home secretary in the ministry.

The new ministry was faced by the problem of restoring peace and reorganizing the remnants of the empire. It dealt with Ireland in short order. In the face of the resolution of the Irish Parliament declaring its complete legislative independence, Rockingham repealed Poynings' Law of 1499 and the Declaratory act of 1719, under which British control of the Irish Parliament had been set up; and, until further arrangements should be made, Ireland was joined to Great Britain only through the personal bond of the king.

Rockingham turned next to the question of peace with America and with France, Holland, and Spain. In the spring of 1782 the British government was willing to grant the Americans almost anything. By May, however, the news reached London that Rodney had defeated De Grasse in a naval engagement in the West Indies, and shortly afterward Gibraltar was relieved. The British government began to wonder whether they had not been too complacent in starting out with the recognition of the Mississippi as the western boundary of the new nation, and even began to suggest that instead of independence, perhaps the United States would be satisfied with federation with Great Britain.

In the British cabinet there were two divergent policies in the matter of procedure. The Earl of Shelburne, the home secretary, was willing to recognize the independence of the United States, but only as one of the terms of the general peace, in the hopes that better terms could thus be secured. Charles James Fox, the foreign secretary, who had espoused the cause of independence of the colonies under conditions which would today be regarded as treasonable or seditious, wanted to recognize American independence at the outset, conduct negotiations with her separately from the allies, and so divide Great Britain's

late enemies into two groups which might be played against each other. Rockingham died in the midst of the discussion; Shelburne became Prime Minister; and Fox, who disliked Shelburne, resigned. The force of Fox's suggestions, however, was realized, and on September 27, 1782, the independence of the United States was recognized. Secret negotiations were carried on during the next two months between Benjamin Franklin and Richard Oswald, and in November the preliminary treaty was signed. Under the terms of the French-American alliance of 1778, the two powers were not to negotiate separately. But Franklin learned that Vergennes, the French Minister, was carrying on a secret negotiation with Great Britain behind his back with the object of limiting the United States to the Allegheny frontier in the hope that the Mississippi Valley might still remain one of the stakes of diplomacy for the future. Franklin was, therefore, nothing loath to play the same game that Vergennes was playing.

The treaty of Paris between Great Britain and the United States obtained for the United States the Mississippi boundary and the right for American vessels to fish off Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; it accepted the freedom of navigation of the Mississippi for vessels of both countries and the obligation to pay private debts contracted before the war; and it contained a promise that Congress would recommend to the states the restitution of Loyalists' estates confiscated during the war. By the treaty of Versailles between Great Britain and France, the island of Tobago was given to France, and the status quo in the rest of the West Indies was restored. Senegal and Gorée in Africa were restored to France, the French commercial stations in India were acknowledged, but France gained nothing from the great victories of De Suffren over the British fleet in the Indian Ocean during the course of the war. The French fishing rights were defined. The Dutch and English mutually restored all conquests, except that Negapatam was retained by Great Britain. Spain recovered Minorca and East and West Florida (which she had lost in 1763), while the Bahamas were restored to Great Britain together with the concession to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras.

These treaties were probably the most disastrous which England had ever signed, and it may have been a good political move on George III's part to allow the odium for making them to rest upon the Chathamites and the Old Connection. Before the definitive treaties had been signed, Shelburne had to sub-

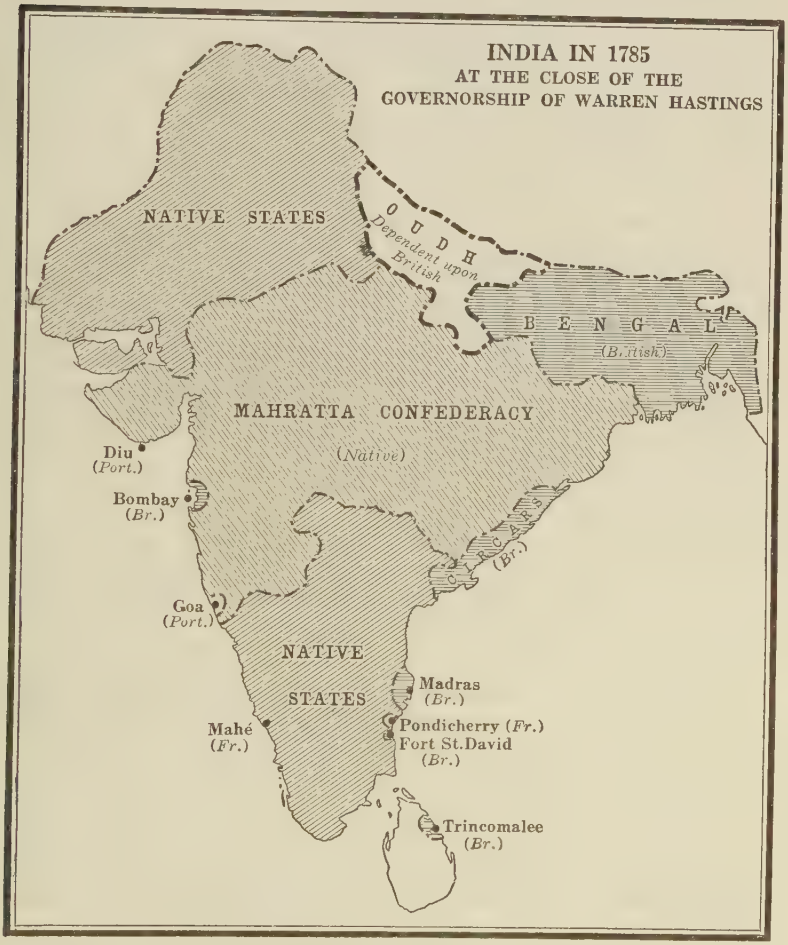
mit to a vote of censure on the peace and resigned. Charles James Fox, leading some of the Rockingham Whigs, united with Lord North to form a new coalition, which George III felt obliged to accept. This new government of Fox and North accepted the treaties of peace, and then tried to deal with the problem of India, which was a necessary part of the general reorganization of the empire after the war.

British Power in India

After the initial quasi-territorial acquisitions of the British East India Company by Robert Clive in Bengal, it seemed impossible to stop the zeal for further conquest. By 1783 the position of the East India Company as a sovereign power in India had been formally recognized by the Mogul Emperor, and its territorial control had been extended over many provinces. During the period of the American war several native princes, with the help and encouragement of France, had launched a series of attacks which came near to destroying all that the company had won in the last two generations. Their efforts were thwarted by the resource and ability of Warren Hastings, the first governor general of all British India under the Regulating act of 1773; but, in the course of his activity, Hastings had been forced to sanction some rather unfortunate practices. His own Indian allies were rather given to atrocities, and he himself, when hard pressed for money to keep his forces in the field, had not been overgentle in his dealings with certain of the dependent native rulers. The Rajah of Benares, for example, was pledged to pay a contribution of £50,000. When he neglected to make payment, Hastings assessed a fine of £500,000 upon him, which seemed excessive even to some Englishmen of that day and led to a revolt in Benares, which was suppressed with a certain amount of severity. In Oudh the begums, the mother and widow of the dead rajah, claimed his treasure, so that the new rajah set up by Hastings could not pay his tribute. Hastings authorized him to take the treasure by force, which he did with a refinement of Oriental cruelty, which even offended the callous sensibilities in England when the exquisite details were learned.

In consequence of the troubles in India, the affairs of the company received a good deal of attention at home, and men began to point out the anomaly of permitting a trading corporation of sedate London merchants to own an empire with millions

of inhabitants, to conquer territories, to make war and peace, and to exercise all the rights of sovereignty over a population many times greater than that which lived in Great Britain. News from India showed that this vast power availed the com-



pany but little, and that it certainly did not benefit the native population, but seemed to be for the exclusive advantage and profit of the servants and officials of the company, who battened on corruption and illegal trading and returned home as "Nabobs" with untold wealth. Warren Hastings' cruelty

created such an impression that Parliament passed a resolution for his recall, but the East India Company refused to order him home, and its vote was final. Charles James Fox came to believe that the only way to effect the necessary reforms in India, which neither Clive nor Hastings had been able to bring about, was by a complete reorganization of the East Indian system. In the autumn of 1783 (while the Fox-North ministry was in power), Fox introduced an India bill to transfer the government of India from the East India Company to a body of seven commissioners chosen by Parliament to hold office for four years.

The measure was vigorously assailed by the British East India Company and by the King. It was called an attack upon property and denounced as a device to turn over to the followers of Fox the enjoyment of patronage worth £300,000 a year. No matter who ruled in England, it was said, Charles James Fox would rule in India. Through the bill he would secure the support of the nabobs; the support of the nabobs with their untold wealth would secure to Fox's party the complete control of the electoral machine; and the Whig party would be permanently in power in England. The bill passed the House of Commons, but it was stopped in the House of Lords by the circulation of a paper that the King "would consider as an enemy" any one who voted for the bill. The Whigs in the House of Commons were furious. They passed a resolution declaring "that to report any opinion or pretended opinion of his Majesty upon any bill (to influence the votes) was a high crime and misdemeanor."

The real importance of the whole episode, however, is that it brought George III and the British East India Company into agreement. George III dismissed the hated Whigs, named William Pitt, the second son of the Earl of Chatham, just twenty-four years old, Prime Minister, and, by working together with the East India Company, was able to provide Pitt with a majority in the House of Commons in the next general election. This majority, made up of British East India Company men and King's Friends, controlled Parliament without the help of any of the Whig factions and was definitely committed, as was Pitt himself, to a restoration of the royal prerogative. It was the beginning of the modern Tory party, which was to control England almost without interruption from 1783 to 1830. It definitely marked the defeat of the Whig Connection by the King, but the King was no more able to rule "like a king" with the new party than with the Whigs, although perhaps he thought he was doing

so. He was already subject to fits of insanity, which kept his mind a blank for long periods. The new ministers had their own ambitions and policies, which were not always those of the King; and, above all, the vested interests, such as the British East India Company, had to be hearkened to in any legislation which might affect their interests. The King had at last succeeded in destroying the Whig Connection, though he lost an empire in the process, only to bring into existence a new Tory party, which believed as strongly in the party system as ever the Old Whigs had done.

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W. Hunt, *The Political History of England 1760-1801.*

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

T. E. May, *Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III.*

W. P. Treloar, *Wilkes and the City.*

D. A. Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government.*
Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

J. T. Adams, *Revolutionary New England 1691-1776.*

C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution.*

C. Becker, *The Eve of the American Revolution.*

G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy 1754-1765.*

E. Channing, *A History of the United States,* vol. III.

R. Coupland, *The Quebec Act.*

J. Fiske, *American Revolution.*

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T. C. Smith, *The Wars between England and America 1763-1815.*

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C. H. Van Tyne, *The Causes of the War of Independence.*
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BIOGRAPHY.

E. Beresford Chancellor, *The Lives of the Rakes.*

H. Bleackley, *Life of John Wilkes.*

E. Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne.*

R. V. Harlow, *Samuel Adams.*

J. H. Jesse, *George Selwyn and His Contemporaries.*

R. Lucas, *Lord North.*

J. Morley, *Edmund Burke.*

A. Lyall, *Warren Hastings.*

J. Prior, *Life of Burke.*

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A. W. Rowden, *The Primates of the Four Georges.*

L. C. Sanders, *Patron and Place-hunter* (*George Bubb Dodington*).

G. O. Trevelyan, *The Early History of Charles James Fox.*
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CONTEMPORARY WORKS, LETTERS, AND SOURCES.

Mme. D'Arblay, *Diary.*
W. B. Donne (Ed.), *Correspondence of George III and Lord North.*
W. Hickey, *Memoirs 1749-1782.*
J. H. Jesse (Ed.), *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George III.*
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S. E. Morison, *Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution, 1764-1788.*
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CHAPTER XIX

THE BEGINNING OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Writing in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Gregory King, an able statistician, estimated the population of England at that time at about five and one-half million people. A more modern investigator, using the registers of births and deaths of the parish churches, placed the number as slightly less. So slowly had the population grown during the past centuries, that King estimated that the population in 1800 would be 6,420,000, and that it would be the year 2300 A.D. before the number reached eleven million. In 1801 a census was taken for the first time, and the population was found to be 9,168,000 for England and Wales, and 8,600,000 for England alone. This extraordinary increase, of 17 to 18 per cent in the first fifty years of the century from 1700 to 1750, and 52 per cent in the second half of the century from 1750 to 1800, is the most salient fact in English history in the eighteenth century.

In 1700 most of the people of England depended on agriculture for their living. King put the number as high as four million two hundred and sixty-five thousand, out of five and one-half million. By 1801 a tremendous change was under way in the occupations of the people. The number of those dependent on agriculture had increased only very slightly, but the number of those dependent upon industry went up from two hundred and forty thousand to over three million. In general there was the beginning of a shift from the land to the workshop, from farming to manufacturing, as the basis for earning a living. In this change is to be found one of the potent causes of the increase in population itself, since manufacturing can maintain a denser population than the land alone. Another effective factor in the increase in the population seems to have been the lengthening of human life. The plague had been stayed in the seventeenth century and ceased its decimations. About 1740 inoculation to prevent smallpox, another of the terrible scourges of the human race, began to be practiced, and in 1798 Dr. Jenner published an account of his success with vaccina-

tion. Greater cleanliness, better houses, more abundant water supply in the cities, dating chiefly from the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, and increased knowledge

Counties in the new industrial and mining areas which increased in population from 800% to 119%
Counties on the fringe of the industrial area, together with the commercial areas, which increased in population from 214% to 103%
Other areas, not shaded, population increased 99% to 17%
THE GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1700–1831)

of the human body are probably very important in this connection, even though it is impossible to give statistical data.

Intimately connected with the rapid increase of the population, was a denser settlement of the northern and western regions of England. Up to 1750 the mass of the English people lived

south and east of a line drawn from the Severn Valley to the Wash, and nearly all the outstanding events of English history took place in this area of the south and east. North and west of that line the country was thinly populated even at the opening of the eighteenth century, and primitive conditions persisted there longer than in the other half of England. The simplicity of the life of this region had prevented the development, for example, of craft gilds in earlier history, and consequently as the eighteenth century opened, it was not subject to the gild restrictions upon industry, which prevailed in the older parts of England. In certain sections, moreover, there was excessive dampness, especially suited for cotton spinning; and, above all, the area contained huge quantities of iron ore, considerable water power, heavy veins of coal, and good ports. Even before the eighteenth century, the growth of manufacturing had been accompanied by an extension of the area of settlement into this region. Thus in the seventeenth century, the West Riding of Yorkshire had been settled by workers from the cloth manufacturing towns further south in their desire to escape the burdensome gild restrictions of the towns; and what had been poor desolate country was converted into "one continuous village, though every way mountainous," one of the chief centers of the worsted cloth industry. Across the mountains from Yorkshire, in Lancashire with its moist climate, the English cotton spinning and weaving industry took its origin and soon attracted new settlers to share its possibilities of wealth, and further south and west in the Forest of Dean and in Shropshire abundant supplies of wood and coal and iron drew the English ironmasters from their old furnaces in Surrey and Sussex, where the local timber supplies were being exhausted. Lancashire, Cheshire, Warwickshire, Durham, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire were the least densely populated and the least culturally advanced parts of England in 1700. By 1800 they were outstripping the rest of the country in density of population and wealth. Lancashire alone increased from one hundred and sixty thousand to nearly seven hundred thousand inhabitants in the course of the century.

In the colonization of the north and west as a result of the expansion of industry, new urban communities and towns came into existence, sometimes through the growth of old centers, and sometimes through new settlement. The development of the new towns created an enormous demand for all sorts of goods, roads,

houses, furniture, and the whole apparatus of civilization as understood in the eighteenth century. There is here a series of actions and reactions. The new towns were created to engage in new manufactures; their growth and construction made demands for still more production.

Almost equally significant as the rapid acceleration in the increase of the British population in the eighteenth century, was a greater rapidity of movement and a new haste in living. "Everything wears the face of dispatch," wrote Henry Homer in 1767. "Dispatch, which is the very life and soul of business, becomes daily more attainable by the free circulation opening up in every channel which is adapted to it." What he means to say is that there had come about a tremendous acceleration or speeding up in the business of life. This was superficially noticeable over the face of the country in the hustle and bustle in hundreds of village innyards, where a century before only pack trains and lone horsemen stopped. Now they were stations or depots, to use nineteenth century railroad parlance, for the long wagon trains carrying freight to London and, above all, for the flying coach, which rattled along over the new turnpikes, drawn by four horses, carrying on the average nine passengers, at the rate of from four to five miles an hour, or twenty leagues (sixty miles) a day! In spite of objections from the worldly-wise, that the new vehicles would prove fatal to the breed of horses, that the Thames, the nursery of seamen, would cease to be used up to Windsor, that saddlers and spurriers would be ruined by hundreds, that the carriages would be too hot in summer and too cold in winter, and that passengers would be annoyed by squalling children, the coaches continued to be used and improved until it was possible to go from Manchester to London in four and one-half days, and from Sheffield to London in three days. In 1784, Palmer, the postmaster general, put on the mail coaches, which traveling night and day were eventually expected to cover the distance between London and Edinburgh, four hundred miles, in forty-three and one-half hours.

Everywhere thousands of navigators or navvies, as they are called today, were digging shallow trenches for canals, following the example set by the jilted Duke of Bridgewater, who in 1759-1761 had carried his "folly" down from his coal mine at Worsley to Manchester, with the help of his handy-man James Brindley (who was paid a pound a week for his genius). In short space, Manchester was connected with Liverpool and Leeds, with Bristol and Birmingham and London by an exten-

sive and intricate system of inland navigations or canals. Within thirty years of the opening of the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, three thousand miles of canals were built in England. Coal came down to Manchester and to the blast furnaces of Shropshire at one-fourth the cost; the pottery workshops in the Five Towns got their clay from Cornwall cheaper and could ship their delicate teacups and vases without fear of breakage by the jolting of the road; hundreds of emigrants found cheap and easy access to the unsettled districts of the north of England; and the new towns of the north and midlands were provided with cheap food and building material.

In consequence of these improvements in transport, "trade is no longer fettered by the embarrassments which unavoidably attended our former situation. Dispatch, which is the very life and soul of business, becomes daily more and more attainable. Merchandise and manufactures find a ready conveyance to the markets. The natural blessings of the Island are shared by the inhabitants with a more equal hand." But the dispatch or acceleration, which Homer noted, went deeper than the surface of English life. It had an emotional and spiritual form, expressing itself in a dissatisfaction with traditional modes and practices. Among the upper classes new standards of taste and luxury were adopted, which showed themselves in the magnificent town and country houses built in this century, such as Spencer House in London, and Wilton or Houghton Place in the country. They were furnished by the famous furniture makers and designers, Chippendale, Sheraton, Heppelwhite, and the brothers Adam. They were distinguished for their magnificent rooms, great art galleries, beautiful parks with trees, shrubs, walks, fountains, summer houses, and vistas.

Among the country gentlemen there was an improvement in manners, and an attempt to ape the fashions of the nobility. Every gentleman desired to spend some time in London, wear London fashions, read London books. No longer was it true in the most progressive families that the Sunday suit descended from father to son; no longer were beaver hats made in the reign of Charles II to be found worn in church on Sundays. The gentleman's lady was not content to remain at home preparing cordial waters, curing marigolds, and making cherry brandy, salves, ointments, and purges for the use of the poor. She went up to London with her husband or quickly followed him. "And when they (the ladies) are there, they must be in the mode, have all the new fashions, buy all their clothes there, and go

to plays, balls, and treats, where they get such a habit of jollity and a love of gaiety and pleasure that nothing in the country will serve them, if ever they should fix their minds to live there again, but they must have all from London whatever it costs."

Among tradesmen in the towns, the increase of luxury and refinement was still more conspicuous than among the gentry. Apprentices no longer lived in the house of the master. The master himself moved from his shop and lived in the suburbs. In the early part of the century, frugality was still the rule in his household; one dish of meat; raisin or elder wine made by his wife, or ale; no fire except in the kitchen. In the reign of George III, he spent two or three months every summer at Margate or Brighton, his wife and daughters dressed like the gentry, a footman stood behind his table, and he entertained his friends at dinner with madeira and claret. The yeomen farmers acquired new wants so rapidly that one censorious observer made up a quatrain about them.

Son, Greek and Latin
Mother, Silk and Satin
Father, Tallyho
Daughter, Piano.

Even the poorest classes, whose standards were very inelastic, seem to have improved their diet through the use of potatoes, beets, carrots, and cabbages, and their clothing through the use of cotton and linen.

This matter of speeding up the business of living is, of course, a continuing process, which reaches far back into the past, of which one special manifestation has already been noticed in the fifteenth century. There is no letting up in the process throughout the course of modern history, although at certain periods acceleration is more rapid than in others. It may be possible to account for such special intensifications of the general development by purely mechanical changes. In the eighteenth century, for example, the self-contained character of certain areas in the matter of industry broke down with the increasing populations. It was no longer possible for the west country woolen cloth industry to find sufficient wool for its needs in its own locality, and wool began to be imported from the Lincoln-Leicester region. Moreover, industry began to be localized. Mining, of course, in the very nature of things led the way; certain types of grazing land localized certain varieties of agriculture; the existence of

clay deposits in Derbyshire fixed pottery making there; hardware was centered in Birmingham and Wolverhampton; and malt, in Reading. As a result, the isolation of areas, which was a common feature of English life earlier, was broken down; roads were repaired and rebuilt; stage coaches and wagon trains moved over them; canals were built; markets were widened; and life in general quickened.

In consequence of the growth in population at home, the creation of a new society in the north and west of England, and the higher standards of living of all classes, which resulted from greater speed and haste, there were augmented demands for goods, leading to a remarkable stimulus to industry as the century advanced. On the basis of this enlarging home consumption a genuine prosperity was developed. As a contemporary writer put it, "Our principal market for all sorts of wares, manufactures, and provisions is at home, and . . . the consumption of our own people is the basis of national prosperity which flows constantly, copiously, and regularly through all the channels of inland trade." There are no statistics to measure the expansion of inland trade in the course of the century, but one able observer and student, writing about 1760, believed that purchases in the home market were increasing five and one-third times as fast as export demand.

Export demand was, however, a significant factor in British business in the eighteenth century. The expansion of overseas commerce illuminates with particular vividness the importance attached to certain trades and the influence wielded by certain interests in this period. The heaviest volume of commerce was with Holland and Germany. But business with these countries was rich and solid and conservative. It went on from year to year without very much change. The startling, dynamic extensions, which helped to disorganize the existing systems of production, came in the trade with Spain and Portugal, Ireland, the West Indies, India, and the North Atlantic colonies, such as Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York. Spanish and Portuguese export trade doubled in the period from 1700 to 1780; exports to the West Indies increased six fold; to East India, seven fold; to the American colonies, seven fold on the average, though the increase to Pennsylvania was thirty fold; and to Ireland, nine or ten fold. After 1770-1780 there were considerable increases to Europe in general, but before that time the interest in export trade was largely concerned with Ireland, India, the West Indies, the American colonies, and Spain

and Portugal. So zealously did British manufacturers nurture their expanding exports that trade treaties were made to secure easy admission of British goods into foreign markets, such as the Methuen treaty with Portugal in 1703, and for the same purpose laws were passed through Parliament forbidding the Irish and the colonials to manufacture anything of their own. Thus there were laws which in effect forbade the manufacture of woolen cloth, of iron goods, and of beaver hats, which were especially hard on Ireland. At the same time the Navigation acts required that colonial raw materials must be shipped to Great Britain in British or colonial ships, that all imports into the colonies should be made in British or colonial ships, and that imports, if of European origin, must pass first through Great Britain. There was thus assured the purchase of most goods used in the colonies and Ireland from the British merchant and manufacturer, which is what Adam Smith referred to when he declared that the British had sought to raise up a nation of customers in their colonies.

As a consequence of all these developments both in home and overseas trade, there were in the eighteenth century the heaviest demands upon English industry for enlarged output. British industry generally speaking was organized under the form of the domestic system as the eighteenth century opened. In the west country woolen cloth manufacture, for example, the control of the industry was in the hands of capitalists called clothiers. They bought the raw wool, and washed and combed it themselves. They then carried it on horseback over the countryside to cottages of spinners, with whom they left it to be spun. Later they collected the yarn, which they then took to the cottages of weavers to be woven into cloth. A great deal of fetching and carrying was done in the process, but despite its inefficiencies this form of organization had certain apparent advantages. The clothiers liked it because they had little fixed capital invested, and because the workers generally had little gardens upon which they could fall back in bad seasons; the workers liked it because they were free to work as they pleased without supervision, never recognizing that in their isolation they could not protect themselves by united action from the clothier's tendency to beat wages down.

In many cases the domestic system was capable of extenison when new demands were made upon British industry for increased output. In the cotton industry, however, which was spreading its corduroys and fustians from Poland to Canada and

the Mississippi Valley, this was not possible because of the lack of sufficient workers in the sparsely settled area of Lancashire, where alone in England because of favorable climatic conditions cotton manufacture could be carried on. Here the attempt was made to make the existing workers more productive through the invention of machines which would aid them, or do the work under their guidance. In 1767 James Hargreaves invented a small machine for spinning called the jenny. By using this in their houses the workers under the old domestic system managed for a long time to meet the demands made upon them. Finally, however, this machine was superseded by much larger and heavier machines, the water frame invented by Richard Arkwright, and the spinning mule invented by Samuel Crompton, which could not be used in cottages and made the continuance of the domestic system in the spinning of cotton yarn impossible.

In the mining industries of tin and coal, shafts were being driven deeper, but at the new low levels much water was encountered. In Germany the same problem was solved by increasing the men on the pumps, but in England there were no extra men in the mining regions, and horses, at the rate of 500 to a single pump, ate up all the profits because of the high cost of fodder. The demand for some new power was answered by the invention of the first steam engine in 1698 by Captain Thomas Savary. He called his new motor the "Miner's Friend," but it was too inefficient and there was too much danger of explosion for it to be used except as a toy. But in 1705 came Newcomen's fire-engine, which, perfected a few years later, was used throughout the mining districts of England for fifty years. The piston of this immense, clumsy motor was sometimes six feet in diameter, though usually four or five feet. The first models made six strokes a minute, the later ones ten or twelve, and burned thirteen tons of coal a day to deliver about twenty horse power. The huge cylinder, filled with heated steam, was cooled with sprays of water to condense the steam and thus create a partial vacuum inside, which would permit the pressure of the air on the outside of the piston head to force it down.

The alternate heating and cooling of the cylinder consumed five-sixths of the energy of the steam. This aspect of the problem challenged the attention of James Watt in 1763 when a model of a Newcomen engine, belonging to the University of Glasgow, was brought to him to be repaired. He was a scholar and

scientist, familiar with the new theories of latent heat; and, after years of experiment, during which he received financial assistance from Matthew Boulton, a hardware manufacturer of Birmingham, who needed more power in his plant and spent £2200 in the project, he perfected an efficient motor and finished his first working engine in 1775. Shortly afterwards he invented the principle of circular and parallel motion, by means of which it was possible to use the motor to run machinery. The older engines had been used exclusively in connection with pumps; the new engine was a potential driving force in the new industry, though even Watt failed to see its possibilities in this connection for some time.

In his *Wealth of Nations,* Adam Smith describes still another way in which the problem of greater output was met. In a certain pin manufacturing establishment the various processes were subdivided among a number of operatives, each one skilled in one or two processes. All worked together in one shop under supervision; and, although one worker could hardly make twenty pins a day if he worked alone, ten men working together, each performing several of the eighteen processes necessary to the manufacture of a pin, could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day or about forty-eight thousand pins in all. This vast gain was made possible simply through the proper division and combination of the different operations.

The juxtaposition of machines, which supplanted human skill, the steam engine, which replaced human energy, and the subdivision of processes and the aggregation of workers produced the characteristic institution of the industrial revolution, the factory with machines run by steam. Much of the credit for the introduction of this new type of production lies with Richard Arkwright and John Wilkinson. In 1769, Arkwright, barber and hair merchant, appropriated and patented a machine for spinning, of which he had heard in one of the towns of Lancashire. With the aid of some money lent him by John Smalley, the local liquor merchant and house painter, he set up a working machine at Preston. News of riots at Blackburn nearby, on account of Hargreaves' spinning jenny, which the workers imagined would take their work from them, caused him to remove to Nottingham, where he entered into partnership with Jedidiah Strutt and built a small mill, run by the power of horses. The greatest difficulties were encountered. Workers refused to buy the new yarn and the patents were infringed, but

the most herculean task was to devise and administer a successful code of factory discipline. Finding it impossible to get the adults to go into the factories, and discovering that children were better suited to the size of the new machines and were more amenable, Arkwright took the children. A generous supply was ready at hand in the parish workhouses or poor-farms, and during the first years of the new factory system children supplied a large part of the labor force. In 1785 Arkwright began to use steam in his factories, of which there was now a large number, and with the introduction of steam power the main lines of the modern factory were drawn.

The potentialities of steam in industry had already been seen by John Wilkinson, an enterprising ironmaster, who had such faith in iron that he never wrote a letter without using the word iron, constructed an iron ship in the face of a skeptical world, built an iron church with an iron pulpit, and was buried in an iron coffin. Wilkinson had invented a cylinder-boring machine, which made it possible to construct true cylinders for Watt in his experiments; and, after Watt had perfected the new motor, Wilkinson bought the first engine sold by Watt and Boulton to drive the pumps in his Bradley iron works at Broseley. In 1777 a new Watt steam engine was set up in Cornwall, and during the next three years forty of the new engines were sold. Watt had given years to experiment, and Boulton, his partner, had spent thousands of pounds to perfect the new engine, but the demand from the mines for engines for pumps, as shown by the sales from 1777 to 1780, did not seem to be great enough to bring in any adequate return. Boulton thought that possibly there would be a market for engines to drive flour mills in London and was interested in pushing this idea, when a proprietor of a copper-rolling mill wrote to him in 1781 that the water wheel was frozen, his works were shut down, and the laborers must starve. Boulton immediately constructed a model rolling mill driven by steam. Wilkinson at once ordered a steam engine for his rolling mill at Bradley, and in the next few years a number of steam engines were installed in rolling mills. So successful were they in providing motive power that their use was extended to the cotton factory by Arkwright and, by 1800, 84 steam engines out of 289 built were in use in cotton factories. The age of the steam factory had begun.

While the factory was the most characteristic organization of production of the period which began with Arkwright and Wilkinson, it must be remembered that it was not at once uni-

versal. It spread very rapidly in the spinning of cotton yarn and in the metal industries. It was slower in the weaving of cotton cloth than in spinning, and slower in the woolen industries than in cotton. In the making of boots and shoes the factory did not appear until the period after 1860, and in the chain-making industry the domestic system is still almost intact.

The progress of industry was greatly accelerated by the perfection of a new material which was both cheap and plentiful and strong enough to construct the new apparatus and the new machines. This phrase, the new apparatus and the new machines, is used in a very broad sense. It includes the new spinning machines of Arkwright, which could not be constructed of wood, because wood was not strong enough. It includes also such things as bridges, like the bridge of Menai to the Isle of Angelsey, with a central span of 579 feet, which, because of the length of the span, could not be constructed of masonry. The new material was iron. Iron had, of course, been known and used for many centuries, but its production was difficult, uncertain, and small until the period of the industrial revolution. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were about sixty or seventy blast furnaces in England producing about seventeen thousand tons of iron a year, at the rate of five tons a week per furnace. But because the ore was smelted with wood, and English forests were becoming exhausted, the industry was at a standstill. The demand was so great that attempts were made to discover a new fuel. There were legends of the smelting of iron with coal by Dud Dudley in 1619, but no one shared his secret, and it died with him. The secret was rediscovered by three generations of Abraham Darbys in their iron works at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire. The Darbys were interested in making cast-iron kitchenware after a process which they had learned in Holland, but they were soon troubled by the shortage of wood fuel for smelting. In their experiments they turned to coal as a substitute for wood. At first coal was used to roast the ore preparatory to smelting, then it was used in the form of coke for the entire process. Before complete success was attained it was found necessary to increase the blast, which is blown through the furnace to assist combustion. This was done with the help of a Newcomen engine, which pumped water to an immense height so that it fell over a water wheel. Six years later, in 1760, Smeaton, a celebrated Scotch engineer, improved the blast by substituting an air pump for the bellows, and the yield

of the furnaces was increased from twenty to forty tons a week. Whereas the older wood-consuming furnaces yielded a semi-soft mass of almost pure malleable iron, the new furnaces of the Darbys produced liquid cast iron, which could be cast in moulds or converted into malleable iron by the process of puddling which was invented in 1783. Not only was the method much cheaper than the older process, but unlimited quantities could be produced for all the requirements of industry. Puddled iron was the distinctive material for industrial purposes until after the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was replaced by the new type of steel invented by Henry Bessemer.

One of the most significant things about the industrial development of the eighteenth century was the requirement of extensive capital to carry on industrial undertakings on the larger scale which now became the rule. It is obvious that a factory could not be built without a huge amount of capital for the building, the expensive machinery, the supplies of materials, and wages. Even where the factory was not introduced at first, machines might be used in the homes of the workers; and, in any case, stocks of materials and wages on an extensive scale absorbed considerable sums. This capital was largely created in the industry itself by the unflagging activity of the new entrepreneurs, who stinted themselves to the limit, worked like slaves, and lived like slave masters. Josiah Wedgwood, for example, who founded one of the greatest business houses of modern times, the pottery works at Etruria which still bears his name, entered business with a capital of £20, but constantly returned his profits into industry. Some of the new industrialists married fortunes from the country, and still others received their start by advances from the London commercial houses, which, faced by heavier demands for goods, such as muslins, than they could supply, advanced money to able men to help them to set up factories and shops. In general, however, those who entered the new industry with large capitals did not succeed. Those who pushed to the top were often the sons of yeomen and small farmers, who were possessed of quick views, driving energy, and no small share of sagacity. Although sprung from the same social classes as the laborers, or only one step above them, the new capitalists soon became conscious of their superior position, and presently the gulf between them and their workers became wider than the gulf between men whose families had been apart for generations.

As compared with the entrepreneurs of earlier times, such as

the clothiers of the domestic cloth industry in the preceding age, the new captains of industry had to possess vastly greater abilities. They had to be able to gather, organize, and discipline their labor forces, invent and build their machinery, understand the sources of their raw materials and the state of foreign and domestic markets, secure working capital, and, above all, they had to be willing to live frugally, to work excessively hard to meet the competition of their rivals, and to save for the extension of their plants. They were "Iron Masters of Men," often without any of the social graces which would have softened their harshness and impatience of restraint in the face of the task of building up Great Britain's industrial supremacy, in which they knew themselves to be engaged. It must be remembered that if they were sagacious, they were also ruthless; if they were building the nation's industrial supremacy, they were also heaping up fortunes for themselves; and in the long run it did not prove true that their own good and the good of all were identical. On that supposition, however, their apologists set up the doctrine of *laissez-faire,* that the state must not interfere with them in their business; and under the influence of that doctrine, Parliament proceeded to repeal all the old legislative protection of the workers and to abandon the Elizabethan concept of the well-regulated state.

As their coworkers in the new industrial development stood the working population, the new industrial proletariat. Drawn from parish workhouses, transplanted from the country, carried over the sea from the wilds of Ireland, they were collected in a particular place because their fingers or their muscles were needed in factory, furnace, or mine. At first the condition of the new factory hands was very much better than that of laborers in agriculture or in domestic industry. But as the development of large scale industry continued and the nation grew ever richer, the lot of the workers grew worse. They had no share in the vast accretion of wealth which they helped to create each year. The reason for this, one of the major tragedies of history, is to be found in the fact that, in their insistence upon elbow-room, the new captains of industry demanded the surrender by the government of the concept of the well-ordered state, asserted their right to be free of all interference from the government, and succeeded in obtaining the repeal of all legislation designed to prevent excessive competition between workers for jobs. With such legislation thrown into the discard, it was possible for the industrial entrepreneurs to recruit their labor force from

among the wretchedly paid agricultural workers in boom times, and then, when depression set in, to pit the former agricultural laborer with his low standards over against the older factory worker, and either force the older worker to reduce his standards to the levels of the worker from the country, or to lose his job. In consequence, the workers competed with each other for work, the untrained workers with trained workers, the women with the men, and the children with both. Lower wages and longer hours for the adult workers compelled them to send their children into the factories to keep up the family income. In many cases, the children were found to be more desirable workers than the adults and were retained while the parents were laid off. In the worst days, the best insurance of a livelihood for the adult worker was to marry as young as possible and get a large family of children, who would support him with their labor when, before he was thirty, he was permanently laid off. What was needed was the legislative maintenance of a standard of life to protect the workers from competition with themselves. Free competition was, however, the breath of life of the new industrial system as it had been rationalized by the new political economists; and, when restrictions on the competition of the workers with themselves finally came in the form of factory legislation, emotional and sentimental considerations, such as the horrors of the life of the factory children, actually secured its adoption.

In the life of the factory workers there was much that was mean and degraded. Sometimes these conditions were part of their economic poverty and could be remedied only by an increase in their earnings. Thus the houses in which they lived were wretched beyond belief, but that was due to the fact that wretched houses were the only sort they could afford. Sometimes these conditions were due to their lack of education. Many of the town workers were country people, and great masses were only one or two removes from the soil. In the country they had traditions and social restraints suited to the country life which they led, and the sanctions of local public opinion. In the towns they found themselves suddenly unattached. They knew but few people, and the practices of the country, especially in matters of sexual morality, were easily perverted. Except for the provisions of a barbarous criminal code, which was made more and more savage each year, the state did nothing to educate them in the problems of living in the towns. Much was done, however, by the Sunday Schools after 1780; by certain

private organizations in the nineteenth century, to which the government made contributions after 1833; and by the Methodist movement, which has its greatest significance in its work of civilizing the industrial proletariat. Sometimes these conditions were due to the greed of wealthy lords, who enclosed the ancient common for building sites and took from the people their parks and playgrounds. In Manchester, for example, a physician wrote, "It is impossible not to notice the total absence of public gardens, parks, and walks at Manchester; it is scarcely in the power of the factory workman to taste the breath of nature or to look upon its verdure." A labor pamphlet contains this passage, "Have we not seen the commons of our fathers enclosed by insolent cupidity, our sports converted into crimes, our holidays into fast-days? The green grass and the healthful hayfield are shut out from our path. The whistling of birds is not for us; our melody is the deafening noise of the engine." It is not to be wondered at that the towns of the industrial area were notorious for their drunkenness, for the sexual irregularity of their girls and women (of whom three-quarters were said to be unchaste), and for their sadistic amusements, such as bull-baiting, cockfighting, and fighting up and down (fights with kicking every part of the body and throttling to the verge of death), which were watched by enormous crowds.

The new society which was coming into existence with the growth of industry was cut off from the stable basis of land and agriculture and was subject to every fluctuation of trade. Both the entrepreneur and the worker were at the mercy of currency reforms in Prussia, the failure of a banking house in Amsterdam, conflicts in India, crop failures the world over, overproduction of anything from tea to pottery clay, and, above all, of European wars. Profits and wages depended on markets at home and abroad, and financial crises and panics in any country of Europe reacted on Great Britain. From 1763 onward there was a series of financial crises of this international sort, which were new phenomena in European history. At first such crises were met with quiet starvation; but, as the industrial population became larger and more self-conscious, they resulted in demands for political and economic changes in the state.

The Evangelization of the Working Classes

The common opinion of contemporaries was that the greatest problem which confronted the new captains of industry was the

discipline of their labor forces. In addition to their unrestrained conduct, which can be explained by their detachment from their conventional moral milieu in the country, the working classes showed no desire to work more than was necessary to support themselves. All eighteenth century literature is full of complaints of the slothfulness of the poor. "When corn is extremely plentiful, the labor of the poor is extremely dear, so licentious are they who labor only to eat, or rather to drink," says one writer; and another sums up the situation in this way, "When provisions are cheap, they won't work above half the week, but sot or idle away half their time." The modern sociologist would probably point out that they had a low and fixed standard of living, that they were not idle but easily satisfied, and that what they needed was some vision of the city of God on earth for themselves and their children. Their "idleness" made it impossible to get out the fullest product of industry, and much ingenuity was spent in devising plans to force them to work.

What was needed was not a legislative device to keep the price of food always high, but education and civilization to give to the working classes a broader outlook, a deeper self-respect, greater wants, and the most solemn sanctions for industry, sobriety, and thrift. The proper institution to do this in the eighteenth century was the church. But the Church of England had fallen upon evil days. It was an age of spiritual fatigue; and in place of the enthusiasm for the teachings of the gospels, the church had substituted reasonableness and moderation; religion became a system of morality, which, without supernatural basis, itself decayed. Upon the age was not only spiritual decay, but a "heavy slumber of humanity." Human compassion and pity were asleep, as was evidenced by the state of the jails, the criminal code, the conduct of magistrates upon the bench, and the supineness of the bishops. The upper classes led by Walpole or Bolingbroke were skeptics in private, who agreed it was necessary to preserve the establishment to secure the obedience of the vulgar. Precepts of orthodoxy were avowed, but ceased to be believed. The upper clergy, the Latitudinarian bishops, were Whigs selected for political or at best intellectual considerations to govern Tory parish priests. Everywhere was neglect of parochial work, nepotism, absenteeism, and pluralism. Such interest as existed was intellectual, rather than spiritual, and led to endless polemic. Worse than this, the church had no contact with the new dense populations of the towns. Her parish system

was stereotyped through centuries. Queen Anne had planned to build fifty-two additional parish churches in London, but this Walpole stopped, and only occasionally were any new churches or schools erected by the establishment.

The solution of the problem came through the evangelization of the laboring classes through the work of three very great men, George Whitefield, Charles and John Wesley. These men did not start out with any such notions of making the workers less idle and more productive; they engaged in their ministries out of no other consideration but that of intense love for their fellow men and pity for their lost condition.

George Whitefield was the preacher of the movement, the most illustrious pulpit orator the English speaking world has ever seen. He won admiration from so famous a master of rhetoric and elocution as David Garrick, the actor; he carried away the polished and worldly Earl of Chesterfield so completely as to lead him to call out in the midst of a sermon; and he preached money out of the pockets of the closefisted Franklin. During 34 years of ministry he preached 18,000 times or 10 times a week. For long periods he stood from 40 to 60 hours a week before audiences numbering up to 30,000. He was 12 times in Scotland, 3 times in Ireland, and crossed the Atlantic 13 times.

Charles Wesley was the poet of the movement, and in his hymns better than in any history can be found the true power of Methodism and the secret which led men, degraded and brutalized beyond expression, to muster new self-respect and courage. Among his several thousand hymns are,

"Love divine all love excelling"
"Come, thou long expected Jesus"
"Hark the herald angels sing"
"Christ the Lord is risen today"
"Arise, my soul, arise"
"Jesus Lover of my soul."

Hymns like these gave to those who sang them a sense of worth, of comfort, of personal intimacy with God, and assurance of eternal life, compared with which all things of this life, hardships, ease, poverty, wealth, were as nothing.

The organizing genius of the movement was Charles's older brother, John. While still at Oxford, John Wesley had joined a little society, nicknamed the Holy Club or the Methodists, to spend certain evenings in reading the New Testament. The members bound themselves to hold regular seasons of prayer, to vigorous observance of the feasts of the church, the use of the

confessional, visitation of sick and prisoners. In October, 1735 John and Charles started for Georgia at Oglethorpe's invitation, to convert heathen. They were not very successful, because John, rather high church, attempted to use the most elaborate ceremonial forms in backwoods conditions and soon got into disagreement with his parishioners. On the voyage he came into contact with some pious Germans; on his return to England he met Peter Bohler, a Moravian, whose earnest simplicity led him to go to Moravia to study the Moravian faith. Here, on May 24, 1738, came the assurance of salvation, and he burned to tell his message to other men.

His opportunity came when Whitefield, anxious to go to America, wanted someone to continue his work at Bristol where he had stirred enthusiasm by preaching in the fields to the colliers or coal miners of Kingswood. After a preliminary meeting on April 1, Wesley preached his first open air sermon on April 2, 1739. In his Journal he noted, "J. W. proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city (of Bristol) to about 3000 people." Next day began the class meetings. A group of women agreed to meet together once a week to confess all faults to one another, to pray for one another that all might be healed. This was in line with religious societies of similar kind in the Anglican church of which Wesley's own group, the Holy Club at Oxford, was one. Thus began Wesley's mission to the poor and lowly unchurched of England, Scotland, and Ireland. At first he tried to hold meetings within the church, but the local priests repelled him; so he developed field preaching and the prayer house or chapel. As the numbers of his followers grew and he could get no help from the clergy, he organized lay preachers, who showed themselves as courageous as their leader. He was a regularly ordained clergyman of the Anglican church, but had no parish of his own—the world was his parish. When the needs of his new societies in America demanded bishops, he took it upon himself to ordain bishops for America. Thus he gradually drifted away from the Anglican church, although he never left it; and the break, despite persecution by bishops and clergy, did not come in his lifetime.

In his later years the greatness of his achievements was beginning to be recognized. At first he was persecuted. "Wherever we went we used to carry our lives in our hands. In Cornwall the war against Methodists was carried on with far more vigor than against the Spaniards." But as early as 1747

he wrote, "Now there is not a dog to wag his tongue"; and in 1785 he wrote: "Many years ago I was saying 'I cannot imagine how Mr. Whitefield can keep his soul alive as he is not now going through honor and dishonor, evil report and good report, having nothing but honor and good report attending him wherever he goes.' It is now my own case; I am just in the condition now that he was then in. I am become, I know not how, an honorable man. The scandal of the cross is ceased; and all the kingdom rich and poor, Papists and Protestants, behave with courtesy, nay and seeming good will. It seems as if I had well nigh finished my course and our Lord was giving me an honorable discharge." "The offense of the cross is ceased. After having been a scandal in England for nigh on to fifty years, I am at last becoming an honorable man."

His organized followers increased to thousands and tens of thousands. He was their father in God; to them he had revealed a new heaven and a new earth, had brought religion into their soulless lives, and reconstituted it a comforter, an inspiration, and a judge. No one was too poor, too humble, or too degraded to be born again and share in the privilege of divine grace, to serve one master, Christ, and to attain the blessed fruition of God's peace.

For students of politics and history, it is essential to examine how he influenced the worldly, earthly life of those whom he redeemed from sin. First, he was a tremendous Tory; he was even suspected of supporting the divine right of kings. He preached absolute obedience to the law as one of the Christian duties; he denounced all disobedience, whether from Jacobites, American rebels, or smugglers and wreckers of Cornwall. It was no accident that the Methodists of England stood like a bulwark against Revolutionary sentiment in years after 1789. Next, he believed in abstention from all such things as would interfere with fullest efficiency of the individual or production. On this ground he condemned drinking of distilled liquors and opium. "Distilled liquors have their use, but are infinitely overbalanced by the abuse of them; therefore, were it in my power, I would banish them out of the world." "Taking opium is full as bad as taking drams. It equally hurts the understanding and is, if possible, more pernicious to the health than either rum or brandy. None should touch it if they have the least regard either for their souls or bodies."

On these grounds he condemned dancing; the theatre was objectionable "not barely as most of the present stage enter-

tainments sap the foundation of all religion . . . but as they are particularly hurtful to a trading city, giving a wrong turn to youth especially, gay, trifling, and directly opposite to the spirit of industry and close application to business; and as drinking and debauchery of every kind are constant attendants on these entertainments, with indolence, effeminacy, and idleness, which affect trade in a high degree."

Time was very precious to him. To avoid waste of time, he advised his young friends at college to avoid frequent conversations and honest good-natured triflers. His own school at Kingswood had neither play nor holidays, on the ground that "he who will play as a boy will play as a man"; and he desired to see universities established where there should be no vacations, and lectures should be given every day in the year.

In short, he shared the middle class views of his time and laid particular stress on conduct, industry, and the economic virtues of abstention. The Christian will work hard, will not drink, or engage in worldly pleasures. To quote Wesley himself, "Religion must necessarily produce both industry and frugality, and these cannot but produce riches." Lest riches once produced should engender pride, Wesley in his later years began to preach the duty of giving. "I save all I can and give all I can," is the last entry into his Journal.

Wesley laid the foundations of the Methodist church, but it was not until after his death that one of his followers, Jabez Bunting, actually organized the Methodists into a new organization separate from the Church of England. Wesley's supreme achievement was that he redeemed the English working class to new concepts of life, work and duty, and discipline through which the achievements of English industry were most fully realized. In this connection with the industrial revolution, his work acquires new meaning; he stands forth as one of the heroes of civilization.

The Agricultural Revolution

The growth of the population of England and Great Britain and the development of industry had important reactions on agriculture. Down to 1790 English agriculture kept pace with the growing population and produced enough grain to feed the people. In occasional years after 1765 it was necessary to import grain, but in average years the crop was one-twentieth in excess of requirements, and in good years, one-eighth. The in-

creases in production indicated by these figures were made only as a result of revolutionary changes in farming.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century large areas of England were still unoccupied for agricultural purposes. Forests and heath still covered large parts of Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Northumberland, and Westmoreland. Although the process of enclosing the open fields into several cultivation which began in the fifteenth century continued without interruption, as late as 1794 it was estimated that forty-five hundred of the eighty-five hundred parishes in England were farmed on the medieval three-field system.

The whole of the eighteenth century is a period of agricultural progress. At the beginning of the century Jethro Tull, an irascible farmer who could not keep his laborers, began experiments to lessen the human labor used on the farm. He invented drills for planting the seed and horse hoes for cultivating the crop, and learned from experience the importance of thoroughly pulverizing the soil. He also demonstrated the value of turnips and clover, introduced from Holland in the seventeenth century, as a substitute for fallow. The principles which he discovered were applied in a large way by Lord Charles Townshend, Walpole's brother-in-law, on his Norfolk estates. His land was sandy heath; the exhaustive list of its products was "nettles and warrens." He began by thoroughly marling it, that is, spreading it with marl, a deposit of tiny marine fossils containing lime and other elements lacking in the sand. Through the use of marl alone it was calculated that three or four hundred thousand acres of sandy waste were turned into gardens during the course of the century. Townshend's success with marl led to experiments with other fertilizers and manures during the century with excellent results. Townshend's most important achievement was the field cultivation of turnips and clover on a large scale and the perfection of a new rotation of crops, turnips, barley, clover, and wheat, which did away with the necessity of allowing the land to lie fallow one year in three. The clover and turnips gave a feed for the live stock in winter, ended the practice of killing off the cattle at the beginning of winter, and enabled the farmer to increase his stock and consequently his manure. The turnips were sometimes fed off the ground by sheep, and their folding on the field enriched the poorest soil.

Improvements in fodder made possible improvements in cattle.

In the early eighteenth century no true standard of shape was recognized. "Cattle were more like ill-made black horses than an ox or a cow, nothing would please but elephants or giants." No attention was paid to breed, and prizes were offered for the most useless points, the longest legs, or a horn which fell back, so that the ear might show in front. In 1750 the noted breeder, Bakewell, began his work. He saw that in the pressure for food that was coming, meat would be more valued in the ox than powers of draft, or than wool in sheep. His aim was to produce animals small in size and great in value, shaped like "a firkin on as short legs as possible." He succeeded in perfecting the Leicester sheep, which fattened rapidly, matured early, and throve where other sheep starved. He was less successful as a breeder of cattle, but the principles of selection on which he worked were followed by Charles Colling and others who were successful in developing the Durham shorthorns, the Herefords, and the Devons.

Much was done to spread the knowledge of these improvements in technique, crops, and breeds by the assemblies of farmers, who were gathered each year by one of the influential Norfolk landowners, Coke of Holkham, on his estate at Holkham. At these "sheep-shearings," as the meetings were called, thousands of farmers came together to learn the latest things in farming. Much also was done by Arthur Young, who traveled up and down England, and published his observations of the best methods in his *Farmer's Letters* and other books. In 1793, he was appointed secretary of the new Board of Agriculture and thus was given additional facilities for advertising progress.

Improvements were at first slowly adopted, owing, in the first place, to the inert mass of local prejudice and obstinate adherence to antiquated methods, and, in the second place to the persistence of the common fields. The ordinary attitude of the uneducated English farmer to improvements is illustrated by a statement of Tull's, early in the century: "Farmers if advised to sow it (clover) would certainly reply, 'Gentlemen may sow it if they pleased, but they must take care to pay their rent.'" This attitude is largely responsible for the continuance of much that survived from the Middle Ages, including the common field system itself. It will be remembered that under the medieval system the land of the village, while owned in severalty, was farmed as a unit under the control of the village community. Each one of the three fields into which the farming land of the village was divided was made up of a large number of acre strips,

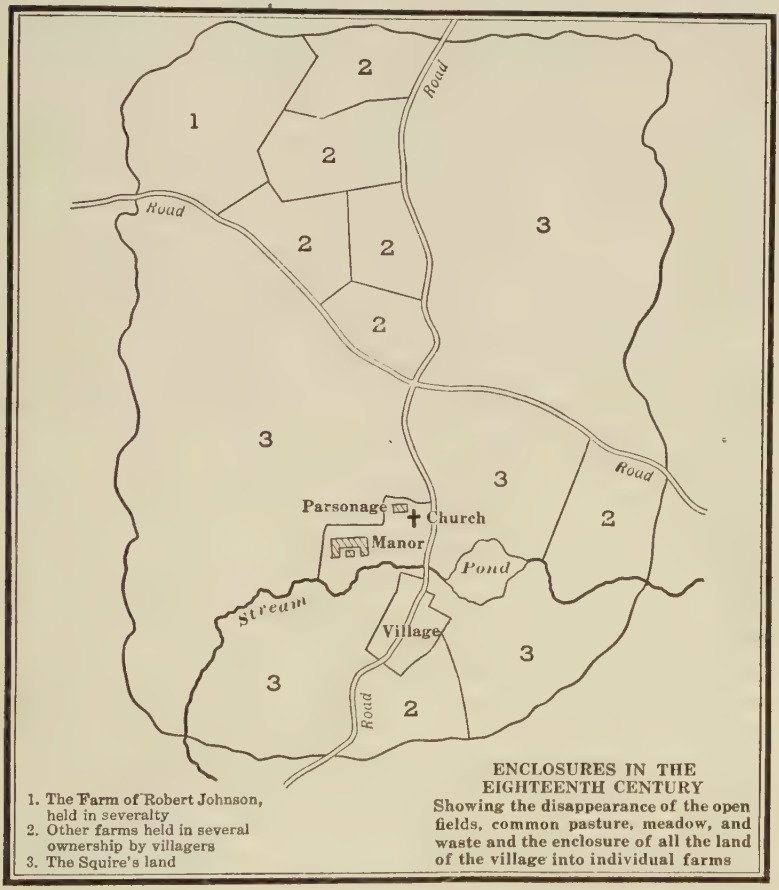
which were owned by the individual villagers or the squire. The individual was not, however, permitted to cultivate his holdings as he pleased, since all the land of the village was used as common grazing ground between harvest and the next sowing. It was necessary that all farmers should plant at the same time and reap at the same time. No changes or improvements were possible until all the members of the village community were willing to adopt them, which was often not at all. Each village also had a certain amount of waste land, on which the cattle were pastured and wood for burning and building might be cut. The new four-course system of Tull and Townshend could not be adopted on the common fields, and the new sheep and cattle of Bakewell and Colling could not be mixed with the miserable wall-sided beasts on the common waste without deterioration.

In the last quarter of the century the landowning gentry, who were the largest individual landowners although not the only landowners in the villages, began to recognize the significance of the rapid growth of population in the industrial towns with their new and enlarging demand for food. They saw wealth awaiting them if they could increase the output and consequently the rent of their land, and they began to make efforts to replace medieval subsistence farming with farming for the largest net product. To introduce the new scientific farming, they had to bring about the abolition of all common rights over the village fields, including both the arable or common fields which were planted to crops and the waste, and the redivision of all the land of the village in compact farms enclosed by hedges among the various owners in proportion to their various rights. This process of enclosure was at first accomplished by the common agreement of all the landowners of the village, but after 1760 the delays and difficulties of agreement led the larger landowners to resort to acts of Parliament to authorize enclosure.

The immediate impetus to enclosure was the desire for higher profits and rents on the part of the landowners and farmers. Wheat growing under the old system was wasteful and obsolete. Some of the richest land promised higher income as pasture and grazing land and was converted to that use after enclosure. On the other hand, much of the land that had been waste was profitable for wheat raising and was used in that way. It has been estimated that over four and one-half million acres were added to the cultivated area by the enclosures of the eighteenth

and early nineteenth centuries. "They converted barren heaths into smiling cornfields."

The nation as a whole benefited by the improvement in the productive capacity of the land. Without the increased food



supply thus made possible, Great Britain could never have stood out against Napoleon. The gentry also profited through the increase of their rents. The large leasehold farmers were benefited, especially when prices rose during the period of their leases for which their rents were fixed. But to two other classes enclosures were a disaster. In every village there were a number of small yeomen farmers, who owned their land in freehold or in

copyhold, a tenure not quite so distinguished but just as safe. When the village land was divided, they received compact little farms equal to their scattered strips in the open fields and their proportion of the common waste. But the costs of enclosing were very considerable, amounting to as much as four pounds or twenty dollars an acre for the fees, drainage, roads, expenses of the commissioners, and fencing. The yeoman farmer often had to borrow the money on mortgage to meet these charges and was consequently unable to raise additional money in this way to buy new machinery, new stock, and make other improvements necessary to successful farming of the new sort. As long as the price of wheat was kept artificially high during the last decade of the eighteenth century, the yeoman still held his own, but with the fall in prices after the end of the Napoleonic war he was unable to make his farm pay and sold out to the larger landlord. Sometimes he became a leasehold farmer, and sometimes entered the ranks of industry. It is an interesting fact that many of the successful captains of industry were yeomen or their sons, who were attracted to the towns by the greater opportunities offered in manufacturing.

While the yeomanry was extinguished, the agricultural laborers were degraded by the process of enclosures. For many centuries they had been tolerated in the possession of small gardens of several acres around their cottages and permitted the pasture of a cow or two on the waste. They had, however, no legal right to these things and, therefore, could not be given any consideration when the village was enclosed and redistributed. They had now no choice but steady work, the despite of which had been one of their failings, or starvation. It is rather curious to read the contemporary moralists' justification of their fate, on the ground that now the incentives to sloth which breeds vice were removed with the disappearance of their little gardens, where they could grow enough for their families without labor, and the necessity of labor which makes character was now forced upon them. According to that keenest of observers, Arthur Young, character was not always a result. The laborers resented their losses and gave themselves over to dissipation. "All I know is that I had a cow, and an act of Parliament has taken it from me. For whom was he to save, or be diligent and sober? If I am sober, shall I have land for a cow? If I am frugal, shall I have half an acre for potatoes? You offer no motives; you have nothing but a parish officer and a workhouse! Bring me another pot."

The changes in industry and agriculture which have been discussed augmented Great Britain's national wealth to an extraordinary degree. In 1688, Gregory King estimated the total national income at about forty-three and one-half million pounds for England. In 1770, Arthur Young estimated it at one hundred and nineteen and a half million pounds a year. In 1812, Patrick Colquhoun with all the official documents of the government at his disposal gave the figures for Great Britain as four hundred and thirty million pounds a year. This increase in the national income expresses in a striking and concrete way the results and progress of the industrial and agricultural revolutions, and there is shown here the chief reason why Great Britain, not quite a first rate power even at the time of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, was able to take her place at the head and forefront of European states by the end of the century.

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CHAPTER XX

THE GREAT WAR WITH FRANCE, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY IN EUROPE

The governments which held office in Great Britain from 1783 to 1815 were the ministries of

William Pitt, 1783-1801
Henry Addington, Viscount Sidmouth, 1801-1804
William Pitt, 1804-1806
Lord Grenville and Charles James Fox, 1806-1807
Duke of Portland, 1807-1809
Spencer Perceval, 1809-1812
Lord Liverpool, 1812-(1827)

William Pitt came into office supported by a coalition of his own followers, the King's Friends, British East India Company members, and others. This combination was strengthened and transformed into the new Tory party by the adhesion of Edmund Burke in 1791 and of the Duke of Portland with the major portion of the Whigs who resented the radicalism of Fox in 1792. From that time on, until 1827, the Tories controlled the government, except for a brief period in 1806-7, when a coalition ministry of "All the Talents" was in office.

When Fox's India bill was rejected in the House of Lords in 1783 by nineteen votes, owing to the King's letter that he would regard as an enemy any one who voted for the bill, the Fox-North coalition ministry still had a majority in the House of Commons and actually carried through the House a resolution of censure of the King's action. A few days later George III dismissed the coalition and called upon William Pitt to become Prime Minister, to reëstablish his prerogative in the face of the hostility of the most skillful politicians of the day. For some time Pitt ruled with only a minority support in the House of Commons, but when a general election was held in 1784, he won a majority. He himself had 52 personal followers, the King controlled 151 members, and the British East India Company worked hard enough by means of bribery and corruption to carry the rest. William Pitt was thus the creature of the King

and of the British East India Company, and he did their bidding. In the interests of the British East India Company he brought in an India bill which satisfied the critics of the company by instituting a Board of Control selected by the government to supervise the company's political control in India, but left the appointment of servants and officials in the hands of the company.

Pitt had the more national interest at heart also. Although the King had called him to office to preserve the prerogative, he followed a policy of his own. He looked upon himself as a national servant commissioned to do the best he could for the nation as a whole. He was safe in doing this, little as his independence pleased George III, because he alone stood between the crown and Charles James Fox, the detested leader of the Whigs. Pitt's first task was to mop up the waste and to eliminate the fraud, corruption, and inefficiency which had crept into every government department during the last twenty years, amid the political shufflings and deals which had as their object the destruction of the Whig Connection. At the same time he had to deal with a difficult financial problem growing out of the national debt of £240,000,000, of which £114,000,000 had accrued during the war with America. He found that loans were raised without public advertisement or competitive bidding among the bankers; that the auditors of the treasury neglected their duties, so that four treasurers of the navy and the three paymasters of the forces had not yet settled their accounts; and one official had handled government money for forty years without ever submitting to an audit. There was a floating debt of £14,000,000, in addition to £2,000,000 owing to the Bank of England and a deficit of £6,000,000 from the previous year. The customs duties, contained in about eleven hundred statutes, were so high that the greater part of some imports, such as tea, on which there was a duty of 119 per cent, was smuggled. To deal with the chaos which he found, Pitt introduced many constructive measures. He reduced the tea duty to 12½ per cent so that smuggling would be discouraged; and, to make up the deficits, he imposed new taxes on windows, hats, raw silk, horses, linen, calico, candles, bricks, tiles, licenses, paper, shooting certificates, hackney coaches, gold and silver plate, race horses, and postage. Through the increased yield of the customs, brought about by the decrease of smuggling, and through the new taxes, the revenues rose from £14,000,000 a year to £22,000,000 and cost only £3,000,000 more to collect. Pitt further ordered all future

government loans to be advertised and sold to the highest bidder, he consolidated the customs and excise duties into a single tax equal to the combined duties, and he placed the yield into the consolidated fund from which the interest on the consolidated debt (Consols) was to be paid. He also took in hand the reduction of the national debt. One million pounds was to be paid annually to a Board of Commissioners of the National Debt, who should use this money to establish a sinking fund by buying government bonds. In the second year the interest on these bonds would be added to another million pounds to buy more bonds, and eventually the debt would be extinguished. Unfortunately, people got the idea that, as long as the sinking fund was working, it mattered little how much more new money was borrowed, since ultimately the sinking fund would provide for everything; and they overlooked the fact that the sinking fund itself was supported by taxes. Pitt also attempted to bring forward the question of a reform in the House of Commons through an increase in the representation of London and of the larger counties by 72 seats, to be obtained through the surrender by 36 decayed boroughs of their seats, for which compensation should be paid. This project was voted down and remained unrealized for another forty-seven years.

In this same year, 1785, Pitt took up the question of future relations between England and Ireland, inasmuch as the British government from the King down was not satisfied with the arrangement of 1782. He proposed to unite England and Ireland on the basis of commercial equality in the trade of the empire. The Irish Parliament was willing to accede and actually passed the commercial clauses of the agreement. But English interests opposed the scheme, and the bill was so emasculated in the English Parliament that the Irish refused to accept it in its amended form.

The opposition to the Irish bill was the work of a highly organized lobby called the Chamber of Manufacturers, composed of the leading cotton manufacturers, pottery makers, ironmasters, hardware manufacturers, and machine builders of the new industrial areas of Birmingham, Manchester, and the north and west of England in general, led by Josiah Wedgewood, Matthew Boulton, Richard Arkwright and John Wilkinson. Twenty years earlier these men were only humble artisans or small masters working with their own hands in their small workshops. Now they employed thousands of men in their plants, were amassing fortunes of hundreds of thousands of pounds,

and were rich and powerful enough and conscious enough of the identity of their interests, to go to Parliament and prevent the passage of an important law, because they felt that the admission of Irish goods into the English markets would hurt their business.

The Eden Treaty

As has already been noted, these industrial leaders and many others like them had begun their expansion in response to the heavy demands for English cottons, potteryware, iron, and hardware and machinery both at home and in the British colonies. During the past ten years they had made extremely swift advances. New inventions were appearing rapidly. In 1775 James Watt had finished his first perfected steam engine in Boulton's establishment with Boulton's financial aid to the sum of £2200. Crompton had invented a machine called the mule which was able to spin, better than by hand, the finest possible yarns, from which the sheerest muslins, hitherto brought from India, could be woven; Wilkinson had invented a boring machine, which made the building of steam engine cylinders and of heavy cannon easy. Henry Cort and Peter Onions had found the secret of converting the brittle cast iron, which both John Wilkinson and Abraham Darby had learned how to produce very cheaply with the use of coal as fuel many years before, into tough malleable iron suitable for every purpose where enormous strength was necessary. William Bell was just perfecting his calico-printing machine, which displaced the hand block printing. Edmund Cartwright was at work on a power loom. All over the North and West the new machines were being put into factories, and Arkwright and Wilkinson were already using the new Watt steam engines to drive their extensive plants. Cotton, yarn, calico, muslin, iron, hardware of all sorts, machinery, and pottery and earthenware in beautiful variety were being turned out of all the large industrial establishments in much greater quantities than had been the case ten years earlier. The new industrialists were on the brink of being able to do more than satisfy the existing demand in England and in their present markets abroad. They were already faced by the necessity of finding new markets in order to dispose of their output.

The tremendous development in industry may be graphically illustrated by a few figures. Raw cotton imported between 1776-1778 averaged 6,700,000 pounds weight; between 1781-1785 it

averaged 10,900,000 pounds weight. Foreign trade in 1780 was valued at £25,000,000, and in 1785, at £33,000,000. One hundred and forty-four Watt engines with 2009 horse power were built between 1775 and 1785; between 1770, when Arkwright built his first water power factory, and 1788 there were 143 cotton spinning factories erected, and 20,070 hand jennies and 550 mules with 90 spindles each were in use by 1788.

In their examination of the situation the leading manufacturers came to the conclusion that the most extensive new markets could be made available in France if only the two governments of France and Great Britain would agree to withdraw their prohibitive tariff duties, which had kept trade between these two countries at low ebb all through the eighteenth century. Acting through their powerful organization, the Chamber of Manufacturers, the industrialists now called upon Pitt to take in hand a treaty with France, by means of which they could gain access to French markets. Such a treaty was ardently desired also in France by the brandy and wine producers, and had already been suggested by Vergennes. Pitt recognized the new power of the industrialists in England as he had done a year before, and indeed from this time forward he may be said to have become their servant and made the furtherance of their interests the cardinal point of his policy. His ambassador in France, Sir William Eden, at once entered into negotiations with the French government, and on January 23, 1787, the treaty was laid before Parliament. It boldly overrode the veiled enmity existing between the two countries and provided for easy trade facilities between them. English markets were opened to French wines on the same terms accorded to Portuguese wines in the Methuen treaty (although the duties on Portuguese wines were presently reduced to two-thirds of this amount in order to keep the Portuguese trade), and French markets were opened to English goods at low rates of duty. English trade with France developed by leaps and bounds; English cotton goods, English hardware, English iron were capturing French markets, because, made under the new economies of large scale factory production, they could undersell the French products even after the moderate duty was paid. The treaty was not popular in all parts of France, especially in the North, but in England it was regarded as having provided one of the new markets which the English manufacturers needed so badly. Pursuing this same policy of opening up the continent to English goods, which had resulted in the Eden treaty, Pitt began negotiations with

Prussia, and in all probability he would have covered Europe with a series of treaties of much the same sort. His work was cut short, however, by the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789.

The French Revolution

This great movement was in its essence a rising of the newly enriched "third estate," the bourgeoisie, merchants, doctors, industrialists, and lawyers, to demand freedom from the galling and oppressive privileges of the feudal nobility, who deprived capital and industry of their rightful voice in politics and society. It was precipitated by a financial crisis in the government, which compelled the King to call a meeting of the Estates General of France. In this assembly the crown and the third estate discovered that they had a common enemy in the nobility. The third estate wanted to end the exclusive participation of the nobles in government, and the King wished to end the exemption of their property, which included nearly one-half the land of France, from taxation, as one of the easiest ways of obtaining revenue. For three years the King and the third estate worked in agreement. Of his own motion Louis XVI made many reforms, and accepted others, including the freedom of the press, local government boards, universal manhood suffrage, the right of habeas corpus, equal incidence of taxation, periodical convocation of the Estates General, the right of voting supplies, of initiating legislation, ministerial responsibility, and double representation of the third estate. Through these concessions he hoped to induce the third estate to aid him in depriving the nobility of their privileges injurious to the crown, but he was unwilling to attack those offensive to the people. He wanted to strip the nobles of their political and fiscal privileges, while permitting them to retain their privileged social position. For the middle classes political and fiscal reforms were not enough; they demanded social equality as the only thing really worth while. When the King hesitated to accept this, the more extreme leaders came to the top; the Revolution, which had been peaceful, got out of control and began a violent revision of the whole social structure.

Even before this violent phase was entered upon in 1791, the attitudes of Englishmen toward the movement varied. The liberals hailed it with delight. The Duke of Dorset, English ambassador in Paris, saluted "the accomplishment of the great-

est revolution in history''; Charles James Fox spoke of one symbolic event, the fall of the Bastile, as ''how much it is the greatest event that has happened in the history of the world, and how much the best''; and the poet Wordsworth, looking back in later years, wrote, ''Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive; but to be young was very heaven.'' Even William Pitt, the Prime Minister, looked upon the Revolution not unfavorably, because he felt that friendship with France and more intimate trade relations were more easily possible under a constitutional government than under an absolute monarchy. All over England clubs were formed, among aristocrats and workingmen, to spread the principles of the Revolution in England.

One man in England disapproved of the Revolution from the beginning. That man was Edmund Burke, known everywhere as the most uncompromising champion of right and liberty in his day. He had defended the American colonies and had brought Warren Hastings to trial for his methods in governing India. Now, while Fox and others were vieing with each other in praise of the Revolution, Burke turned to denounce it. In November of 1790 he published his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in which he condemned the Revolution as a ''foul, impious, monstrous thing, wholly out of the course of nature; a wild attempt to methodize anarchy.'' ''Our political system,'' he wrote, ''is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world and with the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts, wherein by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom moulding together the great mysterious corporation of the human race, the whole at any one time is never old, or middle aged, or young; but in a condition of unchangeable constancy moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve we are never wholly new; in what we retain, never wholly obsolete.'' Society was not the present generation, but the future and the past; to begin all over again, to wrench violently from the past was to deny this grand concept of all human society as an organic whole.

Burke's book made a tremendous appeal to the rulers of Europe, especially to the Queen of Sweden, the Empress Catherine of Russia, and the King of Prussia. The French princes, emigrés in Coblentz, used it as a textbook and found it one of the most powerful factors in inducing the sovereigns of Europe to unite to assist them to return to their own. In Eng-

land the book was widely read, but in all probability most Englishmen did not judge the Revolution by the biological evolutionary tests used by Burke; they liked Burke because he convinced them that they were right in their judgment, to which they had already come by a different way. Fundamentally the ordinary man ultimately judged the Revolution by its attitude toward private property, and in this matter certain measures were adopted in France in 1791 and 1792 which gave pause to the most open mind. For as the Revolution turned into a violent upheaval, the private property of the nobles was confiscated and divided among the peasants; the private property of the church was confiscated and sold by the government. As soon as this lack of respect for private property was exhibited, a hostile attitude toward the Revolution became very general in England. Many, perhaps the majority of Englishmen, ardently desired to see the English government step in to aid Louis XVI against his subjects, and they began the active suppression of any French ideas in England. The workingmen's clubs especially came in for their detestation and fear and repression. Even movements for political reform, such as Pitt himself had championed only a few years before, were repressed for fear that political reform might be the entering wedge for the whole revolutionary movement, culminating in one vast spoliation of private property.

Meanwhile Pitt, at the head of the government, adopted a policy of absolute nonintervention in the internal affairs of France. British trade with France was growing, and no British interest seemed threatened. From this position, however, he was drawn against his will by the progress of events on the continent and by the rising temper of public opinion in England, which he was at last powerless to resist. When the Revolution fell under the sway of the more violent elements, the King attempted to flee from France on June 2, 1791, to join the nobles who had already left and were busy intriguing for aid from their base at Coblentz. Louis and Marie Antoinette, his Queen, were, however, stopped at Varennes and taken back to Paris. The "arrest" of the King and Queen had tremendous results. Frederick William of Prussia had for some time past been endeavoring to form a league of kings to restore Louis XVI to his power, but Leopold, the Emperor, the brother of the French Queen, had cautiously refused to participate. Now, however, he agreed to act with Frederick William in issuing the "Declaration of Pillnitz," August 27, 1791, expressing the hope

that *all* sovereigns of Europe would join with them in placing "the King of France in a position to establish with the most absolute freedom the foundations of a monarchical form of government, which shall at once be in harmony with the rights of the sovereign and promote the welfare of the French nation. *Then and in that case* (provided, that is, that all the sovereigns of Europe joined together) their said Majesties, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, are resolved to act promptly and in common accord with the forces necessary to attain the desired end."

The Emperor, who had no desire to do anything positive, felt himself perfectly safe in joining with the King of Prussia in lecturing the French, because no action to back up the bluff was ever threatened unless all the sovereigns of Europe acted together, and Leopold knew that Pitt meant to remain neutral and would not permit George III to take any part in an European joint action. But Leopold reckoned without the French. They were roused into defiance by the suggestion of outside intervention in their domestic affairs, and a second dispatch from Leopold, intended to intimidate the warmongers and strengthen the peace party in Paris, had the immediate result of bringing a declaration of war by the Legislative Assembly against Austria. Prussia immediately allied herself with Austria, and their armies, led by the Duke of Brunswick, marched on Paris. Brunswick took the step of trying to protect the French King by issuing a manifesto threatening to destroy Paris utterly should the King suffer harm. Under the spur of this threat, excited by a real danger to the Revolution, the authorities determined to remove all those elements which might be favorable to Brunswick. There was no time to be too scrupulous; all who were even suspected were cast into prison, and because the only good suspect was a dead suspect, Marat called for blood. Assassins were let loose among the prisoners, and all the worst forebodings of Burke about inevitable horror and massacre were justified. Foreign intervention actually produced the bloodshed which Burke had prophesied. Then Brunswick was stopped by General Kellermann at Valmy, Paris recovered her sanity, and the September horrors of 1791 ended.

The effect of the bloodshed in Paris was to confirm Englishmen in that detestation of the Revolution they had already conceived because of the treatment of private property under the Revolution, and to make new enemies among those hitherto friendly. The scientist Romilly wrote on September 10, 1791:

"How could we ever be so deceived in the character of the French nation as to think them capable of liberty? One might as well think of establishing a republic in some forest of Africa." His friend, Dumont, to whom this was written, replied in despair of his own people, "Let us burn all our books; let us cease to dream and think of the best system of legislation, since men make so diabolical a use of every truth and every principle." The news of the horrors was brought by hundreds of refugees, orthodox priests and fugitive nobles; and, as is the case in times of hysteria, it lost nothing in the telling. Coupled with the atrocity tales were others of French plots against all existing governments, especially the British government; and Englishmen came to look upon France as a land peopled with demons who must be reduced to sanity by the stern forces of the British army and navy.

Through all this excitement of late 1791 and 1792 Pitt stood aloof, intent on preserving neutrality. But late in 1792 the Revolution turned from the defensive to take the offensive against the Prussians and Austrians. The French General Doumouriez drove the allies from their lines at Jemappes on November 6; Mons opened its gates to the French; and very soon all of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) was occupied. The conquest of Belgium puffed up the French with boundless self-confidence, and the Revolution became definitely aggressive. At about the same time the leadership of affairs in France passed to a thoroughgoing mercantilist group called the Jacobins. There had been a bitter contest among several revolutionary parties for control of the Revolution itself. One of these, the Girondists, was a free trade group, whose rise to control would have meant the continuation of the policy of the Eden treaty and the fullest development of trade on international lines. The other party, the Jacobin Club, was more noisy, more vulgar, and more popular, because it insisted upon French nationalism and the aggrandizement of France in accord with the whole apparatus of mercantilism, protection of French industries, annexation of more territory, and restriction of the trade of other peoples.

The conquest of Belgium was, therefore, ominous, for it was obviously only the first step in a larger mercantilist scheme which soon began to be unfolded. On November 16 the French government declared the freedom of the navigation of the river Scheldt, which had been closed by five sacred treaties between France and Great Britain since 1713. The French thus opened

Antwerp to the commerce of the world, with the expectation of making Antwerp the rival of London as the *entrepot* for colonial wares for the continent, as it was well suited to be by virtue of its position and the natural facilities of its port. On the same day they threatened the invasion of Holland by an order to their generals to pursue the allies on any territory where they might take refuge, which meant, of course, Holland. This step had already been anticipated by both the Dutch and the English governments, and on November 13, three days earlier, the British ministers had assured the Dutch government that they would oppose the invasion of Holland. "His Majesty," they asserted, "had no hesitation as to the propriety of assisting the Dutch Republic as circumstances might require against any attempt on the part of any other power to invade its dominions or to disturb its government." Although the French government had formally declared that it had no intention to annex any territory, not even in Belgium, late in November it practically rescinded that resolution by annexing Savoy on the southeastern frontier; and if it was possible to incorporate Savoy with France, nothing prevented the annexation of Belgium. After the annexation of Belgium, the destruction of the independence of Holland was bound to follow in view of the mercantilist ideas of the French politicians. Holland and Belgium were the main highways of trade between England and central Europe; and, quite apart from the traditions of diplomacy reaching back to Elizabeth's reign, England's present interest in continental markets made their freedom from the control of mercantilist France absolutely essential. "The Pays Bas" (the Low Countries), said Lord Grenville, "form the chain which unites England to the continent, and the central knot of our relations to Austria and Russia. It would be broken if they belonged to France."

The fear that Belgium would be annexed as Savoy had been, together with the threat at London's commercial position involved in the opening of Antwerp, for which the French were denounced in public not as commercial rivals but as breakers of sacred treaties, finally withdrew Pitt from his neutral position and caused him to make overtures to the Vienna government on December 7, 1792. Another factor entered into his decision. That was his fear of revolutionary propaganda and of its possible effect in creating a revolution among the working classes in England. On November 19 the French government had practically invited all discontented elements in Europe to

revolt, by a decree "to grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty." The French now made war with Great Britain inevitable by issuing the decree of December 15, declaring that they would recognize no institutions alien to the principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality, and that they would treat as an enemy the people which refused to accept liberty and equality and tolerated princes and privileged castes. This was really an invitation to the English radicals, who were believed to be much more numerous than they really were, to begin armed rebellion in England. Pitt and his ministers could stand no more; and at a crown council on January 10, 1793, a resolution for war with France was adopted unless France retreated from her positions. Three days later, on January 13, the news arrived in London that the Executive Council in France had ordered Generals Doumouriez and Miranda to invade Holland within twelve days. Negotiations were continued, but after this step no progress could be made; and on February 1, 1793, the French government, realizing that the English government was about to issue a declaration of war against them, anticipated the event by declaring war on Great Britain.

The War with Revolutionary France, 1793-1802

The war which was now begun lasted until the peace of Amiens in 1802. British military operations were neither very brilliant nor very important, since the British preferred to subsidize their allies, Austria, Prussia, and other countries, rather than put large armies into the field. "It is more politic," said Lord Grenville, the foreign minister, "to pay foreign troops than to take our own youth from the plow and the loom." Since Austria and Prussia were already at war with France, Great Britain joined with them and with Sweden and Spain in forming a "coalition," in which Austria and Prussia found the troops for military operations, and Great Britain acted as paymaster, furnishing subsidies and loans. In 1795 Prussia, Sweden, and Spain withdrew from the alliance and made peace; in 1797 Austria also made peace with France, after she had been driven out of Italy by the brilliant campaign of a young officer of artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been placed by the revolutionary government, now called the Directory, in command of the Army of Italy. With the treaty of Campo Formio, which Austria signed in October, 1797, the French could boast that

they dominated the continent of Europe without a shadow of doubt, for none remained in the field to dispute their sway.

On the sea there was a different story. Here glory rested on the English arms. The British fleet began by capturing the French settlements in India and some of the French West India Islands. It must be kept in mind that mercantilist views still dominated the minds of many British politicians, and such conquests were merely a continuation of eighteenth century colonial policy. On June 1, 1794, Lord Howe engaged the main French battle fleet and beat it decisively. In 1795 the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, Dutch settlements and colonies, but fair prey because Holland was now in French hands, were annexed to keep France from acquiring them. On February 14, 1797, the combined fleets of France, Spain, and Holland were decisively defeated by Jervis and Nelson off Cape St. Vincent; and, since this fleet had been organized to cover a French invasion of Ireland to aid the Irish in a rebellion against Great Britain, that project was nipped in its inception. But the navies of France and her satellites were still in being, and it needed another brilliant victory over the Dutch fleet at Camperdown in October, 1797, to end all danger of French control of the seas, which would in all probability have been followed by an invasion of Great Britain. Just as the French were invincible on land, so the British were supreme on the seas. Yet before British victory on the seas had been assured, there had been some black days for England. Even in the navy all had not been as it should have been. During the spring of 1797 old abuses in the fleet reached a crisis; the sailors at Portsmouth and at Sheerness revolted in April and May, the fleet under Duncan blockading Holland deserted to the mutineers with all but two ships, a ship at Porto Rico hanged its officers and went over to Spain, and in South African waters the sailors were in open revolt.

At home the national debt had been increased by 135 million pounds, and people were exasperated by high taxes. Matters were made more serious by a tremendous inflation of the currency brought about by war loans, the dispatch of gold out of the country to subsidize England's allies, the overissue of paper money by the banks, and finally, in 1797, the suspension of specie payment by the Bank of England. Prices rose rapidly, and wages lagged behind. But much more rapid than the rise of ordinary prices was the rise in the cost of food, especially wheat and bread. There was a series of poor harvests between

1790 and 1815 with only six barely normal years and only five good years during the whole period. Whereas Great Britain was still growing enough grain to feed herself in normal years, and even had on the average one-eighth of the crop available for export, grain had to be imported during nearly all the war years in large quantities. The high freight rates, caused by the scarcity of shipping, and the high insurance rates, reaching sometimes 100 per cent as a result of the activities of French privateers who swept the seas in spite of the British navy, drove up the price of wheat in the British markets from a normal of about nine shillings a bushel to as much as 15 shillings a bushel in the hardest times. The worst paid workers, the agricultural laborers, were aided to eke out a living by certain contributions from the poor rates, varying with the cost of bread and the size of their families.

The more skilled industrial workers tried to help themselves by forming the first labor unions. The governing classes, however, were so afraid of any kind of "lower" class organizations lest they should try to introduce French revolutionary principles, and the employers of labor were so hostile to any limitations on their own freedom of action in industry, such as would be imposed by labor unions, that the government finally passed a statute through Parliament in 1799, amended in 1800, absolutely forbidding "combinations" of workers under penalty of heavy fines and imprisonment. There were certain factors in the industrial situation which would have created extreme hardship for the industrial workers even if the unions had been completely organized and legalized. The most important of these was the extreme fluctuations in business from year to year. Boom times were followed by stoppages of work in rapid succession; thousands of workers would be drawn to the new industrial towns of the North at good pay in one year, only to be laid off without resources in the next.

In spite of all the wretchedness and suffering of the working classes in town and country during these war years, the country was in the midst of an absolutely unprecedented industrial development, which was daily adding new wealth to the nation, making possible not only the heavy war expenditures, but the accumulation of extensive stores of capital in addition. Some of this development represented the effects of the impulse already at work since about 1770, but other factors were also very important. The war orders of the British government itself contributed something to this development. New energy was

called forth by government purchases of war material, capital was amassed in larger units than before by the government war loans, and working people's abstention from consumption was enforced by low wages. Of the new goods and capital created by "this increase of the general activity" much was consumed by the wars, but much was saved and applied to the construction of the new industrial plant. Most of the money spent on the war in Great Britain took the form of orders to British factories for cloth, cannon, cartridges, and muskets; and even the loans to the allies were eventually dispatched not in gold for the most part, but in the form of British-made shoes, uniforms, guns, and equipment. The growth of industry is shown in the use of raw materials in the war decade. Imports of raw cotton were 31 million pounds weight in 1790, in 1799 they were 43 million pounds weight, and 56 million pounds weight in 1801. In 1788, 68,000 tons of pig iron were produced; in 1796, 125,000 tons. Imports of the average year in the period 1792-1799 exceeded those of the average year in the former seven year period by £4,230,000 a year, and in the case of exports of British goods and reëxports of foreign goods the average excess was over £9,000,000 a year. The yield of taxes, "the criterion of national wealth," tells the same story. The same taxes, without any increase of rates, produced on an average £1,080,000 more a year in the period 1792-1799 than in the period 1785-1792. One of the contemporary economic statisticians, J. Lowe, writing in 1822, summed up the whole development of industry by the war rather succinctly: "The chief source of our supplies was the augmented employment attendant upon the war. . . . The tranquil condition (of business between 1782-1793) . . . was entirely altered by the war." Government expenditures, he says, were almost all disbursed directly or indirectly in the extension of domestic industry, "in recruiting, clothing, and victualling our militia, army, and navy, in the purchase of shoes, the building of ships of war, the repair of fortifications, in contracts, pay, salaries, and pensions."

During the course of the war there was a curious shift in the emphasis upon war aims, due in part to this tremendous business development. It will be recalled that Great Britain's reasons for entering into the war were French revolutionary propaganda in England and the protection of Belgium and Holland from French aggression. The British government was fighting for the reëstablishment of settled government in France which should be nonpropagandist, and it was fighting for the

easy access through Belgium and Holland to German and continental markets on the part of English business men. Of these two war aims the second was more technical and less popular in its appeal and gradually faded as British business men experienced prosperity without trade routes across Belgium and Holland. In 1797 Pitt, resolved that it was his duty as a Christian and a patriot to end so terrible a war, made his third move for peace since 1795 by sending Lord Malmesbury to Paris to treat with the Directory. Pitt was willing to go very far, to give up Belgium, Luxemburg, and other provinces to France besides restoring all naval conquests except the Cape of Good Hope and Trinidad; and, according to Malmesbury's assertion, he would have given way on the Cape of Good Hope also. Unfortunately, the Jacobins had just been placed more securely in power, and with their extreme mercantilist point of view they were unwilling to treat on even this generous basis. Meanwhile, the establishment of settled government in France became more than ever an object of desirable policy, and this now took the form in men's minds of the restoration of the house of Bourbon. At the turn of the year in 1799-1800 a new peace offer was made, this time from the French side. But the British had come to feel that peace was not possible.

Since Malmesbury's visit to Paris in the summer of 1797, great changes had taken place in the government of France. Napoleon Bonaparte, victorious over the Austrians in the treaty of Campo Formio, had organized a new army which he called "The Army of England," to undertake the conquest of Egypt and perhaps of the world to the east as far as India. His object was to make way for the eventual defeat of Great Britain by cutting the trade route to India, for it was generally believed in France that the chief source of British wealth was the trade with India and, if that trade were destroyed, Great Britain's prosperity would be at an end, and she would have to yield to France. There were other reasons too, however, which tempted Napoleon to Egypt in 1798. He was already making plans for his own future. After the treaty of Campo Formio he had gone to Paris to look over the political situation and saw rather clearly that the majority of the people did not want the present government. The Directory was inept; Austria would inevitably begin a new war because of French aggression in Italy; and war would necessitate a strong government. But until that time "the pear was not yet ripe," and it would be better for Napoleon to be out of the country, thrilling the people

with heroic deeds, preparing to return at the psychological moment.

In May, 1798, his army embarked at Toulon. For the purpose of keeping the British fleet in the North Atlantic, he circulated the reports that the expedition was intended against England and Ireland. At the last moment, however, Admiral Jervis considered it best to send Nelson into the Mediterranean. Nelson thought the expedition was intended against Naples, still under its independent sovereign; but when he got there, there was no news of the French. He sailed at once to Alexandria, but again there was no news of Napoleon, and Nelson returned to the west. Meantime, Napoleon had attacked Malta, driven out the Knights of St. John who had held the island ever since 1530, reached Egypt a week after Nelson had left, and landed his troops. His orders were to bring in the ships inside the harbor of Alexandria, fortify the harbor, and defy the English fleet to blockade him, 2200 miles from their base, with Malta in French hands in between. But the ship channel was not deep enough, and Admiral Brueys took the ships to Aboukir Bay nearby and anchored. Nelson returned presently, caught the French unprepared, and, in the famous battle of the Nile, destroyed Napoleon's ships. The loss of his ships ruined Napoleon's plan, since he could not maintain his line of communications with France. Nevertheless, he set out to win as much glory as he could even though the whole net result would be impermanent. On July 23, 1798, he fought the battle of the Pyramids, destroyed the Egyptian army, and occupied Cairo. He then invaded Syria, was halted at Acre because of the strength of the place, and after a siege of many months he retreated on hearing of the coming of a large Turkish army to Egypt by sea. Making contact with this force, Napolean annihilated it in a brilliant battle, on July 25, 1799. A few days later he learned that a new coalition had been formed in Europe, that Pitt had succeeded in getting Austria to renew the war against France, and that France was faring badly. On August 22, 1799, he left Alexandria on a small fishing vessel accompanied by his staff officers and, slipping past the English warships by the greatest good luck, landed in France on October 9. He went at once to Paris, which had heard of the extraordinary exploits of his army in Egypt (their lack of result carefully glossed over), and in a few days he had overturned the Directory and set up a new government of three consuls, with himself as First Consul.

The last day of the year 1799 brought a letter from the First Consul to the British government suggesting peace between Great Britain and France. But by this time the English government and the English people had turned thoroughly royalist. The ministry pretended to believe that the present French government was insecurely established and insisted that the restoration of the Bourbons was necessary for peace. Lord Grenville, the foreign minister, declared that "His Majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific intentions." Some guarantee was required. "The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes (the Bourbons), which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and in consideration and respect abroad." Napoleon replied to the insolence of the note by a sweeping victory won by himself over the Austrian army at Marengo and another won by Moreau over the second Austrian army at Hohenlinden, which were followed by the treaty of Lunéville in 1801. Meantime Malta had been conquered by the British fleet; and the French army in Egypt, cut off from reinforcements, was on the point of capitulating. Napoleon was resistless on the land, Great Britain on the seas. The "whale and the elephant" glared at each other across the land and the water, but could not get a hold one on the other. In this situation peace was finally made in the treaty of Amiens in 1802.

In the negotiations Napoleon seems to have overreached the British government. During the preliminary negotiations, for instance, Napoleon, knowing that General Menou in Egypt could hold out only a few days, made a great show of yielding Egypt. In the definitive negotiations he sent his own nimble-witted brother Joseph to Amiens as his plenipotentiary, while the British government was represented by a rather dignified aristocrat, Lord Cornwallis, who was constantly turned from the matter in hand, that of getting the greatest possible concessions from France, by disputes on points of etiquette and procedure which were of absolutely no importance. He thus overlooked many things, among the most important of which was some stipulation for the renewal of the Eden treaty. Consequently when the treaty was finally signed, the Eden treaty was not specifically renewed. When the question was raised immediately after, at the instance of British business men, Napoleon declared that inasmuch as the Eden treaty had not been specifically renewed, it remained abrogated.

British business men had welcomed the prospect of peace in the expectation of the recovery of their markets in France, closed to them since 1793. Their mills and factories had been extended during the war, and with the stoppage of war orders the markets of France seemed absolutely essential to them. As the results of the failure to renew the Eden treaty became apparent, the peace grew unpopular in industrial circles, and business interests clamored for a renewal of the war. It was soon discovered, moreover, that the refusal to renew the trade treaty between France and England was only the first move in a larger plan on Napoleon's part. Within a few months after the signing of the treaty of Amiens, Napoleon annexed the Piedmont in northern Italy, declared himself President of the Cisalpine Republic, and proclaimed a new constitution in Switzerland; and Holland was occupied by his troops. The high French protective tariff was extended over northern and central Italy, and Holland and Switzerland were forced into a customs union with France. English business men saw Italy, Switzerland, and Holland added to France as a closed preserve for French industry, from which British products were practically excluded; and they intuitively felt that if they accepted this situation, they must be prepared for extensions of the new arrangement. It was in fact the question of British or French industrial supremacy in Europe that was at stake. At the same time Napoleon was known to be harboring plans for the reconquest of Egypt, for the establishment of a French colonial empire in America, and for the fomentation of revolution against British rule in India. The British government took the stand that Napoleon's actions had created a new situation in Europe which made it impossible to evacuate the island of Malta as required in the treaty of Amiens; and, eventually, in the face of his insistence upon English evacuation of Malta, the British government declared a renewal of the war after fourteen months peace, on May 18, 1803.

The Continental System

This renewed war was in no sense a struggle for the preservation of aristocracy against the Revolution; it was frankly a contest for industrial and commercial supremacy, as indeed the earlier struggle had been to some extent. During the later years of the eighteenth century France had undergone an industrial development only second in its effects to the industrial

revolution in England. There was, however, an important difference between the industrialists who came to the fore in France and in England. In England the manufacturers trusted so much to their efficient methods and high quality that they believed they could compete for markets with any other manufacturers, and only asked that governments give them an equal chance by taking their hands off of business. They did not want any protective tariff in England in their favor; they wanted free importation of raw materials and free access to foreign markets. In France the industrialists wanted protection in their home markets and monopolies abroad, in true mercantilist fashion. They were opposed to the Eden treaty and were glad when the coming of war in 1793 put an end to it. They pretended to believe that Great Britain had really resolved on war in 1793 in an effort to keep down a growing rival and found confirmation of their beliefs in Pitt's commercial treaties with his allies, which engaged the coalition powers to adopt certain measures of economic war against France, "to shut all their ports against French ships, . . . and to take all other measures for injuring the commerce of France and for bringing her by such means to just conditions of peace." In retaliation the French government adopted a rigid protectionist policy and asserted "our policy must be directed solely to the ruin of the commerce of England by shutting her out of the continent." These economic measures of the French and British governments were so popular with their own people that Schlegel, the German philosopher, remarked, "This war—it looks like a crusade against sugar and coffee, against percales and muslins."

The policy of ruining English manufactures by excluding English goods from the continent, which had been adopted as a war measure by the revolutionary governments in France, was now to be developed by Napoleon into a more far reaching policy of building up and aggrandizing French industry by making all Europe a protected and closed market for French goods by the exclusion of all British and other foreign goods. It must be kept in mind, of course, that after the renewal of war in 1803, Napoleon was also interested in using the device of the economic blockade as a war measure against Great Britain, but this was not his primary concern, as is shown by the fact that he began the development of the scheme in the year of peace.

The economic empire which Napoleon gradually built up in Europe for the benefit of French industry is called the Continental system. After the renewal of the war between France

and Great Britain in 1803, a new coalition, the third since 1793, was brought into existence against France with Great Britain and Austria as its chief members. When an invasion of England which Napoleon planned was made impossible because his Admiral Villeneuve disobeyed orders and neglected to draw out the English fleet from the channel so that he could transport his army across, Napoleon turned suddenly on Austria, captured one Austrian army at Ulm, and defeated a second at Austerlitz. In less than six months after he began to march his forces, he had imposed the treaty of Pressburg on Vienna and brought Austria within the orbit of the French economic system. He then goaded Frederick William of Prussia into a war in which Frederick William was crushed at Jena and Auerstadt, while Great Britain and Russia, his allies, hesitated; and North Germany was brought into the Continental system. A few months later, early in 1807, the Russian forces were defeated at Friedland and Eylau, and the Russian Czar was induced to sign a treaty of alliance with France which closed his ports to British goods. By attacking the Danish fleet at Copenhagen on the suspicion that Denmark was going to join Napoleon, the British now threw Denmark into Napoleon's arms and closed her ports to themselves. Spain was already in Napoleon's hands, although the native King was still allowed to occupy the throne, but Portugal was a weak spot in his system because of her extensive seacoast. After the bombardment of Copenhagen, Napoleon informed the Portuguese Prince Regent that he must close Portuguese ports to English ships and goods and then went further to demand that all English goods in Portugal be confiscated. This the Prince Regent felt himself in honor bound not to do, whereupon Napoleon declared war upon Portugal and annexed it. Austria now again decided to try the fortunes of war, but after another defeat at Wagram in 1809, she made peace at Vienna by the treaty of Schönbrunn, through which she lost Trieste and her Dalmatian seacoast, and accepted the Continental system in its entirety. By the early months of 1809 every state in Europe except Sweden and Turkey was included in the Continental system. Some countries were practically annexed to France and brought directly into the high protective tariff system of France. Other states, rendered subject to Napoleon, were placed under the necessity of removing their own existing tariffs against French goods, without, however, having the French tariff against their own products lowered. Treaties were made with still others, such as Russia,

which remained politically independent. In all states British goods were excluded either indirectly by a high protective tariff or, after 1806, directly by the operation of decrees, such as the Berlin decree, which simply forbade the importation of any British goods.

Acquiescence in the loss of the markets of Europe, the richest markets in the world, was impossible for British industrial and commercial interests. They were developing their plants more rapidly than ever. Between 1801 and 1804, for example, steam power had been introduced rather generally in the cotton spinning factories, and in those three years alone the importation of raw cotton had increased from 54 to 61 million pounds weight, and before the end of the war British cotton factories were able to consume 123 million pounds weight of cotton. Pig iron production increased from 156,000 tons in 1800 to 258,000 tons in 1806, and 300,000 tons of pig iron were smelted during the year 1810. As in the period between 1793 and 1802, part of the stimulus to these increases came from the demands of the government for war purposes. Over £800,000,000 was spent by the British government during the war with Napoleon from 1803-1815, the greater part of it for materials. In the process of satisfying those war demands, new and better factories were built, whose owners insisted upon using them afterwards in production for other markets. Each new factory was a new reason for British refusal to concede to the Continental system.

British manufacturers were made more conscious of the necessity of markets by the uneven character of government demands. After a year of extraordinarily heavy purchases by the government and rapid industrial development, government purchases ceased, and the factory owners had to find new markets in order to keep going. Very often they went bankrupt; but their machinery was intact, their skilled workers were available, their technical knowledge was unimpaired, and, after paying a few pence on the pound in bankruptcy, they would resume business with their productive powers undiminished. The new markets most cultivated were India, the various European colonies in the East and West Indies and South Africa, practically all of which were annexed by Great Britain during the war, and Spanish America. In 1808 Napoleon had dethroned the Spanish King, who was already his vassal, and appointed his own brother Joseph to be King of Spain under his control. The Spanish American colonies revolted from the open rule of the French, and with the removal of the old prohibition on trade

hitherto maintained by Spain British merchants eagerly flocked to their ports. With all his genius Napoleon did not realize that his action against Spain was to open up a portion of the world to British trade, which did much to compensate for the loss of European markets. Yet nothing could permanently take the place of the markets of Europe, and the war with Napoleon had to go on until they were rewon.

There were certain factors which militated against the success of the Continental system. The first of these was the inability of French industry to produce sufficient goods to meet the new demands created by suddenly thrusting all the business of Europe upon it, while in addition Napoleon was constantly purchasing war materials and equipment. Napoleon, realizing the incapacity of French industry, instituted a licensing system by which large quantities of English goods were annually imported into Europe to help eke out French production, and even the French army used English equipment. In the Russian campaign of 1807, which culminated in the battle of Eylau, Napoleon's soldiers wore 50,000 British-made overcoats and were shod with British shoes. In the second place, Napoleon did not have a sufficiently developed administrative system at his disposal to prevent the extensive smuggling of British goods, especially through Salonika, the Dalmatian ports, and even through such places as Hamburg, where the French governor, noticing the enormous number of funeral processions passing in and out of the city, stopped them one day and discovered that the coffins were filled with English goods. In the next place, France was cut off from the colonial world by the British control of the seas, and French industry could not get certain raw materials from the colonies in sufficiently great quantities. Raw cotton was at a premium in France, even though some was derived from the Levant, sugar was a luxury, and coffee was unprocurable. Eventually Achard, a scientist in Berlin, perfected a process of making beet sugar, and after 1810 the sugar famine was allayed. Chicory made a not impossible substitute for coffee, but no substitute for cotton could be discovered, and the price rose to three or four shillings a pound.

The Continental system reached its fullest development between 1808 and 1810 and in the year 1810-1811 almost brought Great Britain to her knees. This was a year of general business depression all through Europe, and the continent was closed more tightly than ever to British products. A terrible failure of harvests in England drove up the prices of food so high that

hundreds of thousands of the population, thrown out of work by the closing of the factories, were faced with starvation. The situation was alleviated somewhat by the importation of enormous quantities of grain from France. In France harvests were unusually good, but, in the face of the acute business situation, there was an insufficient demand for agricultural produce at home. The grain growers, therefore, demanded permission from Napoleon to export their surplus, and this permission was the more readily given since Napoleon saw a means of stripping England of large quantities of gold, without which, as he understood economics, she could not continue to fight. Thanks to French grain, the English people passed the crisis of 1810-1811, and the first ray of hope came almost immediately after. In 1811 Russia abandoned the Continental system. The Czar was tired of having Russia an appendage to French industry, he desired opportunity for his people to buy the cheaper English goods again, and in 1811 he declared his ports open to English trade. The crisis was past, for with the opening of Russia, with the development of South American trade, which was going on apace, and with the control of the colonial islands and stations throughout the world, the British were on more than equal terms with Napoleon to dispute the mastery of the rest of the continent.

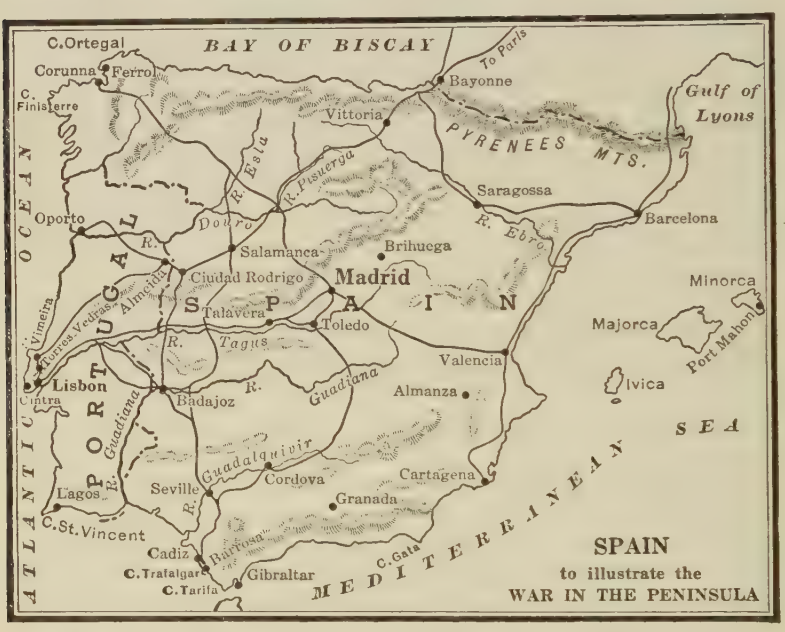
Up to this time British military efforts against Napoleon had been almost inconsequential. The greatest achievement had been the destruction of the French and Spanish fleets in 1805 at Trafalgar by Admiral Nelson. When Napoleon made his plans for the invasion of England, he built a fleet at Brest and another at Toulon, and small transports to carry his forces across the channel were built at Boulogne. Admiral Lord Cornwallis was detailed to blockade Brest, and Nelson was set to watch Toulon. During a period of strong north winds, which blew Nelson's ships far out into the Mediterranean, Villeneuve slipped out of Toulon in the spring of 1805 with instructions to lose Nelson in the West Indies, return to Europe, engage Cornwallis off Brest, and so enable the Brest squadron to sail out and guard the transport of the army at Boulogne across the channel. Villeneuve, however, after leading Nelson a merry chase, returned to Europe in the summer of 1805. Instead of picking up the Spanish fleet at Ferrol and sailing at once to engage Cornwallis, he put into the harbor of Cadiz to cleanse his foul bottoms. Here Nelson found him, and Villeneuve, courageous even though stupid, sailed out to engage him in

battle. The action took place off Cape Trafalgar, and the combined French and Spanish fleets were totally destroyed, but Nelson's victory had nothing to do with saving England from invasion. For as soon as Napoleon heard that Villeneuve had misunderstood his orders, he abandoned the plan to invade England, shifted the army at Boulogne into Germany, and received the surrender of the Austrian army at Ulm on October 20, the day before Trafalgar was fought. The action marked the end of French naval effort, but it did not mean that Napoleon was never again to dispute the mastery of the seas. He lost 33 ships at Trafalgar, but by 1808 he again had a navy of 120 ships of the line in being. Moreover, the French privateers sailed every sea after the victory just as they did before it, although they merely made British shipping unsafe, while the British navy made French shipping impossible. Austria went to her defeat in 1805 without substantial help from Great Britain; Frederick William of Prussia ventured all against Napoleon at Jena, while the British hesitated whether to aid him; the Czar's forces were defeated at Friedland, and still the British had done nothing but send a fleet against Turkey. It was not until June 17, 1807, three days after Friedland, that the ministry in England even resolved to send a force to the Baltic.

The Rise of Nationalism and the Defeat of Napoleon

In 1808 a new policy was adopted by the British government which was eventually to prove the most effective force in the final destruction of Napoleon. The ministers determined to combat the internationalism of the Continental system by encouraging the spirit of nationalism wherever possible in Europe. When Napoleon deposed the native King of Spain in favor of his brother Joseph, the proud Spaniards rose in a national revolt. The British government at once sent to their aid an expeditionary force of 12,000 men under Sir Arthur Wellesley with instructions to aid the Spanish and Portuguese nations in every possible way in throwing off the yoke of France. Wellesley landed at Oporto in Portugal, defeated Junot, the French conqueror of Portugal, at Vimeiro, and a few days later Junot evacuated Lisbon. Wellesley himself was replaced by Sir John Moore, but so encouraging was the presence of an English force in the peninsula that the Spaniards kept up their struggle, and in the autumn of the year 1808 Napoleon appeared in person at the head of 200,000 men to pacify Spain. Moore

moved up the Duero Valley after Napoleon reached Madrid, thus threatening Napoleon's line of communications; but within an hour after hearing of Moore's move, Napoleon had an army under Marshall Soult marching northwest to get between Moore and the sea. With masterly strategy Moore began to retreat, not to Lisbon, but to Corunna in northwestern Spain. It was a race against time, through ice and snow, with lack of food and fuel. The suffering of the men was terrible, but Moore's forces reached the sea first and were hardly on their transports before



Soult appeared. Moore's march is one of the most heroic achievements in British military history; but in addition to being heroic, it was a great success. It prevented Napoleon from going south of Madrid, and he eventually returned to France leaving southern Spain unpacified.

The example of Spain was infectious. Heartened by the Spanish resistance, the Austrians again took up arms; and even though they were unsuccessful, they engaged Napoleon's efforts in the spring of 1809, as already described.

The Spanish resistance was kept alive by the return to Spain of Wellesley, now created Viscount Wellington. After inflicting a defeat on the French at Talavera, he retreated to Lisbon,

where he constructed a series of defensive works, the lines of Torres Vedras. Napoleon, recognizing that Wellington's presence in the peninsula was a constant provocation to the Spaniards to continue their revolt, sent General Massena to drive him out. All through the winter of 1810-1811, Massena battered at the Torres Vedras lines. Wellington knew that, if he could hold out through that critical winter, "Europe would be safe"; that is, the national resistance in Spain would continue, and other peoples would follow the Spanish example. In March, 1811, Massena began to retreat. Wellington went from victory to victory in Spain and, while he could not at once dislodge the French, he kept the flower of the French army there, 80,000 men, who, in the critical times of 1812 and 1813, could well have been used in Russia and Germany. The Peninsular War (as the Spanish War is now called) "held the Empire by the feet," while defeat was preparing for Napoleon in central Europe. In June of 1813 Wellington won the battle of Vittoria over the retiring French forces, which were impeded by the loot which they were carrying out of Spain. Bayonne and Bordeaux presently fell into Wellington's hands as he followed Soult across the Pyrenees, and with the surrender of Soult, early in 1814, the war for Spanish national independence was over.

Meanwhile in 1811, moved by the success of Wellington against Massena as well as by other factors, the Czar Alexander threw over the Continental system. Napoleon replied by his invasion of Russia with 650,000 men in 1812. He returned from Russia in the spring of 1813 with 60,000. Leaving his army in Germany, he hurried almost alone to France to raise new legions. But meantime the new spirit of nationalism was kindling in Prussia and Austria, and a grand alliance of Prussia, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and England had come into existence against Napoleon. He faced their armies at Dresden and defeated them August 26-27, 1813; but the allies were strong with this new passion of nationalism which burned so brightly in central Europe, while Napoleon was at the end of his resources. Dresden was his last victory, and it was meaningless. The allies immediately re-formed their armies, and in the battle of Leipsic, October 16-19, 1813, they inflicted so terrible a defeat upon him that he fled across the Rhine. Holland and Switzerland revolted, Spain was already lost, and in the spring of 1814 the allies invaded France and closed in on Paris. After a series of perfectly stupendous rear guard actions fought

against overwhelming odds, Napoleon capitulated. He was sent to Elba to be emperor of that deserted rock in the Mediterranean, and the restoration of the Bourbons was proclaimed in France. In the spring of 1815 Napoleon escaped from Elba, rallied the French to his side, and for a hundred days again caused Europe spasms of terror, until his career was ended at Waterloo, June 18, 1815, by the Duke of Wellington with an allied army. So great was the fear in which he was held that only St. Helena seemed a safe future home for him.

The War of 1812 with the United States

During the course of the struggle with Napoleon, Great Britain's blockade of France interfered seriously with the carrying trade of the United States, and British insistence upon the right of search and the refusal to recognize the renunciation of British allegiance and naturalization by the United States of former British subjects intensified the war spirit in the United States. Led by Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, who believed the situation provided a chance to conquer and annex Canada, the American Congress finally declared war upon Great Britain in 1812, although two days before war was declared, Lord Castlereagh had withdrawn the British orders in council which had caused dissatisfaction. From a military and naval point of view the war was unimportant. After the first surrender of Napoleon a force of 14,000 British regulars was sent to operate against Louisiana, but was ingloriously defeated by General Jackson in the battle of New Orleans. The American victory, brilliant as it was, was futile, since before the battle was fought peace had been signed between American and British commissioners at Ghent on a basis of the omission of all reference to the causes of the war. For Great Britain the war was a misfortune, since it gave to American industry so great an impetus that before long American manufacturers felt confident to manufacture for the United States and were demanding the beginnings of the American protective tariff system.

The Congress of Vienna

With the end of the danger to the "liberties of Europe" from France and Napoleon, the allies had to settle the peace. Every nation had its own special interests to advance at the Congress of Vienna where this was done; but of special concern to us

here is the English participation in the settlement. Great Britain was represented by the Duke of Wellington and by Lord Castlereagh, the foreign minister. Castlereagh brought with himself the enormous prestige of being the man who organized the allies for victory. Because he frankly desired no territory in Europe for Great Britain, his counsels of moderation were well received by the continental statesmen. Even though Great Britain had received nothing at Vienna, she would have been the greatest gainer by the war. For as a result of the events of the period, she was absolutely supreme on the seas, and her industry was the most highly developed in Europe. Other nations had been halted in their industrial expansion by the war, and even France had not made much progress because of the lack of raw materials. But British advancement had been steady and rapid, and Britain was now ready to manufacture for the continent of Europe. Great Britain's chief interest was, therefore, the return of normal conditions to the continent, and the establishment of territorial settlements which would check the frenzy of France from breaking forth again and prevent the renewal of war. These normal conditions were further guaranteed by the Quadruple Alliance, into which Castlereagh took England along with Austria, Prussia, and Russia to insure peace by concerted action against any warlike motion. Later the other allies even went so far as to intervene in a country's internal affairs to suppress liberalism; but little as Castlereagh liked liberalism, he felt that such intervention might in actual fact restore the warlike conditions which England so much wanted to avoid, and refused to go with the alliance that far. At the same time he kept England in the concert, although he depended on private conferences rather than on the public congresses of the allies to attain his ends.

Great Britain had also annexed a large portion of the colonial world during the conflict. Colonies had been conquered from Spain and Holland, while these nations were Napoleon's victims, to prevent their being permanently annexed by France. Now that the independence of these countries was assured, many of their former colonies were returned; but in some cases where they proved valuable, as in the case of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, which the British East India Company found very convenient for its trade, they were retained with the payment of generous compensation. Holland, for example, received £6,000,000 for the Cape and Ceylon. Perhaps more colonies would have been retained but for the fact that Castlereagh was weak

in geography. When Java, one of the larger islands of the world, came up for discussion, Castlereagh thought of it as "somewhere in the Pacific," and sanctioned its return to Holland. With the new acquisitions of Spanish, Dutch, and French colonies—Mauritius, Malta, Ascension Island, Tristan da Cunha, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Tobago—together with extensions in India and claims made on Australia just before the war with France began, the losses of the American colonies were in some wise made good, and a new colonial empire was by way of being established in these years. But of far greater importance for British history was the vigorous industrial development, which by 1815 had made Great Britain the richest and most powerful nation in the world.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XX

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

G. C. Brodrick and J. K. Fotheringham, *The Political History of England 1801-1837.*

J. A. Farrer, *The War for Monarchy, 1793-1815.*

W. L. Mathieson, *England in Transition 1789-1832.*

J. H. Rose, *Napoleon.*

William Pitt and the National Revival.

William Pitt and the Great War.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN ENGLAND.

M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism.*

P. A. Brown, *The Influence of the French Revolution in English History.*

W. T. Hall, *British Radicalism 1791-1797.*

C. H. Lockitt, *French and English Society 1763-1793.*

W. T. Laprade, *England and the French Revolution.*

MILITARY AND NAVAL OPERATIONS.

J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army,* vols. III-VIII.

A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812.*

The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution.

C. W. C. Oman, *A History of the Peninsular War.*

DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR.

A. Cunningham, *British Credit in the Last Napoleonic War.*

E. F. Hecksher, *The Continental System.*

F. E. Melvin, *Napoleon's Navigation System.*

BIOGRAPHY.

R. Coupland, *Wilberforce.*

E. H. Coleridge, *The Life of Thomas Coutts, Banker.*

J. W. Fortescue, *British Statesmen of the Great War, 1793-1814.*

J. K. Laughton, *Nelson.*

A. T. Mahan, *The Life of Nelson.*

H. Maxwell, *The Life of Wellington.*

Lord Rosebery, *William Pitt.*

Philip, Earl of Stanhope, *Life of Pitt.*

CONTEMPORARY WORKS.

The Creevy Papers, Ed., H. Maxwell.
F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor.*
The Farington Diary, Ed., James Greig.
J. Howard, *The State of the Prisons.*
William Pitt, *War Speeches,* Ed., R. Coupland.
The Windham Papers.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST STEPS IN THE ATTAINMENT OF DEMOCRACY

The governments which controlled England from 1815 to 1848 were the ministries led by

Lord Liverpool (Tory), (1812)-1827
George Canning (Tory), (April-August) 1827
Lord Goderich (Tory), 1827-1828
Duke of Wellington (Tory), 1828-1830
Lord Grey (Whig), 1830-1834
Lord Melbourne (Whig), (July-November) 1834
Sir Robert Peel (Tory), December 1834-April 1835
Lord Melbourne (Whig), 1835-1841
Sir Robert Peel (Tory), 1841-1846
Lord John Russell (Whig), 1846-(1852)

The first four of these ministries were Tory. Liverpool held office until his death in 1827; his successor, Canning, died within a few months after taking office. Lord Goderich was so worried by internal dissensions in the Tory party that he resigned without ever meeting a Parliament, and his place was taken by the Duke of Wellington. Wellington lost his majority in the House of Commons in 1830, and Lord Grey and the Whigs came into office. On Grey's retirement, his place was taken by Lord Melbourne with a Whig ministry. After a short time, however, when Melbourne suggested to King William that perhaps a change of ministry ought to be considered, William took the occasion to dismiss the Whigs and call Sir Robert Peel to head a Tory government. Until Peel could return from Rome, Wellington assumed control. Peel had only a minority following in the House of Commons and resigned after a few months, the last Prime Minister to attempt to hold office without a majority in the House of Commons. Melbourne and the Whigs returned to office until 1841, when they were replaced by a Tory government headed by Sir Robert Peel. Peel was voted out of office in 1846, and Lord John Russell and the Whigs came in.

Politically speaking, Great Britain was one of the most corrupt oligarchies in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. The form and theory of popular government had in some sense been established in Parliament. But the practice of politics gave the control of the government to a small number of important families. About seventy interrelated families dominated the whole political scene, even though many other people par-

ticipated in the state. In the House of Lords sat about four hundred hereditary peers, the descendents of Henry VIII's lawyers, Elizabeth's courtiers, royal bastards, commercial magnates, successful generals, and William Pitt's henchmen, together with thirty bishops of the Anglican church and the elective peers of Scotland and Ireland. It was the assembly of the landowning aristocracy, who were still dominant in Parliament, although the presence of Robert Walpole and the elder and younger William Pitt in the House of Commons had given to that body added prestige as the eighteenth century advanced.

The House of Commons represented the citizens of the towns and the freeholders of the country districts. Each shire was represented by two knights of the shire. In the fourteenth century all freemen who did suit at the shire court seem to have voted for the shire representatives, but in 1430 the number of voters was limited by the requirement of the freehold ownership of land which would yield a rent of forty shillings a year. This qualification still held and excluded from the franchise in the country districts all those classes which had not existed in the fifteenth century when it was imposed, such as the capitalist leasehold farmers, who farmed into the thousands of acres, as well as the copyholders who had not yet made good their free status. The agricultural laborers were, of course, beneath consideration. Although the forty shilling qualification was rather aristocratical in 1430, since that time, owing to the fall in the value of money, a considerable number of men had acquired the vote, who were in effect dependents of the landed magnates of the locality. Through such men the peers sometimes wielded great influence over the county elections of members of the House of Commons. The Marquis of Rockingham, for example, is said to have had one of the members from Yorkshire regularly elected in his dining room. On the other hand, the county elections were sometimes bitterly contested and, when critical issues were before them, the county voters could act with independence.

The term borough is the technical name for a town which had the right to send two burgesses to the House of Commons. The borough members were far more numerous than the county members, since there were in England two hundred and three boroughs returning four hundred and three members, as against forty counties or shires with eighty-two members. It was in connection with the borough representation that the greatest evils were found. New boroughs ceased to be made after 1677;

and, owing to the high value which had come to be attached to parliamentary representation in the seventeenth century, it began to be claimed that once a borough, always a borough. Because the population of England was concentrated largely in the southern and eastern parts of England when the boroughs were being created, one hundred and fifteen out of the two hundred and three English boroughs were located there, twenty-one of them in Cornwall alone. With the colonization of the North and the spread of the industrial revolution, there was no device for the periodic redistribution of representation, and the old order was no longer equitable. Lancashire had increased in population from 166,200 in 1700 to 856,000 in 1801, with no increase in her representation in the House of Commons either from the shire as a whole or from the towns. With her teeming population and enormous wealth, she had just one more member in the House of Commons than a small district in Cornwall, twenty-eight miles long and twelve miles wide centering in Liskeard, with a population of fourteen thousand two hundred odd. The inequity from the point of view of Lancashire or of any one of the other rapidly growing districts was made more glaring by the fact that, while their great cities of Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield had not a single representative, decayed boroughs, such as Old Sarum, a hill top, Gatton, an ancient wall, and Dunwich, which was gradually being swept away by the North Sea, still had each two members.

The existence of the small decayed boroughs strengthened the control of the peers and other wealthy men over the House of Commons. In some cases boroughs were owned outright by a peer, and he had the absolute right to name their members in the House. The Duke of Norfolk controlled eleven seats in the House; Sir James Lowther, nine seats—Lowther's ninepins or cat o' nine tails; Lord Darlington, seven; and three other peers, six seats each. In other cases, small numbers of electors in the boroughs with the most curious qualifications, such as liability to certain taxes, proof that the voter provided his own sustenance and was master of a fireplace at which to cook it, or the right to draw a small amount of salt water from a salt pit dry at least forty years before 1747, were open to influence or bribery. In some instances the members were chosen by the borough corporations, which had quotable prices for the seats which they controlled and, indeed, actually advertised their seats in the newspapers. In the contests to control the seats from the de-

cayed boroughs, there was an increasing expenditure. In the first period of George III's reign it cost from £2500 to £3000 to buy up a seat, either by outright purchase from the corporation or by wholesale buying up of the voters. By 1790 the price had been driven up to £4000 or £5000, and even more. When William Wilberforce contested a seat for Hull in 1780, it cost him nearly £9,000. He paid £2 for every resident vote, £4 for a "plumper" or double vote, and £10 for the expenses of the journey of any voter who happened to be living in London. Through the right of nomination, the bribery of small numbers of poor electors, and the purchase of seats outright from the corporations which held them, the nobility, East Indian nabobs come home rich from service in the British East India Company in India, and occasional reformers, such as the wealthy radical, Francis Burdett, turned the House of Commons into something less than a national representative institution.

In Scotland conditions were worse even than in England. Out of a population of two millions, there were not more than four thousand voters. Under these conditions the forty-five Scottish members of the House of Commons were chosen by a small number of landowners. These were neutral in English party questions and consistently turned over their members to the party in control of the government in return for a free hand in the Scottish patronage, that is, allotment of offices and positions in the government service.

It has been asserted: "The majority of the House of Commons was elected by less than fifteen thousand persons . . . Eighty-four men actually nominated one hundred and fifty-seven members for Parliament. In addition to these, one hundred and fifty members were returned on the recommendation of seventy patrons, and thus one hundred and fifty-four patrons actually returned three hundred and seven members," out of a total of six hundred and fifty-eight.

A certain number of the seats were controlled by the treasury in the interests of the party in power to strengthen its own majority in the Commons. The methods of doing this were various, ranging from the outright purchase of seats by the government or contributions from the treasury to candidates who needed aid in buying a seat, to the maintenance of useless vessels at ports, such as Queensborough or Harwich, to provide sinecures as masters or crew to freemen of the towns who controlled the elections. At Queensborough, in 1788, it was said the government paid in this way eighteen thousand pounds a

year for services which would normally cost six hundred pounds. It must not be imagined that private members who owned seats, or invested five, six, or nine thousand pounds in the purchase of a seat were chiefly concerned by a burning sense of public duty. Control of a seat was often a step to the peerage. Sir James Lowther advanced through successive stages of the peerage with his ninepins. More commonly, the end desired was participation in the patronage. Thus one patron with two members in his control "was at one and the same time Surveyor-General of Crown Lands, which he never surveyed; Registrar of Chancery at Barbadoes, which he never visited; and Surveyor of the Meltings and Clerk of the Irons in the Mint, where he showed himself once a week in order to eat a dinner which he ordered, but for which the nation paid." Constituents of members also had to be satisfied, and so keen for jobs in the church, the revenue service, and the executive departments were the members of the House of Commons, both for themselves and for their friends and hangers-on, that a specialized patronage secretary of the treasury was appointed. He was the government broker-general in offices, who "measured the force of threats and took the weight of influence."

In spite of all the evils in the governmental system, it was kept for a long time from becoming too impossible by the fact that in the best politicians of even this dreary time there was a fundamental regard for the welfare of the state. Talented young men were often selected by the great lords from among their own families to sit in the House, and it was thus possible for brilliant men to begin their careers early, and to serve the nation without constantly thinking about constituencies and elections. A real public spirit not only prevented self-interest from becoming altogether paramount, but even led to moves in the direction of reforming the system. Among others, the elder and younger William Pitt introduced motions for borough and parliamentary reform. Other upper class leaders attempted to popularize the idea through reform societies, such as the Society of the Friends of the People, founded by Charles Grey, the later Earl Grey, in whose ministry the first reform bill was passed, and the Revolution Society, formed originally to commemorate the Revolution of 1688, but now interested in propagating the democratic ideas which were coming out of France. Among the middle classes similar efforts were being made by the Society for Constitutional Information, which grew out of a popular movement for reform in the first decade of George

III's reign. The enfranchised classes were, however, too well satisfied with things as they were; the unenfranchised were in general too ignorant of the effects of the political corruption upon their pocketbooks and daily lives to be interested in political reform.

The changes of the industrial revolution had brought into being an extensive population entirely dependent on industry and commerce, and the concurrent changes in agriculture had cut off a large part of the remainder from the soil. Thus a considerable portion of the population of the nation was absolutely dependent upon the steady progress and increase of trade and cheap food for the maintenance of its standard of life. Both the new manufacturing working classes and the agricultural laborers were subject to every fluctuation in trade and to every rise in the cost of food. Modern trade crises with their attendant loss of profits, stoppage of work, and misery for the workers were beginning. There had been a series of these in England from 1763 on, but the period of the war with France from 1793 to 1815 saw industrial crises of a new magnitude. Between 1789 and 1815 harvests in England were generally poor with only five years of good crops, and eleven or twelve years of crop failure. Food prices rose. Wheat was at one time nearly four dollars (15 shillings) a bushel. The rise in prices was accentuated by the export of specie as subsidies to England's allies and by the issue of huge war loans, which formed the basis for currency inflation. On the other hand, the stoppage of industry in many parts of Europe because of the ravages of war and the large quantities of war supplies used by England's allies stimulated production in England and led to the enlargement of plants and the increase of workers in the most speculative way. A sudden Napoleonic peace or the closing of the new market by a Napoleonic victory threw the new factory out of work and left the workers to make shift with starvation.

In the development which followed the agricultural workers played no part. The landlords, realizing the impossibility of life on nine shillings a week when wheat was approaching four dollars a bushel, organized a form of social insurance against rebellion. They fixed a minimum income for the agricultural laborer, which varied with the price of bread and the number of his children, and provided that, if he could not earn that much himself, he was entitled to help from the public funds to make up the deficiency, so that he would have three loaves of bread weighing eight pounds eleven ounces for himself each

week, and from one to one and a half for his wife and each child. This decision, first taken by the Berkshire justices meeting in the Pelican Inn at Speenhamland in 1795 and extended to the nation, levied upon the public as a whole part of the wages which the individual employer should have paid, and gave an excessive incentive to large families on the part of the agricultural laboring population.

Among the town workers, two forms of action, political and economic, were resorted to in the face of distress. In the North the workers were conservative, "stout church and king men." Their first grievances were against farmers and dealers. "God sent meat into the world for us poor as well as rich, and not to be starved alive," said a labor pamphlet. "For why should we starve in a land where there is plenty never the more? God save the King." The northern workers' first recourse was self-help, taking the form of unions to prevent reductions of wages and to bargain collectively with their employers. In London the earliest manifestation of discontent took the form of a democratic society, the London Corresponding Society, which sought to remedy all grievances by obtaining universal suffrage and annual Parliaments. One of the leaders put the case in this way: "If once in every year, the poor man's vote were as important as his employer's, the poor could not be forgotten. . . . All ought, therefore, to be consulted where all are concerned, for not less than the whole ought to decide the fate of the whole. And if the few are to be the ultimate organ of that decision, then only the few are free, the rest are helots, bondsmen, slaves. The few are in fact the owners of the life and liberties and possessions of the many." These London radicals saw that the upper classes controlled the government and profited themselves because they controlled Parliament. They fondly believed that by voting once a year, they would be able to control Parliament in their own interests. They did not realize that Parliament was not an institution suited to the working class experience; and, above all, they failed to realize that the evils from which they were suffering were in the main not political, nor caused by laws or statutes, but economic, caused by trade fluctuations, poor harvests, and war finance. Nevertheless, they did much to popularize among the unenfranchised classes the desire for political and parliamentary reform. One of the meetings conducted by the London Corresponding Society in 1795 is said to have been attended by one hundred and fifty thousand persons. Similar societies, in correspondence with the London

society, were organized in all parts of England and spread the doctrine of political reform over the kingdom.

After the excesses of the French Revolution, and particularly after the beginning of the war with France, the upper classes in England were seized with something like a panic at the thought of any change in the British system. The British Constitution was enough for them. Their loyalty to it and to the corruption which it shielded took the form of hatred of democracy. Voluntary societies, such as the Society for the Protection of Liberty against Republicans and Levellers, rounded up those suspected of desiring parliamentary reform; and judges and juries vied with each other in their zeal for convictions and atrocious sentences. One judge charged the jury that to preach the necessity of reform at a time of excitement was seditious. "The landed interest alone had a right to be represented. As for the rabble who have nothing but personal property, what hold has the nation on them?" Lord Abercromby declared in another case, "Gentlemen, the right of universal suffrage the subjects of this country never enjoyed, and were they to enjoy it, they would not long enjoy either liberty or a free constitution." The Bishop of Rochester "did not know what the mass of the people had to do with the laws but to obey them." The government, led by the Lord Chancellor and the law officers of the crown, was not above inflaming the public with false reports, collected by its agents, of plots to overthrow the government. The right of habeas corpus was suspended, public meetings of more than fifty persons were subjected to the license of a magistrate, and a Treasonable Practices act practically made it a statutory offense even to discuss parliamentary reform. Four years later, in 1799, the London Corresponding Society, which had been forced underground by the previous measures, and all similar societies were suppressed by act of Parliament. At the same time all labor unions were made illegal under heavy penalties. The first phase of the demand for reform had come to an end.

The advent of peace in 1815 after the battle of Waterloo brought unprecedented hard times. The British industrial plant had been so improved by the more extensive use of new machinery and new processes and technique, that not only could a very much greater amount of goods be produced at full work, but larger quantities than had been produced in 1793 could be turned out with only a fraction of the number of men then required. The end of the war was followed by a decreased demand

for British goods on the part of the British and continental governments, and some of the markets gained during the war were lost again because of the poverty of the people, or because they were enabled again to produce for themselves. The volume of British production in the staple industries did not fall to the levels of the prewar period, but it did decline below the maximum of war time. This necessitated the closing of some factories and plants and the working of others part time. Less than the total labor force was needed, and unemployment was common. Wages fell, and the situation was made worse for the workers by the discharge of two hundred thousand soldiers and sailors upon the labor market before the end of 1816. Forbidden to combine into unions and deprived of the old legal protection of the Elizabethan Statute of Laborers, which had been repealed during the war, the workers' first impulse in certain districts was to destroy the machinery which was taking the bread out of their mouths.

The popular leaders recognized the futility of such action; and, imbued with the feeling for political reform, which the educational work of the London Corresponding Society had done so much to foster before its suppression, they urged political reform as the first essential. The most effective of the popular leaders was William Cobbett, an ex-Tory journalist. In the autumn of 1816 he reduced the price of his paper, the *Weekly Political Register*, to two pence and began a most effective campaign for parliamentary reform. In the *Weekly Political Register*, which was read aloud in the alehouses all over the north of England by the one worker who could read to the assembled workers of the town, and in other similar cheap radical papers, such as the *Black Dwarf*, the *Gorgon*, and the *Republican*, the workers were urged to see that not machinery, but oligarchic rule was at the bottom of the misery of the working classes. Force was given to such arguments by the sinecures held by the upper classes, the extravagance of the government, and the personal wastefulness of the Regent, who spent twice the eight hundred thousand pounds a year allotted to him in the Civil List, in the face of a public debt of £840,000,000, bearing £32,000,000 a year interest. Moreover, the Combination acts, forbidding trade unions, were of parliamentary origin, and only in 1815 the landowning classes in control of Parliament had committed the great infamy of a new Corn Law in their own interests. The Corn Law of 1815 was intended to protect the farmer and the landowner, who had based their leases and stand-

ards of living upon the high prices of grain of the war period, from the cheap wheat of the Baltic and Pennsylvania, by shutting out foreign wheat as long as the price was under eighty shillings per quarter, that is, about two dollars and fifty cents a bushel. While this and other Corn Laws had little effect upon the price of food in normal years, in times of scarcity, such as the year 1816, they raised prices considerably. They were bitterly denounced and hated by the working classes.

The existence of the Corn Laws interested the manufacturing classes in the matter of parliamentary reform. They desired to cut their production costs to the utmost limit, in order to be able to overcome the competition of the European manufacturer, who, as they believed, enjoyed cheaper labor than they did. One of the most important elements in the cost of labor, it was assumed, was the cost of food, and artificial increases in the cost of food through Corn Laws played directly into the hands of their European rivals. They, therefore, began to coöperate with the working classes to secure parliamentary reform.

In the winter of 1816-1817, following the crop failure of 1816, discontent and agitation caused disorder. A meeting advertised at Spa Fields, London, in December, became a riot, in which property was destroyed and blood shed. In the following February the Regent was attacked in his carriage as he was returning from the opening of Parliament. The government became panic stricken, suspended the Habeas Corpus act, passed a new Seditious Meetings bill, employed a notorious liar named Oliver as an *agent provocateur* to get evidence of treason against the radical agitators, and urged magistrates to apprehend persons guilty of publishing blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and writings.

Government repression and a picking-up of business in 1818 quieted agitation in that year. In 1819 business fell off again, every market was glutted, emigrants turned to the United States, and strikes were common. "If trade does not increase," wrote Sydney Smith, "there will be a war of the rich against the poor." Taking advantage of the unrest of the working classes, the reformers held huge meetings in the provincial towns. At Birmingham the assembled crowd elected a mock member of Parliament. When the Manchester radicals were warned that they would not be permitted to follow suit, they organized a demonstration in St. Peter's Fields for August 16, 1819, to demand universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, and the repeal of the Corn Laws. The magistrates of Man-

chester disliked the meeting, but decided a few hours before it began that it was not illegal. Fully eighty thousand people assembled, coming in from all the surrounding towns, the men in their Sunday clothes with their women and children with them. The magistrates supported by the local yeomanry cavalry were at the side of the square. The orator of the day, Henry Hunt, famous on such occasions, had hardly begun to speak before the cavalry advanced to arrest him. Hunt called for a cheer from the crowd for the yeomanry, which was given. After Hunt had been arrested, one of the yeomanry spied what he thought was a bloody dagger painted red on one of the banners which the reformers carried. It was really the flag of the town of Bury, a Fleur de Lys, which the local painter had done in red, since he had no yellow paint. Thinking it a symbol of revolt, the yeomanry called "Have at their flags," and the magistrates, losing their heads, gave the signal to charge. When the field had been cleared, it was found that eleven people had been killed, and over four hundred wounded, one hundred and thirteen women among them. The government actually thanked the magistrates and the yeomanry for the magnificent performance of their duty. A reporter of the London *Times* was present, however, and told the true story of the meeting in a way which made many adherents for the cause of parliamentary reform among the middle classes.

The immediate result of the Peterloo Massacre was the end of political agitation for some years. The government forced through Parliament a series of laws known as the Six acts, or the Gag acts, which not only prevented any kind of public meeting or demonstration, but sought to put an end to the cheap radical newspapers and pamphlets by imposing a stamp duty of four pence on those sold at less than six pence a copy.

Apart from still wider advertisement than in the period 1792-1799, the movement for parliamentary reform made two important gains in this second period from 1815 to 1819. In the first place, it gained an elaborate theoretical justification in Jeremy Bentham's *Cathechism of Parliamentary Reform*, which he published in 1817, although written years before. In it he applied the test of utility, the greatest good to the greatest number, to the existing system and found it wanting, since it was a class institution in the interests of the aristocratic minority. In the second place, reform was adopted by a political party and made part of its program. In 1819, Lord John Russell, one of the leaders of the remnants of the Whig Party, in-

troduced a bill for parliamentary reform into the House of Commons.

Except for a few months at two different periods, the Whig party had been out of office since 1766. Its leader, Earl Grey, had broken up the old Whig party, when, as a young man, he had founded the Society of Friends of the People to secure parliamentary reform and caused the Portland Whigs to leave the party. But Charles James Fox gave his approval, "and where Fox was, was the Whig party." After Fox's death, Grey became leader of what was left of the party. In the years since 1792 he had become lukewarm in the cause of reform and in 1817 actually refused to introduce a reform bill into the House of Commons, because it would split the party. There does not seem to have been any deep interest among the Whigs in genuine reform or in widespread extension of the franchise at this time or later. But in the combined labor and middle class agitation the Whigs saw their opportunity. They did not believe in democracy and had no intention of giving any share in the government to the working class. As is well stated in Macaulay's speeches, they recognized that England was faced by a revolution of all the disenfranchised classes and by the rule of the radicals who would destroy property and civilization. They determined to detach from the discontented elements the new propertied industrial and commercial classes which were in revolt and join them to the Whig Party. In this way, in the first place, property might present an unbroken front to the working classes and the poor; and, in the second place, through a change in the franchise and parliamentary representation the Whigs would have a superiority over the Tories among the enfranchised classes and would be able to control the government. The bill of 1819, of course, failed to become law. The Tories were firmly entrenched, and there seemed no way of breaking their control.

With the passage of the Six acts or Gag acts, Great Britain entered upon a period of reaction almost as intense as anything that was known on the continent. The Tory ministry, which had governed England under the premiership of Lord Liverpool since 1812, was one of the finest aggregations of indifference to public opinion and regard for the interests of its own class to be found in Europe. The real driving forces of the ministry were the arch-reactionaries, Lord Chancellor Eldon, who led the House of Lords, and Lord Castlereagh, leader of the House of Commons and foreign secretary. The first sign of weakness

was discernible when, in response to a terrific popular emotional outburst in favor of Caroline, indiscreet Queen of George IV, the ministry withdrew a bill divorcing her, in face of a majority of only nine on the third reading.

Behind the emotional enthusiasm for Queen Caroline are to be discerned certain grievances of the country gentlemen. Owing to excellent harvests, grain prices fell sharply from 63s. 2d. a quarter in January, 1820, to 42s. 6d. in January, 1822. Protection for the landed interest, involving some measure of partial bankruptcy, the repeal of taxes which affected agriculture, and parliamentary reform, was the tenor of resolutions passed at county meetings early in 1822. The country gentlemen were actually in arms against the old parliamentary system, not because they wished to extend the franchise to the towns, but because the gross corruption in connection with the borough electorate made the borough members the tools of the ministers, so that it was unnecessary for them to attend to the gentry's cry for farm relief. The disaffection of the country gentlemen with the ministry was alarming and made it necessary for Liverpool to strengthen the government by admitting to the cabinet certain liberal Tories who had shown great strength during the crisis of the divorce bill. The new ministers differed from the Tory old guard in having connections with the new world of commerce and industry and in carrying a rather heavy intellectual ballast. They were not reformers in the sense that they even thought of parliamentary reform as in any way desirable, but they had become convinced on intellectual grounds that much was wrong with the state.

William Huskisson, who became president of the Board of Trade, proceeded to effect considerable changes in the high protective tariff system which the Whigs had built up in the course of the eighteenth century, and he made the first general changes in the Navigation acts. He saw that the countries of Europe were adopting the same economic policy of protection which seemed to have given England her present greatness and that the closing of European markets to English goods and ports to English ships would be disastrous to English industry. In some cases Huskisson gave reciprocal concessions to all countries which would make reductions; in others he gave a good example to Europe and the United States by outright reductions. The old tariff ranged from eighteen to forty per cent and was contained in eleven hundred statutes; the new tariff ranged from ten to thirty per cent and was to be found in eleven statutes, a

matter of considerable administrative convenience. Huskisson was aided in the work of tariff revision by a considerable revival of trade and consequent increases in the revenues, which made experiments with lower duties possible.

Another achievement of the year 1824 and 1825 in which the lower tariffs were adopted was the repeal of the Combination acts against trade unions. The leading part in this was taken by Francis Place, a wealthy tailor, who had been a poor journeyman breeches-maker and never forgot his early struggles. In 1810, hearing of a savage penalty inflicted on compositors of the *Times* under the Combination acts, he resolved to destroy those acts. The library in the rear of his shop in Charing Cross Road became a gathering place for radicals, and Place showed himself a consummate political organizer. His allies in the House of Commons were the radical members, Francis Burdett and Joseph Hume. At an auspicious moment in 1824, Hume introduced a motion asking for a committee to consider the repeal of laws relating to the emigration of artisans, the export of machinery, and combinations among workmen. Place managed to have just the proper evidence presented before the committee, and as a result Parliament passed a measure permitting trade unions in the most absolute way, without knowing what it was doing. In the next year Huskisson was induced by the business interests to restrict the rights given in the previous year, but Hume and Place still managed to save for the unions the bare right to exist. Collective bargaining was made lawful, but all measures necessary to make it effective were forbidden. Something was gained.

While Huskisson was in the Board of Trade, the Home Office was cared for by Robert Peel, the son of one of the greatest cotton manufacturers in the land. He had been aroused by the revelations of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline regarding the state of English prisons, and one of his first efforts was to improve the state of the jails. In the Gaol act of 1823-1824 greater sanitation and cleanliness were provided for, including individual cots for prisoners; and regular labor, chaplains, matrons, and prison schoolmasters were recommended. He was also interested, through the work of the English lawyer, Romilly, and the Scotsman, Macintosh, in the atrocious criminal code. He saw the enormity of having over two hundred offenses which were punishable by death, and in a few years he succeeded in repealing the death penalty for a hundred of them. He stopped the prosecutions of the press and

agitators, he ended the system of maintaining government spies and *agents provocateurs* among workingmen, and in every way broke off the connection of Tory rule with coercion. In 1829 he established the metropolitan police in the London district to take the place of the fumbling old watchmen of the Middle Ages as a better method of preventing crime than through the multiplication of death penalties.

George Canning, the third of the new group, became leader in the House of Commons and foreign secretary. In his foreign policy Canning followed the same ends sought by his predecessor, Castlereagh, although he used different methods. He had the same interest in maintaining peace, the same determination that Great Britain must take the lead in European affairs, and the same regard for the maintenance of treaty obligations. But whereas Castlereagh had relied upon conferences of small groups of diplomats, Canning distrusted private conversations and relied upon the power of public opinion created by popular appeals. He realized that as long as Europe had any solidarity, England could not count. He was, therefore, anxious to split the Holy Alliance, which was a kind of agency for securing European coöperation. He recognized the success of nationalism against Napoleon; and, feeling that it would be equally successful against the new continental system of the Holy Alliance, he favored national movements wherever possible.

One of his most dramatic gestures, which illustrates all the various elements of his policy and method, was made shortly after his entry into the Foreign Office. In 1822 the Congress of Verona sanctioned the conquest of Spanish constitutionalism by the armies of France. Having restored the absolute monarch, and thus practically secured control of Spain, the French seemed to show themselves desirous of reconquering the Spanish colonies, which had declared their independence of Spain during the Napoleonic wars. The trade of these colonies had been the object of desire on the part of British merchants ever since the days of Elizabeth and, since the declaration of independence by the Spanish American states, British merchants and financiers had obtained a firm foothold in them. The French had likewise been interested in Spanish America and its trade, and since the days of Louis XIV it had been part of French policy to secure that trade by annexing Spain. The reconquest of the Spanish colonies by France would have meant the ruin of British interests in Spanish America. Canning accordingly refused to sanction any interference; and, by an exposition of the situation

in Parliament, he so thoroughly secured the support of British public opinion that the French government could not move without the risk of a war with England. Incidentally, though the American government declined joint action with the British, President Monroe took the same stand independently in the Monroe Doctrine in December, 1823. Canning summed up his position in his declaration in Parliament: "Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

Through his rather spectacular relations with the European concert, Canning won much more of a reputation for new departures in foreign affairs than was actually warranted, but in his internal policy innovations of a more genuine sort were envisaged, although little could be done to give effect to them. Canning stood for the redemption of a pledge which had been given by his old master, William Pitt, to the Irish at the time they had voted to dissolve their independent Parliament; namely, the abrogation of all Catholic disabilities. Pitt had been unable to fulfill that pledge, because George III declared that it would be a violation of his coronation oath to permit the passage of such a measure. Without the sovereign's permission no legislation could be introduced, and it was necessary to wait until after George III's death before anything could be done. George IV could not by any possible stretch of the imagination be suspected of having a conscience, so that the old obstacle no longer existed. But up and down the length of England, in country rectories and manor houses where the parson and the squire had learned nothing since the seventeenth century, the very thought of repealing Catholic disabilities was the end of liberty and the empire and all things; and Canning actually pledged himself to the cabinet to introduce no legislation on this matter.

Canning also stood for a lowering of the Corn Laws, so that foreign grain might come in when the price stood at sixty shillings a quarter instead of eighty. When Lord Liverpool died in 1827, Canning succeeded him as Prime Minister. His only measure of importance before his own death a few months later was a new Corn Law embodying this idea which he shared with Huskisson. The bill passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out in the House of Lords.

By reason of the liberal measures and policies of Peel, Huskisson, and Canning, the Tory party was in process of splitting

up. The one point on which all Tories agreed was opposition to any democratic reform in Parliament. On Canning's death, and after Goderich's brief ministry, the landed interests and the rigid Protestants rallied themselves to force the party to accept the Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister, on the understanding that Catholic relief was not to be granted. But Canning had so inspirited and encouraged the Irish in their hopes that Wellington found himself face to face with an Irish revolution before he had been in office for a year. Soldier that he was, he realized that it would be better to yield than to fight. Within a few months of accepting office, he had consented to a measure giving Protestant dissenters relief from the provisions of the Test and Corporation acts; and heartened by this concession, Daniel O'Connell, leader of the Irish popular movement and a Catholic, presented himself as a candidate for election in county Clare. He was returned and presented himself for his seat with the threat of revolution if he was refused. Wellington decided to secure the repeal of the acts forbidding Catholic membership in Parliament and those compelling the taking of certain oaths which Catholics could not take. Lord Chancellor Eldon predicted the end of the empire; the King attempted to stop the measure by refusing to accept any alterations in the oath of supremacy. By forcing the Catholic Emancipation act through Parliament in 1829, Wellington prevented civil war, but he wrecked the Tory party. Lord Chancellor Eldon, the Oxford dons, the country parsons, the most reactionary squires were furious. They were not to be avenged until, uniting with the Whigs, they had ruined the Iron Duke.

Meantime, Wellington had also alienated the Canningites in the party by the acceptance of Huskisson's resignation, which had been made inevitable by sharp differences on several matters of policy between Wellington and Huskisson. While the Canningites were in favor of Catholic emancipation, they too were ready to destroy the Prime Minister.

A new Parliament was elected in 1830, on the occasion of the accession of William IV. The Tories carried a majority of seats in the House, but the first measure, carried through by the Eldonite Protestant and High Church party, the Canningites, and the Whigs, was to vote Wellington out of office. Lord Grey, as leader of the opposition, was called upon to form a ministry. The Whig chance had come.

Lord Grey's first important bill was a reform measure presented to the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. To

secure William's assent, Grey represented the bill to the King as an aristocratical measure, designed to save the country from more revolutionary changes. The weakness of the Whig party was shown when the first bill failed in committee stage on the question of reducing the number of members of the House from 658 to 596. The constitutional thing for Grey to do was to resign and hand the government back to the Tories, unless the King dissolved Parliament and ordered a new election. Grey went to the King and, after considerable hesitation, the King dissolved on the ground that the Commons had accepted the second reading of the bill by one vote. In this way the question of the reform of Parliament was carried directly before the country in a general election. In the case of the controlled seats in the hands of the Tory magnates, the election made no difference. But a large number of the free seats, especially in the counties, went Whig; and these, together with the seats controlled by the Whigs and those controlled by the treasury, which were now given to the Whig party, gave to the Whigs a majority in the House of Commons. A second bill was at once passed by the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. A third measure was immediately substituted and passed through the House of Lords by the threat of the creation by the King in case of necessity of a sufficient number of new peers to swamp the upper House.

The year 1830 was the psychological moment for the introduction of a reform measure. There had been five years of business depression following the prosperous year 1824-1825, during which a most active campaign for reform had been carried on among the middle and working classes by the radicals and the Whigs. So keen for some measure were these classes by the time the third bill had been presented that they had organized in "Political Unions," prepared in most towns of England to use force if necessary to bring the peers to terms. Indeed on occasion the masses got out of control of their leaders, as in Bristol, where the visit of one of the most hated antireformers on official business caused three days of rioting, during which a large part of the city was burned. In the final crisis of May, 1832, Grey offered his resignation because the King refused to appoint the necessary peers. Wellington consented to assume office to pass the bill as a Tory measure and so save the face of the House of Lords. His purpose was not understood in the country, and the Political Unions made it so clear that they would resort to arms against a Wellington government, that the Tory leaders, fearing worse than another Bristol, induced

his withdrawal. Wellington advised the King to ask Grey to resume office with a promise of the new peers, if they were necessary. The threat was enough; the Lords accepted the bill, and the First Reform act was on the statute books.

The act disenfranchised fifty-six boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants and took one member from thirty others with less than four thousand inhabitants, and one double borough lost two of its four members. There were one hundred and forty-three seats available for redistribution. Forty-three large towns received one or two members each, and the larger counties were given additional representation; Scotland received eight additional members; and Ireland, five. No attempt was made to create equal electoral districts. The franchise was extended in the boroughs to include all occupiers paying £10 a year in rent, and nearly all the old qualifications for the borough franchise were abolished. In the counties the forty shilling freeholder retained his vote, but shared the franchise with the leaseholder for sixty years and the copyholder, paying £10 rent, as well as the short term leaseholder and tenant-at-will, paying £50 rent.

As Earl Grey explained to the King, this was really an aristocratical measure. Most of the working classes were actually disenfranchised, since very few of them paid enough rent to qualify for the vote, while the grant of the franchise to the short term leaseholder and to the tenant-at-will strengthened the hold of the country gentleman, because tenants-at-will were tenants at the landlord's will. The middle classes profited more, since all the propertied classes now had the franchise.

The Reform bill of 1832 was a grave disappointment to both the manufacturing classes and the working classes through whose efforts it had been carried through. The working classes had realized that they were not to receive the vote; but still they expected favorable legislation from the reformed Parliament. Nor was their hope altogether deceived, for the two or three years following the passage of the bill were full of remedial legislation, much of it of great value to the working classes. Negro slavery was abolished throughout the British empire; the first effective factory act was passed, forbidding the employment in factories of children under nine, limiting the hours of other children and young persons, and establishing the first factory inspectors to see that the act was enforced; the government of the municipalities was taken out of the hands of the local oligarchies, which were often as corrupt as that which had

been in control of the central government, and placed in the hands of the ratepayers with provisions for honest and efficient administration. Of all these things the working class approved, but they were aroused by the new Poor Law of 1834. This law rejected the old Tudor ideal of the well-ordered state; it renounced the assumption that society was responsible for the individual and ended the system of outdoor relief to workers whose wages were below certain standards. While the new Poor Law was the only means of restoring any dignity and self-respect to many English laborers, it must be realized that they had come to depend on doles, and the transition to living on their own earnings was hard. Such relief as was to be given in the future was to be by way of charity, and not of right, and was to have attached to it the stigma of the workhouse. As if this were not deterrent enough, it was further provided that conditions in the workhouses were never to be better than the worst conditions of the meanest laborer who was earning his own living.

Many working men lost interest for a time in political action as a means of securing their ends, and became interested in the ideas of Robert Owen, a factory owner and idealist, who was preaching the doctrine of coöperative production and communal life, which soon came to be known as "socialism." Others turned to the idea of salvation through the union of all trade unions into nation wide organizations, the trades unions. These cut themselves off from parliamentary politics and even became definitely hostile to Parliament. They intended to substitute a House of Trades for Parliament in economic affairs. The unions should be the boroughs from which representatives were elected to the new economic legislature, and every trade should have a council of representatives to conduct its own affairs. In this idea of organizing society on the basis of trades, the movement was syndicalist. It reached the point in February, 1834, of forming the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union of Great Britain and Ireland, but in the face of attacks from the press, the employers, and the state, lockouts, demands for inquiry, and the deportation of six Dorchester laborers for administering an oath, the movement collapsed in the summer of 1834. After two years many workingmen renewed their interest in the betterment of their conditions through parliamentary action. But they were bitter and undeceived of any hopes of any action by Parliament in their interests, unless they actually secured the vote and the right to sit in the House of Commons as members. In 1836 such workingmen organized the

"London Workingmen's Association," "to seek by every legal means to place all classes of society in possession of equal political and social rights." In 1837 one of the leaders, William Lovett, drew up a petition, asking the House of Commons to pass a bill embodying six points; equal representation by equal electoral districts in the House of Commons in place of the existing boroughs and counties in which there was still no real relation between the number of representatives and the number of people in the constituency, universal suffrage with women included, annual Parliaments, the abolition of property qualifications for membership in the House of Commons, the vote by secret ballot instead of by word of mouth, and the payment of members of the House of Commons, so that workingmen could afford to leave their jobs and sit in the House if elected. The points of this petition with the omission of woman suffrage were drafted as a bill for parliamentary action; this draft bill became known as the "People's Charter"; and the movement, as the Chartist movement.

The five or six years following the reform of Parliament had been years of lessening trade depression and even of prosperity; but with 1838 there was a return of hard times, and it was easy to stir the working classes of England to enthusiasm for the Charter, through which they could gain control of Parliament. Chartist missionaries toured the country; monster meetings were held, one of 300,000 at Manchester, where flags and banners carried pictures of Peterloo and mottoes, such as "Murder demands justice"; torchlight processions were organized; and petitions were signed. While it was easy to stir up the populace, there was never the slightest chance of influencing the House of Commons. Two efforts were made to this end in 1839 and 1842. In 1839 delegates met in London in a National Convention, to present a National Petition to Parliament. When the futility of such proceedings was recognized, some of the hotter leaders proclaimed themselves as Physical Force Chartists, willing to take "ulterior measures." They urged their followers to withdraw savings from banks, convert paper money into gold, abstain from drink (to cut down the government's revenues from the excise on liquor), refrain from working during the Sacred Month (make use of the general strike), and "defend liberty by arms." The convention of 1839 was followed by a week of rioting in Birmingham, and by the end of the year most of the Chartist leaders were in jail. In 1842 the convention was followed by the "Great Turnout," a kind of general

strike in the northern textile towns, against attempts to reduce wages and against the poor law "bastilles" or workhouses. Again the government arrested the leaders wholesale; but, although they were charged with attempting "by large assemblies of persons accompanied by force, violence, menace, and intimidation to produce such a degree of alarm and terror throughout the country as to produce a change in some of the fundamental points of the constitution of the country," they were given lenient sentences. Many of them emerged with a more modest program. While still true to the Charter, they talked more about education and temperance than about politics, and with the improvement in economic conditions after 1843 the working classes became interested in Friendly Societies and Trade Unions. "Many a meeting opened with a declaration in favor of the Charter and ended with a resolution to found a coöperative society."

There was just enough life left in the movement to flicker up again as a reaction to the revolutionary movements in France and other countries in 1848. Feargus O'Connor, one of the Physical Force Chartists of earlier years, re-formed the National Charter Association, to hold a National Convention to present a National Petition. The petition got more than two million signatures, a larger constituency than that which elected the House of Commons. The government was alarmed as is apparently the way of governments; the Duke of Wellington swore in 70,000 special constables, the procession of 20,000 bearing the petition was stopped at Kennington Common (outside London), and the document itself, weighing 584 pounds, was carried in three cabs to the House of Commons, where it was rejected. In the face of good employment and better conditions, the working classes settled down to get their advances by less spectacular "nibbling tactics," until real gains were actually made, culminating in 1867 with the extension of the franchise to most of the industrial workers.

Although the manufacturing classes secured the franchise in 1832, and representatives in the House of Commons were given to the industrial towns and cities, it was soon discovered by the newly enfranchised groups that the old political classes had no intention of sharing the control of the state or the direction of its policy with them. The manufacturing classes, it will be recalled, had taken part in the agitation for the reform of Parliament because of their opposition to the Corn Laws. The Whig politicians were interested in the land only slightly less

than the Tories were. Their attitude toward the Corn Laws is well illustrated by a letter of Earl Grey, the Whig leader, to his son in 1828, in which he said that free trade in corn would injure the country and "at once ruin him and me," and ten years later, in 1838, Lord Melbourne, the successor to Grey, declared, "To leave the agricultural interests without protection, I declare before God that I think it the wildest and maddest scheme that has ever entered into the imagination of mankind to conceive." In the face of the bipartisan Whig and Tory determination to uphold the duties on wheat, the "free traders" elected by Manchester to Parliament in 1832 could do nothing. The five or six years of prosperity which followed the Reform bill lessened interest in the Corn Laws, but the return of hard times in 1838 led to a new campaign to secure their repeal. This movement, however, is part of the larger question of the abandonment of mercantilism and will be described in that connection.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XXI

General Works on the Nineteenth Century.

J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain.*

F. Warre Cornish, *A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century.*

G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century.*

E. Halévy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century.*

A. Hassall, *Modern England (1832-1909).*

H. R. Hodge, *Economic Conditions 1815-1914.*

L. Knowles, *The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century.*

F. S. Marvin, *The Century of Hope.*
Recent Developments in European Thought.
Science and Civilization.

H. Maxwell, *A Century of Empire.*

G. Nicholls and T. Mackay, *A History of the English Poor Law.*

W. Page, *Commerce and Industry, Statistics and Parliamentary Debates 1815-1914.*

G. H. Perris, *The Industrial History of Modern England.*

J. F. Rees, *A Short Fiscal and Financial History of Great Britain.*

W. Smart, *Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century.*

G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century.*

A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of Foreign Policy.*

E. Welbourne, *Social and Industrial History of England.*

Narrative and Political History.

G. C. Brodrick and J. K. Fotheringham, *The Political History of England 1801-1837.*

J. A. R. Marriott, *England since Waterloo.*

G. O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine.*
G. Slater, *The Making of Modern England.*
S. Walpole, *The History of England from 1815* (to 1856).

Social and Economic Conditions.

A. W. Acworth, *Financial Reconstruction in England 1815-1822.*
J. Ashton, *The Dawn of the Nineteenth Century in England.*
R. M. Garnier, *Annals of the British Peasantry.*
History of the English Landed Gentry.
P. Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England.*
J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Town Labourer, The Skilled Labourer, The Agricultural Labourer, 1760-1832.*

Political Theory.

W. L. Davidson, *Political Thought in England from Bentham to J. S. Mill.*

Reform Movements and Measures.

C. A. Alington, *Twenty Years.*
J. R. M. Butler, *The Passing of the Great Reform Bill.*
M. Hovell, *The Chartist Movement.*
E. and A. Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons.*
C. Seymour, *Electoral Reform in England and Wales.*
G. S. Veitch, *The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform.*
B. Ward, *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation, 1803-1829.*

Biography.

G. M. Atkinson, *Life of Bentham.*
J. F. Bagot, *George Canning and His Friends.*
G. K. Chesterton, *Life of William Cobbett.*
G. H. D. Cole, *Life of William Cobbett.*
Robert Owen.
R. Dunlop, *Daniel O'Connell.*
A. Hassall, *Castlereagh.*
J. A. R. Marriott, *Canning.*
L. Melville, *The Life and Letters of Cobbett.*
S. Reid, *Lord John Russell.*
H. W. V. Temperley, *Life of Canning.*
The Foreign Policy of George Canning (1822-27).
G. M. Trevelyan, *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill.*
G. Wallas, *The Life of Francis Place.*
S. Walpole, *The Life of Lord John Russell.*
C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-1822.*

Contemporary Works.

W. Cobbett, *Rural Rides.*
C. G. Greville, *Journal of the Reigns of George IV and William IV.*

CHAPTER XXII

THE ABANDONMENT OF MERCANTILISM, 1820-1860

Mercantilism was preëminently the trade policy of the London commercial interests together with their industrial allies, the older type of domestic manufacturers of the eighteenth century, who sought monopolies of markets and raw materials at home and in the colonies. The industrialists of the period of the industrial revolution had little or no interest in mercantilism since they bought their raw materials, such as cotton, everywhere, drawing by far the larger part of their supply from sources outside the British empire. They were consequently indifferent to regulations designed to monopolize British raw materials in their interests. With the growth of competition between manufacturers at home and with the high quality of British products, British industrialists no longer feared the competition of foreign dealers in their home or colonial markets and had no interest in tariff schedules and Navigation acts, designed to give them protection from outside industry and monopolies of colonial markets. At the same time, they were so confident of their abilities to make good materials cheap that they believed that they could undersell foreign producers in their own home markets, if only tariffs against them were relaxed. To secure such relaxation on the part of foreign nations, they were willing to give up the whole system of mercantilism in favor of free trade. They held such views almost from the beginning of the industrial revolution, and at an early date literary form was given to their ideas by economic writers, such as Dean Tucker and, above all, Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*. Through their organization, the Chamber of Manufacturers, the manufacturers succeeded in making a beginning of a free trade policy in the Eden treaty of 1786, and unquestionably they would have made further gains but for the beginning of the French Revolution and outbreak of the war with France in 1793. Not only did the war stop the progress of free trade, but the agricultural situation arising out of the war resulted in

the adoption of a new mercantilist measure, the Corn Law of 1815, in the interests of the landed classes.

Almost immediately after the end of the war in 1815, the manufacturing classes returned to the question of free trade. Although they also opposed other parts of the mercantilist system, especially the import duties on raw materials, such as timber and wool, and the Navigation acts, their particular object of attack was the Corn Laws. They believed that they were compelled to close down their factories after the peace, because they could not sell on the continent of Europe in competition with the lower production costs of the continental manufacturers with their pauper labor. It was thought that wages, under the operation of the iron law of wages, could be neither more nor less than the amount necessary to maintain the laborer and his family; that labor costs, in other words, were based directly upon the cost of food. This was being held at high levels in England by the Corn Laws; and only through a repeal of the Corn Laws could the English manufacturer reduce his production costs and compete with Europeans in their own markets. More than this, it was urged that unless English markets were opened to American and European grain, so that Europeans and Americans could sell their grain to England, they could not buy English goods and would develop their own manufactures under the protection of tariffs of their own. Point was given to this argument in the period especially after 1820 by the enactment of new or higher protective tariffs in the United States, Russia, in various states of Germany, and in France, which English business men felt were aimed especially at themselves. Thus the British minister at Washington wrote in 1824 in regard to the new American tariff of that year, "Had no restrictions on the importation of foreign grain existed in Europe generally, and especially in Great Britain, I have little doubt that the tariff would never have passed through either House of Congress, since the great agricultural states, and Pennsylvania especially, the main mover of the question, would have been indifferent, if not opposed to its enactment." British industry was so highly developed that in England it needed no protection at all; but if it was to capture continental and American markets, the Europeans and Americans must be permitted to sell their wheat to England. Once they had a free market for their wheat, they would not be interested in fostering their own industry by high protective tariffs. Various states, moreover, were enacting new Navigation acts in imitation of the British

statutes, and the British manufacurers felt that it would be just as well to give a good example to foreign nations by altering the British system outright, or to secure the removal of such laws by way of reciprocal treaty arrangements.

In 1821 the first step in the abrogation of the system was taken when the duties on timber were lowered; and in the next year, when Huskisson became president of the Board of Trade, he endeavored to satisfy the industrial interests more completely. With the assistance of Frederick Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he removed all prohibitory duties and generally lowered duties on raw materials to 10 per cent and on manufactured goods to 30 per cent. Furthermore, he altered the Navigation acts so as to permit the British colonies to trade directly with the United States, Europe, and foreign colonies, and to allow colonial produce to be brought to England in foreign ships, provided it was for reëxport. Since the English mercantilist system was being copied so largely by other peoples, it was hoped that these reductions would set a good example, lead to imitation generally, and remove the danger of high protective tariffs against English goods all over the world. With only moderate duties against him the English manufacturer could compete in any market. The duties on corn, however, the citadel of protection, in which the English manufacturers were chiefly interested, were not lowered; and in 1828, since the law of 1815 was not keeping up the price of grain to the desired figure, Parliament passed a new law, more moderate than that of 1815, and therefore, it was hoped, more effective. The policy of giving a good example did not prove very satisfactory to the manufacturers, however, simply because it did not work, as was shown by the new American tariff of 1828; and they were more than ever desirous to secure the repeal of the Corn Laws. In this way alone could cheaper food be secured for English workers, and Europe and America would be kept from going into manufacturing, since they would have markets for their grain in Britain and could buy British goods in exchange.

The demand for repeal of the Corn Laws was put forward during the agitation for the Reform bill of 1832, but the five or six years of prosperity which followed that measure lessened the interest in the question. Some of the radical politicians kept the subject to the fore in letters to the newspapers and got so far as to organize an Anti-Corn Law Association in London in 1836. There was, however, only knowledge, and no passion, in their propaganda; and they accomplished little. The return

of hard times in 1838 led to new interest, culminating in the organization of an Anti-Corn Law Association in Manchester and of similar associations in other places, and their union into the Anti-Corn Law League in 1839.

In connection with the League, Richard Cobden and John Bright began their whirlwind campaign to destroy the foul, monstrous evil of the tax on bread. These two men were Manchester manufacturers of middle class origin, who were deeply concerned by the loss of European markets because of the exclusion of corn from England. Cobden soon showed himself one of the most powerful parliamentary speakers of all time. He departed from the conventional eloquence which was the style in the House of Commons, where he soon took his place as representative from Manchester; and his reasoned arguments, backed up with statistics, delivered in direct conversational style, were unanswerable. Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, once had a long speech prepared in reply to one of Cobden's, but as Cobden went on, he threw his notes aside and said to one of his lieutenants: "You answer him. I cannot." Bright had a passionate fervor and enthusiastic sincerity which swept immense crowds and made him one of England's most famous orators.

Behind the two men was a remarkable organization, supported by contributions of the manufacturers, which conducted the campaign of education in the country and in Parliament in season and out. The Anti-Corn Law League had extensive funds at their disposal, nearly £90,000 by 1844. They employed 800 organizers, speakers, and others; they printed and distributed nine million tracts which explained the economics of the Corn Laws in the simplest and clearest language; and they held nightly meetings in dozens of towns and cities to bring home to the farmer, the factory worker, and agricultural laborer the meaning of the duty on grain in terms of £. s. d. Many farmers and practically the whole of the agricultural laborers were early convinced. The industrial workers at first stood aloof for fear that cheap food meant lower wages, and wages were in all conscience low enough already. Eventually the factory workers were won over and formed the battalions up and down the country which Cobden was prepared to use to force a reluctant House of Commons and a more reluctant House of Lords to pass the measure through fear. But while public opinion was stirred to its depths by the Anti-Corn Law League, it was not easily possible to make the question a political issue and to

induce either the Whig or the Tory party to sponsor a bill in Parliament to repeal the Corn Laws.

In 1841, however, the revenue requirements of the government forced a reconsideration of the duties on corn as they had been fixed in 1828. The budget of the year 1841, like those of some years preceding, showed a deficit of nearly £2,000,000 with almost no yield at all from the corn tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to substitute a fixed duty in place of the sliding scale of 1828; and at once the landlords in Parliament took alarm, even though the proposal of the government merely involved a change in the method, and none in the principle, of the protection of wheat. The government was at once defeated in the House of Commons, ostensibly on another issue; but, in the general election of 1841 which followed, the Tories claimed that the whole question of protection was at stake and carried the country with that cry. Robert Peel headed a Tory majority in the House of Commons as Prime Minister with a mandate to keep the Corn Laws and to continue the protection on grain at the old levels by means of the sliding scale.

The government's financial situation, however, made a revision of the revenues essential. Peel adopted bold measures. Just as Huskisson's lower duties in 1824 and 1825 had brought in larger revenues, so Peel proposed still lower duties in the general tariff to secure new increases. The tariff schedules in the budget of 1842 ranged from five to twenty per cent and, for fear that readjustments would not be made immediately in business to produce greater revenues, an income tax of seven pence in the pound above £150 was laid as a temporary measure (never to be repealed). So successful in increasing revenues through stimulating greater imports were the reductions that in 1843, 1845, and 1846 further changes were made, so that schedules ranged from nothing on raw materials to ten per cent on manufactured goods.

In addition to increasing the revenues, Peel also desired to help the laboring classes by reducing the cost of living, with due consideration of those interests which had grown up under protection. He could probably have done more to lower the cost of living by repealing the Corn Laws than he had done with the general tariff, but he had been elected on the issue of the Corn Laws and the sliding scale and had, in fact, secured the passage of a new Corn Law. In the second place, for a long time he did not believe that the repeal of the Corn Laws would help the working man, because with cheaper food would come

lower wages. But he was a man of open mind and, moreover, was born of a family of manufacturers. Thus, unlike the great mass of gentry and aristocrats in the party which he led, he saw more than the land and its interests. His tariffs, which lowered the duties on raw material and partly manufactured goods, worked advantageously for the manufacturers; and his abolition of the duties on the import of wool in 1843 were notice to the landowners that the land and the landlords could not expect to be permanently given the advantage to the prejudice of the manufacturers. The repeal of the import duty on wool was a decided shock to his party. If the landowner whose land produced wool had no right to protection, on what principle could protection be claimed for the landowner whose land produced wheat? "Whither will he lead us?"

By the latter part of 1845 Peel had become convinced of the truth of the arguments of the Anti-Corn Law League. He had become satisfied that agriculture would not be wrecked, and that wages were not based on the price of corn and would not necessarily fall if the Corn Laws were repealed. In the matter of the desirability of England's growing her own food, which entered into his thoughts, he at last concluded that England's dependence on foreign countries for her grain was inevitable anyway. In October, 1845, Peel began to debate the question of free trade in the cabinet; but, finding the cabinet hostile, he resigned his office as Prime Minister, in December, 1845.

Just two weeks before his resignation Lord John Russell, the Whig leader, seeing the trend of events and realizing that the future belonged to free trade, tried to commit his party to the cause of the repeal of the Corn Laws by a letter written from Edinburgh, in which he said, "Let us unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people." Russell was astute enough to capture the banner of victory and claim it for his party while the Tories hesitated, but even most of the Whigs were not yet ready. Russell did not have the assurance, however, to accept the premiership on Peel's resignation, because he was afraid that an attempt to introduce a measure to repeal the Corn Laws would split his own party, the Whigs, many of whom saw eye to eye with the Tories on the question of protection to the landed interest. On Russell's refusal to form a ministry, Peel returned to office and at last resolved to introduce a government measure to repeal

the Corn Laws and to make certain further reductions in the general tariff. He was really forced to end all temporizing and consideration and to proceed with the measure immediately by a terrible blight in Ireland in 1845, which had ruined the potato crop, and by the harvest weather in England, which prevented the English harvest from being normal. In view of the English shortage, Ireland could not be fed from England, and there was no question of excluding foreign grain or raising its price to the starving millions in Ireland. The Corn Laws must be suspended in any case and, once suspended, they could never be put into force again. It was just as well to repeal them for good and all.

When Parliament reassembled in January, 1846, Sir Robert Peel introduced a special measure to suspend the Corn Laws in face of the famine, to which there was no objection, together with a bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws by February 1, 1849. Not a hundred members of the House of Commons really favored repeal, but the Whigs saw political capital in the measure in the face of the tremendous force of public opinion created by the Anti-Corn Law League and the Irish famine. Peel's own party split into two unequal parts; the majority felt themselves outraged and betrayed by their own chieftains. Their inarticulate rage was voiced by a new leader, Benjamin Disraeli. Disraeli was the grandson of a well-to-do Italian Jewish merchant, who came to England in 1748; he himself, baptized a Christian, was originally a Radical, but had joined the Tory party where the chances of a brilliant young man were less limited by competition of ability. Before 1846 he already had won some recognition for his skill in debate, his brilliance in epigram, as well as for his dandyfied clothes, his novels, and espousal of the cause of the poor. He was taken up by Lord George and Lord Henry Bentinck, who financed his purchase of a country estate at Hughenden, with the purpose of making him into an English country gentleman, even though his cynical insight, his pliant wit, his keenness of mind absolutely prevented his ever being assimilated to the squirearchy. In the lack of any other ability among the leaderless betrayed he jumped into the breach against Peel, charged him with every outrageous treason to his pledges, and by his sarcasm, wit, brilliant rhetoric, and audacious party tactics not only brought much comfort to the fat fox-hunting landowners, but obstructed the passage of the bill.

Peel held firm and, aided by the Whigs and the Anti-Corn Law League, succeeded in forcing the measure not only through the

Commons, but even through the Lords where the members were ten to one against it. In the Lords, Wellington did one of his last important services for his country. He realized the popular temper and the danger of disorder if the bill were rejected, and in face of public clamor he advised the Lords to yield.

While the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 was urged and resisted on economic and business grounds, it has great importance in the field of politics and party history. On the evening of the day on which the repeal of the Corn Laws was finally passed, Peel was defeated on the question of a coercion bill for Ireland by a combination of Tories, out for vengeance, and the Whigs, out for office. Peel and his cabinet resigned; and, disowned by the Tories, they formed a new group, the Peelites, which, numbering such men as Peel himself, W. E. Gladstone, Lord Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Sidney Herbert, contained the most able politicians and statesmen of the time. The Tory party, purged of the manufacturing interest represented by Peel, came to be more than ever the party of the landlords and landed interest. Unable for more than half a century even to suggest the possibility of a renewal of protection for the land, they concerned themselves at home with social problems as a kind of expression of the duty which the upper classes owed to the "poor," and as a means of vengeance upon the manufacturing interests; while in foreign affairs they later espoused imperialism. Their leadership passed quite definitely into the hands of the alien Disraeli, although it was many years before the Conservatives, as the Tory stalwarts had already begun to be called, trusted him enough to give him the titular leadership of the party. This was at first entrusted to Lord William Bentinck, more skilled in knowledge of horseflesh than of politics, and later to Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby; but, on the latter's death in 1869, there was no one to dispute the honors of leadership with the man who for more than twenty years had already supplied the chief part of the gray matter by which the Tory party was directed. He lived long enough to hold two premierships and died in 1881 as one of the foremost statesmen his party had ever had, who had done most to revive and strengthen Conservatism and give it a real program and tactic in his time.

The Peelites, numbering only a handful, refused to rejoin the Conservatives. When the Conservative party returned to power early in 1852 after the fall of the Whigs, who had held office at the sufferance of the Peelites since 1846, the Conservative leaders

tried to bring about a reunion with the Peelites, but these would not come back into the party. In December of 1852 the Peelites formed a coalition with the Whigs to take over the government from the Tories, and they were eventually absorbed into the Whig organization in 1859. Yet, though they merged with the Whigs, in reality they transfigured the Whig party into their own likeness. They supplied it with ideas and ideals; they made the lip service of Lord John Russell to the cause of free trade an actual living belief of the party; and, after the disappearance of the old leaders, Palmerston, who died in 1865, and Russell, who retired from public life in 1866, the Peelites furnished the new leadership in the persons of such men as W. E. Gladstone. Changed in its outlook, its program, and leaders by the Peelites, the Whig party also changed its name; and, while the Tory party developed into the Conservative party, the Whigs were metamorphosed into the Liberal party.

The repeal of the Corn Laws ushered in the era of free trade in England. What tariff schedules remained were removed during the next fourteen years. In 1849, the Navigation acts were repealed; in 1853, remaining tariff duties were lowered. Cobden, having won the cause of free trade in England, next turned to convert Europe. He succeeded in interesting Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, in the cause; and, although the bulk of French manufacturing interests wanted protection, Cobden finally negotiated a treaty between Great Britain and France, under the terms of which Great Britain repealed all protective duties, retaining only duties for revenue purposes on goods, such as tea and sugar, which were not produced at home, and on imported liquors for the purpose of counterbalancing the excise, and the French government lowered the duties on imports into France to a maximum of 24 per cent at first and 20 per cent later. The treaty was general in form and contained a most favored nation clause, so that if France negotiated the same treaty with other nations, Great Britain would receive the benefits also. France negotiated the treaty with Belgium and, as a consequence, free trade relations between Great Britain and Belgium were assured. In the period about 1860 free trade was adopted more or less by all the great nations of the world except the United States, where the Civil War prevented a similar development; and for the next twenty years free trade was the dominant trade policy of European countries in imitation of Great Britain.

The Reactions of Free Trade on Imperialism

The abandonment of mercantilism had important reactions upon Great Britain's relations with her colonies. With the first changes in the system made by Huskisson in the 1820's, Great Britain surrendered her monopoly control of raw materials in the colonies and her monopoly market for manufactured goods. Almost immediately radical members of Parliament began to point out that the colonies were a source of great expense to the mother country and ought to be given up. In government circles, however, there was a feeling that the colonies ought to be bound more closely to the mother country by a system of preferential duties and, in 1842, Peel tried to arrange preferential duties for colonial products in every case. At the same time preference for British goods in the colonies was provided for by retaining the parliamentary duties on goods of foreign origin and removing all duties of parliamentary origin on imports of British goods into the colonies, although the colonial legislatures might levy small duties on their own account. With the repeal of all British duties, however, by Peel and Gladstone between 1841 and 1860, colonial preference was no longer possible. The imperialists were furious and asserted that there were other considerations than business which ruled the question, but if the Parliament was turned into a counting house, it would not be long before the nation degenerated into a factory. With the disappearance of British preference to colonial goods in British markets, it seemed only fair that preference to British goods in the colonies should likewise be abolished. A bill was accordingly passed allowing the Queen-in-council to give assent to the repeal of preferences to British goods in the colonies through a lowering of the duties on foreign goods to the amount paid by British goods. The next step was to give the colonies the right to impose any duties they liked, provided these were not differential; and, in 1873, the colonies were allowed complete freedom in tariff regulations.

The lessening of the economic value of the colonies *arising out of the mere fact of possession* was accompanied by an ever growing belief in influential quarters in Great Britain that it would be well to give the colonies their independence. Cobden expected to see free trade bring the imperial connection to an end; John Bright would have been glad to see the colonies go; and in the decade from 1860 to 1870 many important politicians, including Gladstone and ministers of his cabinet, publicly ex-

pressed themselves as willing to see the colonies declare their independence when they were ready for it. That the empire was not dissolved at this time was due to the antipathy of the colonies themselves to any such course, to the opposition of imperialists at home who saw in the empire something more than a business proposition, and, above all, to the fact that new economic forces were at work to renew the value of imperial connections.

The decline in interest in the possession of colonies in the period from 1830 to 1870 had important reactions upon the political development of the colonies themselves, especially in the case of those with large British populations. During the same period there was a heavy emigration from Great Britain as a result of the business depression following the Napoleonic wars. Between 1815 and 1830, 23,000 persons a year left the ports of the United Kingdom to seek new homes overseas; from 1830 to 1840 the number averaged 100,000 a year, rising to 280,000 a year after 1846 as a result of the Irish famine. Many of the Irish went to the United States, but the Scots and English went chiefly to British colonies, or to unsettled areas in Australia and New Zealand, which they added to the empire. They took with them British ideas of self-government; and since the home government was less concerned with exercising any great control, they were permitted to develop very complete colonial autonomy. This process was aided by the work of a new group of empire builders, made up of radical idealists who wanted to see replicas of English society established in the colonies, and very practical business men who looked to colonies as opportunities for profits. The most interesting example of this achievement is to be found in the history of Canada, although Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, which developed rapidly in this period, showed similar progress in representative institutions.

Canada was governed in the early part of the nineteenth century by the Canadian Government act of 1791, which provided for two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada (Ontario and Quebec), each ruled by a governor with very strong powers appointed from Great Britain. The executive was assisted by an elective assembly, which had, however, no power over finance. In 1838 rebellions broke out in each province, and the home government sent the Earl of Durham to investigate the situation. The Earl of Durham was himself a Radical. He had been a member of the committee which drew up the first draft

of the Reform bill of 1832, and he wanted to see popular rights as enshrined in the Reform bill carried wherever possible overseas. He was accompanied by Charles Buller, one of the more solidly ballasted intellectual lights among the Radicals, and by Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield was an unscrupulous adventurer with an enormous interest in colonies and a considerable knowledge of colonial problems. He had already formed a colonization company to settle South Australia in 1834-6, had just organized the New Zealand Association in 1837 which shortly afterward, in 1840-1, effectively secured New Zealand for the British empire despite the indifference of the government, and was later prominent in another New Zealand settlement at Canterbury. Although his aims were not altogether altruistic, as is shown by his attempt to "buy" 20,000,000 acres of land in New Zealand from the unsuspecting Maoris, nevertheless, like Durham and Buller, he was impelled by a genuine regard for colonial self-government and had already provided for it in the charter of the colony of South Australia.

On reaching Canada, Earl Durham acted in a rather high-handed fashion; he exiled the revolutionary leaders and dismissed the governor's council in Lower Canada. His action caused a good deal of criticism in England; and, when news came to Durham that his action had been censured in Parliament, he returned to England. He presented a report, largely drawn up by Wakefield and Buller, which urged the union of the two Canadian provinces and the extension of responsible government, based on the English cabinet system, to the united state. For fear that the government would suppress the report for its boldness, Wakefield supplied a copy to the London *Times*, which made it public. The more cautious politicians were aghast, holding that the grant of responsible government was equivalent to separation from the mother country, but the idea was acclaimed in Canada as a desirable boon. The second governor after Durham's report, Bagot, virtually surrendered to the demand of the assembly for full responsible government, but was sharply rebuked by the home government. His successor, Governor Metcalfe, carried out his instructions to the letter to look upon himself as supreme and responsible to no one except to the home government, and soon succeeded in making it clear that the only alternative to the grant of responsible government, in view of the wishes of the Canadians, was a second disaster like that of 1776. In 1846, just after the repeal of the Corn Laws, the government sent Lord Elgin to Canada with the

understanding that responsible government was to be granted, and this was done in 1848. During the next twenty-five years the same powers of self-government were extended to the other colonies with larger British populations, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland, the South African colonies, New Zealand, and most of the Australian colonies.

Durham and his friends did not, however, conceive of colonial self-government as entitling the colonies to complete control over their own affairs in all matters. They carefully distinguished between local and imperial concerns and wanted the British Parliament to decide all questions of imperial nature. Before long, however, Canada claimed control over the larger kinds of questions and began to resent British interference. When a rumor spread in 1859 that the British government intended to veto a Canadian tariff, Canadian protests were so violent that the British government, not seriously interested anyway, yielded and never again questioned Canada's right to legislate in matters of trade for herself. While no attempt was made then or later to define the powers of the colonial governments, it was generally recognized that they were far more extensive than the municipal powers which Durham had contemplated and, in general, concerned all matters except foreign affairs. With the surrender of the notion that the colonial governments must be strictly hedged within certain limits, British politicians also surrendered their objections to federations of colonies which had been based on the ground that federations would want more national powers than colonies could claim. Consequently, a movement for federation was set on foot in the colonies. In Australia nothing was accomplished until the beginning of the twentieth century, but in North America, Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Nova Scotia were united into the Dominion of Canada by the British North America act in 1867.

The Economic Development Behind the Abandonment of Mercantilism

In spite of the long continued agitation of the manufacturing interests for the abandonment of mercantilism, Navigation acts, Corn Laws, and high tariffs, the matter, though politically important, has less economic value than is generally supposed. Even though free trade did stimulate business, its adoption was

rather a symbol of the new power of the interested classes, based upon their wealth and material prosperity already in existence at the time. Free trade did not make the Lords of the Loom and the Chimney Barons of the north and west of England rich and powerful; but, because they were already rich and powerful, they were able to wrest free trade from the old landed aristocracy and definitely assert their dominant position in English society in the middle third of the nineteenth century. It must be remembered, however, that the manufacturers did not completely displace the old aristocracy in control of the state. This was in part due to the fact that the same period which witnessed new achievements in the production of wealth by the English manufacturer was the golden age of English agriculture.

In agriculture, progress had been made for generations, to be interrupted, however, by the bad harvests, the business fluctuations, the high taxes, and the burden of the poor rates of the period during and after the Napoleonic wars. In their distress the agriculturalists had sought the protection of the Corn Laws, but these were of little real service to anybody as was early pointed out by economists, such as Malthus and Ricardo. With the late 1830's, however, the agricultural situation began to improve. Harvests were better; the burden of the poor rates was lessened by the new Poor Law of 1834; and an old medieval burden, the tithe, originally paid in kind to the church for its support, but now in the hands of lay owners, was somewhat reduced in 1836 through the commutation of its payment into money at something less than its former value. Between 1835 and 1845 progress was made in drainage, one of the most serious problems in English agriculture, culminating in the invention of the cylindrical clay drainage tile and its widespread use. In 1840 the eminent German chemist, Liebig, published his epochal book on agricultural chemistry. On the basis of his investigations, artificial fertilizers came into common use in the next decades, stimulated by the work of the magnificent research station at Rothamsted. Steam was used for cultivating in 1851 and applied to plowing in 1857. Prices rose with new markets in the growing towns, and the Crimean War (1854-1856), the American Civil War, and the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), by closing certain wheat areas, enormously stimulated the demand in others and brought prosperity to the English agriculturalist and landowner. It was only when the rich lands of Illinois and Iowa, in the early seventies, began to flood

the world with wheat grown on cheap virgin soils as almost a natural product, that the highly cultivated wheats of Great Britain and Europe, really manufactured commodities, could no longer hold their own. The flood of cheap American food which came after 1874 ruined British agriculture. It was not with the repeal of the Corn Laws as had been predicted in the Corn Law debates, but with the rise of middle western American wheat farming that English agriculture lost its outstanding economic importance in English life. Even then the English aristocracy did not lose its influence, because by that time it had been able to associate itself with industry through purchase of shares in joint stock companies, for example, and to share in the wealth and prosperity of manufacture and trade.

This industrial prosperity, which gave the manufacturers the power to carry through their antimercantilist measures, was itself the culmination of a process of invention, improvement, and development reaching back many years. During the years of business depression which followed the close of the Napoleonic wars, English business men displayed an ingenuity and inventiveness looking toward the reduction of production costs which enabled them to more than hold their own in competition for the markets of Europe and the world, even while they were complaining of the restrictions of hostile tariffs and demanding the repeal of the Corn Laws. Their new inventions reacted severely upon the laboring population by throwing additional thousands out of work, and so beating down still more the already excessively low wages. In the eagerness for efficiency there was a certain callousness, even cruelty, about the factory owners, who joyfully envisaged the perfection of the process of automatic machinery to the point where no workers needed to be employed at all. The betterments which were made, of course, ultimately benefited the workers, but immediately they were responsible for much hardship, misery, and wretchedness among those who were caught in the sudden transitions which new machinery occasioned. But the improvements made money for the factory owner and enabled him to extend his plant, to increase his product, and add much to English national wealth. Just before 1830 Neilson invented the hot blast in the iron furnaces, saving nearly three tons of coal in every ton of pig iron produced; in 1856 Henry Bessemer invented a new cheap material, Bessemer steel, to take the place of the costly malleable iron and the still more costly crucible steel. In the spinning industries the self-acting mule of 1830 superseded the skilled

spinner, made more spindles per loom possible, and gave greater speed. In weaving the sizing machine of Radcliffe made the use of the power loom practicable and led to the displacement of the hand loom, which had continued to hold its own until 1830. Presently the power loom itself was made automatic by Kenworthy and Bullough in 1841, and skilled workers were no longer needed to superintend it.

Business was stimulated by advertising, which, practiced on a small scale in the eighteenth century, now began to assume something like its modern proportions. In 1847 *Punch* had reason to complain that "Advertisements are spreading all over England. They have crept under the bridges, have planted themselves right in the middle of the Thames, have usurped the greatest thoroughfares and are now just on the point of invading the omnibuses. Advertising is certainly the great vehicle of the age."

Still more important was the development of banking and credit facilities. The Bank of England, created as a commercial bank in 1694, had never participated very largely in providing capital for industry and did little business outside London. Moreover, with its aristocratic traditions it had never concerned itself with small depositors, not realizing that many small deposits soon accumulate into prodigious sums. Until 1826 the Bank of England had a monopoly of banking with the right to issue notes under the joint stock form of company organization; but in that year the recent failure of so many small banks caused joint stock banks to be permitted to be established anywhere in the area sixty-five miles distant from London. Under the law joint stock banks could even be set up in London, provided they did not issue bank notes. Until recently it had been believed that a bank could function only if it had the right to issue bank notes with which to make loans to its customers, but in 1823 two economists hit upon the fateful discovery that banks could do business without the right to issue bank notes by using the check and the deposit of credit. In other words, banks could lend money to their customers by placing certain amounts to their credit and permitting them to draw on these by checks instead of issuing bank notes to them. Ten years later this method was given legal sanction (1833), and, shortly afterward, the first joint stock bank, the London and Westminster, was founded in London. The new joint stock banks had an entirely different policy and attitude than the Bank of England. They welcomed small depositors,

realizing that every deposit, no matter how small, represented so much capital which they could lend for the extension of industry and commerce. Instead of confining themselves to one place they opened branches in every town and village of England, so that by 1913 the 51 largest banks had 9316 branches. In these ways the joint stock banks brought even the smallest accumulations of capital together and made them available for industry in any part of England. The importance of their work in aiding the development of English industry cannot be overestimated; their help gave English business men a decided advantage over those of every other country in Europe.

While goods were being made more cheaply, new systems of communication and transportation cut the time and cost element in distance, and brought England's factories closer to their raw materials and markets. At the same time, the new systems created further demands for British goods by the heavy consumption of materials used in their construction. In 1840 Rowland Hill introduced the penny post for all of Great Britain. In 1843 the first electric telegraph line was opened in Great Britain; in 1851 a submarine cable was laid to France. In 1856 a transatlantic cable was laid, but after a few weeks it failed to function, and it was not until 1866 that the first successful cable was laid.

The two greatest developments in transportation were the railroad and the steamship. Although the railroads were resisted at first by the turnpike and canal companies and those who had invested in them and by country gentlemen who feared the ruin of the beauty of their estates, the pollution of the air, and the destruction of fox hunting by locomotive engines traveling at the rate of 10 or 12 miles an hour, convenience and profits swept away all opposition. The Stockton and Darlington line was opened in 1825; the Manchester and Liverpool in 1830 with George Stephenson's *Rocket* and other locomotives to furnish motive power; by 1840 there were 781 miles of line in the United Kingdom. In the ensuing decade from 1840 to 1850 construction went with a rush, and by 1850 nearly six thousand additional miles of line had been constructed. By 1844 England had passed into the grip of a railway mania. Hundreds of companies were being formed, thousands of investors were rising to undreamed of wealth, and an enterprising speculator and promoter, George Hudson, was hailed as the Railway King, the magician who made wealth out of nothing by amalgamating the small end-to-end lines into powerful companies. So wide-

spread was the activity in railroad construction, so immense the demands for materials, track, locomotives, cars and wagons, stations and terminals, that Disraeli, in his novel, *Endymion,* has attributed to this single development of the railroads the dynamic causation of the whole revival of prosperity which began in 1844. While this is doubtless an exaggeration, intended to counter those who claimed that the repeal of the Corn Laws was responsible for the business revival, it contains much truth.

British business was stimulated not only by the home demand, but by foreign demand for railway material. Germany and the United States began their great constructions in imitation of the new British system; and, in view of the still unperfected state of the iron and steel trade in both those countries, they bought some of their rails and many of their locomotives from England for many years to come. In the 1850's Russia and India became customers; the United States placed especially large orders after the Civil War; and Germany, after the Franco-Prussian War. It was not until 1874-1879 that competition on the part of France, Belgium, and Germany threatened Great Britain's supreme position as the maker of the railroad materials of the world. Some notion of the importance of these products in British business can be gleaned from figures of the export of iron and steel, chiefly rails and plates, and the exports of machinery.

	Iron and Steel	Machinery
1830	£ 1,400,000	£ 209,000
1840	2,524,000	594,000
1850	5,350,000	1,042,000
1860	12,154,000	3,838,000
1870	18,000,000	7,498,000

This striking growth in the export trade of iron and steel and machinery, which is paralleled in this period by the increase of other exports and of imports, had a sharp reaction upon British shipping. There was a marked increase in the size of ships, speed, and horse power and a revolution in their construction and machinery, all making for greater efficiency. This new efficiency was, of course, induced by increased demands, but it itself resulted in greater business.

So small was the total volume of the foreign commerce before 1840 that except for the slow, clumsy, luxurious, money-eating 1500 ton East Indiamen of the decrepit East India Company, in which no advances in design had been made in a century,

there were practically no ships over 500 tons burden. Although steam had been applied to ships as early as 1807 by Robert Fulton in America, and in 1812 by Henry Bell in Scotland, the first important advances in ocean shipping in the period before 1860 were made in the sailing ship. The West India free traders, the Baltimore brigs, the Medford East Indiamen of 450 tons, which carried half the cargo of the 1500 ton British East Indiamen with a crew of 18 men as against 150 men, were all American improvements, which culminated in the magnificent clipper ships of the period 1850-1855. In these, especially in the clippers built by Donald Mackay in Massachusetts yards, the sailing ships reached their highest perfection. His great *Sovereign of the Seas* had a tonnage of 2421; his *Flying Cloud* made the voyage from New York to San Francisco in 89 days; his *Lightning* on March 1, 1854, sailed 436 nautical miles in 24 hours (a speed of between 18 and 18½ knots per hour); and the *James Baines,* American built for an English company, made the voyage from Boston to Liverpool in 12 days and 6 hours in 1854.

Until as late as 1860 the sailing ships held their own, not only in absolute tonnage in use, but in the amount of new construction each year. In 1870 the tonnage of sailing ships was still larger than that of steamships, but the new construction in the last ten years had been nearly all steamships. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was one of the factors in the decline of the sailing ship, since the Red Sea cannot be used by sailing ships; and all shipowners who desired to take advantage of the economy in distance afforded by the Suez Canal were compelled to adopt steam vessels. Thus a large fleet of sail ships hitherto engaged in the East India service was thrown out of use. Twenty years later steam tonnage dominated the seas and sailing tonnage was declining rapidly into a position of minor importance.

The figures for British shipping are:

	Sail Tonnage	Steam Tonnage
	tons	*tons*
1850	3,396,000	168,000
1860	4,200,000	454,000
1870	4,457,000	1,112,934
1880	3,851,000	2,723,000
1890	2,936,000	5,042,000
1900	2,096,000	7,207,000
1910	1,113,000	10,442,000

The steamship went through a long period of experiment from 1807 to 1860. In those years the engines were improved; and the single expansion engine, working at six or seven pounds pressure, burning ten pounds of coal per horse power per hour, was replaced by compound cylinders at sixty pounds pressure using three and one-half pounds of coal per horse power per hour. The paddle wheel, universally used in the beginning, was being replaced by the screw propellor, first used in 1841, but not completely adopted until 1870. Wood for the hull was replaced by iron from 1837 onward, although the process was halted by the refusal of the British Post Office to allow mails to be carried in any but wooden ships until 1850, and by the dictum of the chief designer of the British admiralty as late as 1860 that, since iron did not float, being itself heavier than water, it was not a proper material for ships. After 1860, however, iron forged ahead rapidly, only to be replaced by steel in the late 1870's. The replacement of wood by iron and steel gave greater cargo capacity for the same size ship since the iron hull was 30 to 40 per cent lighter than the wooden hull, and steel was 15 to 20 per cent lighter than iron. The new lines of design, which are still followed in steamer construction, were also laid down before 1860, particularly by Isambard Kingdom Brunel in the *Great Eastern*. This ship, designed to be large enough to carry her own coal for a voyage out to India and back, together with 4400 passengers and crew, was 680 feet in length and 18,915 tons displacement. The largest ship to be built until 1901, she was premature; even as late as 1870 only six per cent of all vessels were in excess of 2000 tons.

As a result of these developments in industrial efficiency through improvements in machinery, the spread of the factory system, and cheaper and more rapid communication and transport, British manufacturers were ready to increase their production enormously, and at the same time they maintained quality and gave cheaper prices than the manufacturers of most other countries. The sharpest increase in demand for British goods, which had been steadily growing in spite of fluctuations since the 1820's, showed itself from 1844 onward. This was due in part to the very requirements of the new industrial plant itself, such as the need for iron and steel in railroad building, and in part to greater freedom of trade permitted by the repeal of England's protective tariff policy; but it resulted in much larger measure from other factors.

These were, first, the general increase in population in Great Britain, Europe, and America. The population of Great Britain, for example, increased from 20.8 millions in 1821 to 24.02 millions in 1831, 26.73 millions in 1841, and 28.92 millions in 1861, at the rate of 15 per cent between 1821 and 1831 and 11.2 per cent between 1831 and 1841. There was, in the next place, an increase in the speed of living as is evidenced by the rapid spread of the railroad and telegraph to take the place of the stage coach and canal—greater effort and more haste. There was, furthermore, a general rise in living standards in Europe, as the various countries recovered from the exhaustion and enforced poverty brought on by the destruction of the Napoleonic wars. Not least important, the most intensive effort was being made to develop the new colonial lands of the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand and to build up in them an European type of civilization constructed largely of English goods.

In the face of the world-wide demand for goods from all these quarters for all these reasons, England, thanks to her extraordinary industrial development, was ready to become the Workshop of the World. There seemed to be no end to the demand upon her factories, and there seemed to be no limit to their productivity. British foreign commerce increased four fold from 1846-1872, at the rate of 1½ per cent a year. The British national income shot up from £515 million a year in 1835-1841 to £646 million in 1851, and £961 million a year in 1867. The total value of British wealth, as represented by income tax returns, increased from £4,000 million in 1845, or £143 per capita, to £10,000 million in 1885, or £270 per capita.

Every class in society benefited by the new prosperity and made notable advances in the 1850's and 1860's; but for the first twenty years after the beginning of the movement (from 1844 to 1864), it was the middle classes, the factory owners, the merchants, the capital-investing classes, organizers, managers, and technical experts who reaped the largest profits. They rose to wealth undreamed of; and by virtue of their wealth and their success, they were able to set the fashions and strike the tone of the age. They built "Suburbia," the suburban houses in the environs of London, Manchester, Leeds, and every large town. They filled their new houses with honestly made but ugly, heavy, black haircloth covered mahogany furniture built to withstand the ages; and, where necessary, they threw out such trifling light pieces as had been made in an earlier age

by Chippendale, Sheraton, and Heppelwhite or designed by the brothers Adam. They collected bric-a-brac in endless quantities and every unaired parlor contained a "whatnot" to display it to best advantage. Their command of wealth showed itself in all these things, but perhaps especially in the dress of their women, who were kinds of racks upon which modest evidences of their prosperity could be hung. Silk dresses, hitherto reserved for the aristocracy, became popular among them. "Every lady felt that a silk dress was necessary to her self-respect." In 1854 they took up the crinoline or hoop skirt, and for the next fourteen years this was so much the epitome of the taste of the age that it held undisputed sway. It was a revival of the Elizabethan hoop, but more elaborate, with scalloped flounces, basques and bows, bustles, frills, double skirts, fringes, jet, gimps, beads, and ruchings. The hoop was so inconvenient at a ball that young women, to create the effect, would wear as many as fourteen starched petticoats and were driven to balls "standing in their carriages." Everywhere there was a want of simplicity, and the age has aptly been called "twenty years of triumphant vulgarity."

In morality and thought the middle classes were equally dominant in setting the standards and providing the material to be justified and rationalized by the philosophers. In general, all those forms of conduct which interfered with efficiency or made for waste were immoral; the highest virtues were those, already stressed by the Evangelical and Methodist movements, which made for greater production, the saving of wealth, and the conservation of capital. Honesty was lauded as the best policy. Drunkenness, hitherto very common in the best society, was discouraged by precept and example because it interfered with the fullest efficiency especially on the part of the working classes. Since sexual irregularities resulted in illegitimate children who, although no longer charges on the poor rates under the new act of 1834, still made demands on society and swelled the already superabundant number of "the poor," such irregularities should at any rate not be flaunted by the upper and middle classes. If people must indulge, they must keep their vices secret because of their deleterious influence upon the working population. Much could be condoned if it were kept under cover, but its revelation to the world now stamped a man as a social outcast. While the people of the middle classes were good church members and vied with each other for offices in their congregations as marks of social distinction, they were too proud of

their own abilities in creation and production with the help of their splendid machinery and factories to take God very seriously. Unconsciously, they took a mechanistic view of all phenomena. If a machine could make a button, why couldn't it create a universe? But if the middle classes did not believe much in God, they did believe in a new deity, Progress. For had they not experienced it in their own beings? Had it not made Great Britain the foremost nation in the world? And was not this amply evidenced in that notable book, Porter's *Progress of the Nation,* and still more in that great international exposition at Crystal Palace in 1851, where foreign exhibits only served to show the true magnitude of Great Britain's lead? Progress was the creed of the middle classes; and, incidentally, Respectability, regard for the progressive virtues, was their watchword, although all too often respectability itself became the creed among middle class people who did not think sociologically.

The new problems of social adjustment which the industrial growth of this period brought with it, the relations between capitalist employers and proletarian workers, the sordid life of the new factory towns, the wretchedness of low wages and unemployment, the long hours of women and children, together with the peculiar views of society and the universe which grew out of this development among the middle classes, provided the material for practically all the significant literary work, the intellectual speculation, and the philosophical concepts of the day. Writers and thinkers justified and explained, or attempted to resist, the new industrial society; they attacked old abuses and new evils; they added new facts in pure science and applied knowledge; and they worked out the general principles which made the existing facts seem rational and ethical. Thus in the field of social science John Stuart Mill, following upon the work of such men as Ricardo, McCulloch, and Nassau Senior, completely rationalized the existing opinions of business men about unrestrained competition without any interference by the state or society into a perfectly logical set of principles of economic theory which were deemed to have eternal validity. Incidentally, Mill himself came to realize with horror the goal of any society in which these principles were completely realized; and in a fit of softening of the heart, which his enemies call softening of the brain, he repudiated his own work near the end of his life. In the writing of history Macaulay and Grote did much the same for politics as Mill had done for economics,

glorifying the present political situation in England in the guise of a history of past centuries.

In the physical sciences there was the most marked advance. Many a workshop and factory was a laboratory of research in applied science, to find better machinery and methods. Scientific research was encouraged, and in the domains of chemistry and physics great advances were made, which were to have practical results in a later period, especially in the field of electricity. The most remarkable contribution of science in this period, however, was its explanation of the idea of progress, the real creed of the age. Five men in particular, Charles Lyell, Charles Darwin, Thomas Henry Huxley, Alfred Wallace, and Herbert Spencer contributed to this development. They elaborated on a theory called evolution, already rather generally held among scientists, provided it with definite proofs, and through it explained the nature and the methods of progress. Lyell worked in the field of geology, and as early as 1830 in his *Principles of Geology* he showed how the present condition of the earth's crust was the result of infinitely slow changes which are still going on. Darwin, Wallace, and Huxley were essentially biologists, who worked out the idea of evolution in animal and plant life, showing how all development of life was from single cells to more complex cells; how this development operated under the control of certain natural laws which have always been, and still are, in force; and how, of the infinity of forms of life thus provided, those persisted which were most suited to their environment. The phrase, "survival of the fittest," which Spencer coined to describe the processes of natural selection, was especially happy, since it carried a kind of unction to those who had survived and were, therefore, "the fittest." Spencer carried over the evolutionary idea in its new complete form from geology and zoölogy and attempted to apply it to all social phenomena—with great éclat in his own time but, as we see now, with not altogether complete success.

In the field of religion, the lack of earnest belief and genuine religious enthusiasm, coupled with the consequent attacks upon the Anglican church's monopoly of the public expression of religion involved in the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, reacted to bring about certain revivals in the English churches. The first of these, the Oxford movement, attempted to get away from the lack of conviction and earnestness in the Anglican church by going back to medieval institutions. Since the state and even the Anglican hierarchy created by the state could not

be trusted to restore spiritual life in view of the secularism seen on every hand, the baleful influence of the state in religion had to be ended. This could be done only by setting up a new authority, which a group of scholars at Oxford found in the medieval doctrines of the apostolic succession. They denied the right of the state to control the church and pleaded for a free church in a free state, so that the church itself might take in hand the work of restoring discipline, maintaining Christian principles, and checking the progress of latitudinarianism. The logical end of the views of these men was the recognition of the Church of Rome as the purest example of primitive Christian teaching; and when some of the leaders, such as Cardinal Newman and Bishop Manning, returned to the Church of Rome, the movement disintegrated. Yet it served to revivify the whole Anglican church and led to greater earnestness and spirituality in English religious life. Another movement, led by Thomas Arnold, called the Broad Church Movement, had much the same objects and aimed to accomplish them by making it possible for all churches in England, such as the Congregational and the Baptist, to be reunited with the Anglican church. Some stimulus to religion was given too by the violent controversy which broke out over evolution, and its denial of certain parts of the history of the Bible; but, while this controversy perhaps served to confirm the most ardent believers in their faith, it sometimes served to alienate the wavering altogether.

In pure literature, which in a sense epitomizes the thought and development of its own time, the new industrialism and its problems are everywhere present. Carlyle, essentially a conservative, railed against the shams of mechanical industry and the dishonesty of the idea of "mobocracy" (as he called democracy) which came in its train. At the same time he dealt telling blows at the upper classes and the aristocracy for their neglect of the poor and for the evil conditions which they permitted. Disraeli, with this same Tudor ideal of the duty to the "poor" of the aristocracy, excoriated them for their sloth in his novels and undertook with his Tory Democracy, a movement in which he was interested before he became the responsible leader of the aristocrats, to remedy the evil conditions of factory towns. Ruskin, shocked by the ugliness of the new industrial towns, raised his fine futile voice against mechanical civilization as altogether bad, because it was ugly, and pleaded for a return to an idealized age of craftsmanship which had never existed. To him the very materials of the new age, such as iron and steel,

were dishonest, and he especially condemned their use for building, apparently because they made possible certain constructions which could never be created with brick and stone. He was, of course, really going to the root of his problem. The only escape from mechanical civilization was the return to older materials, such as brick and stone, which did not require the elaborate mills and plants to produce them which iron and steel demanded. Dickens attacked the wretchedness of old institutions no longer necessary because with her wealth England could afford better ones, the rotten schools, the orphan asylums, the miserable prisons, the putrid slums, the clumsy courts. George Eliot dwelt upon breaches in the moral law, or the code of conduct of the times. Browning sang the rights of the individual in the face of the new pressure to surrender completely to society so that production might go on increasing. Tennyson with all his excessive sweetness and purity is really most representative of the ideals of the age. He preached acceptance of law, especially the moral law, he believed in progress, and he attempted, like so many men of the time, to keep his faith and accept the evolutionary explanation of progress.

The personification of the age was the British Queen, Victoria, who ascended the throne as a captivating young girl in 1837 and ruled until her death in 1901. During her long reign she did much to restore the popularity of the monarchy by her essentially middle class point of view, the blamelessness of her private life, her devotion to her husband, Albert the Prince Consort, and even to his memory which was carried to an extreme, her domestic virtues, and her willingness to let power slip from her fingers, or rather her inability to prevent it from doing so during the time that she was busied with bearing and rearing nine children. But if the monarchy had less constitutional power because Victoria seldom visited Parliament after 1854 and never attended it during the last fifteen years of her reign, because she gave up control over the army, the pardoning power, and the distribution of titles, and even went abroad without appointing a regent, she nevertheless left the monarchy a much stronger force in English life at her death than it had been on her accession.

Perhaps even more than in some other departments of British life the ideals and interests of the middle class were valid and effective in foreign relations, where they found expression in the work of Lord Palmerston, which will be described in the next chapter.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XXII

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

S. Low and L. C. Sanders, *The Political History of England 1837-1901.*
H. Martineau, *History of the Thirty Years' Peace 1816-1846*
W. N. Molesworth, *The History of England 1830-1874.*

DEVELOPMENTS IN TRADE AND COMMERCE.

W. M. Acworth, *The Railways of England.*
T. S. Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution.*
L. Beck, *Die Geschichte des Eisens.*
H. Bessemer, *An Autobiography.*
A. L. Bowley, *England's Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century.*
J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism.*
A. D. Kirkaldy, *British Shipping.*
W. T. Jeans, *The Creators of the Age of Steel.*
S. C. Johnson, *Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America.*
L. Levi, *The History of British Commerce.*
G. R. Porter, *The Progress of the Nation* (1838); also Ed. by F. W. Hirst (1912).

THE CORN LAWS AND THEIR REPEAL.

W. Cunningham, *The Rise and Decline of the Free Trade Movement.*
J. S. Nicholson, *The History of the English Corn Laws.*

COLONIAL REACTION TO THE ABANDONMENT OF MERCANTILISM.

C. A. Bodelsen, *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism.*
B. Holland, *The Fall of Protection 1840-1850.*
C. P. Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report.*
E. M. Wrong, *Charles Buller and Responsible Government.*

CHURCH HISTORY.

H. J. Laski, *Studies in the Problems of Sovereignty.*
W. L. Mathieson, *Church and Reform in Scotland, 1797-1843.*
S. L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement.*
J. H. Overton, *The Anglican Revival 1833-45.*
B. Ward, *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation.*
W. Ward, *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival.*

VICTORIAN THOUGHT AND SOCIETY.

C. L. Graves, *Mr. Punch's History of Modern England.*
E. Neff, *Carlyle and Mill, an Introduction to Victorian Thought.*
W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler, *A Short History of Science.*
J. Arthur Thomson, *Concerning Evolution.*

BIOGRAPHY.

J. A. Hobson, *Richard Cobden.*
W. F. Monypenny and G. E. Buckle, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli.*
J. Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden.*
The Life of William Ewart Gladstone.
J. Newman, *Apologia pro vita sua.*
C. S. Parker, *Sir Robert Peel.*
E. T. Raymond, *Disraeli.*
S. Reid, *Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham.*
Lord Rosebery, *Sir Robert Peel.*
L. Strachey, *Eminent Victorians.*
G. M. Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright.*
J. R. Thursfield, *Robert Peel.*

QUEEN VICTORIA.

Lord Esher, *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria 1836-40.*
The Training of a Sovereign.
C. Jerrold, *Queen Victoria.*
S. Lee, *Queen Victoria.*
Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria.*
Victoria, *Letters,* Ed., A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher.
Victoria, *Letters,* new series, Ed., G. E. Buckle.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF LORD PALMERSTON, 1830-1865

The governments which held office in the earlier part of this period have already been listed in Chapter XXI. Between 1852 and 1865 the governments which held office were those under the premiership of

Lord Derby (Tory), (February-December), 1852
Lord Aberdeen (Peelite-Whig Coalition), 1852-1855
Lord Palmerston (Whig), 1855-1858
Lord Derby (Tory), 1858-June 1859
Palmerston and Russell (Whig), 1859-1866

After the fall of Peel in 1846, the Whigs under Lord John Russell held office at the sufferance of the Peelites until 1852. They were succeeded by a Tory ministry, which failed to carry a majority of the seats of the House of Commons in the election of 1852 and made way for a coalition of Peelites and Whigs. In 1855 a Whig ministry under Lord Palmerston came in, to be succeeded in February, 1858 by a Tory government under Lord Derby. In 1859 the Peelites finally merged with the Whigs, so strengthening them that they held office until 1866. Palmerston was Prime Minister until his death in 1865, when Earl Russell took his place.

Under the guidance of Lord Castlereagh, in the years immediately following the end of the Napoleonic wars, Great Britain was a partner in the Quadruple Alliance with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, organized to uphold the decisions and settlements of the Congress of Vienna and to resist the advance of revolutionary ideas in Europe. Directed ostensibly against France and French ideas, this group was enlarged by the admission of France to the Concert of the Powers in 1818, and its work of repressing revolutionary ideas largely assumed the form of throttling efforts for liberal constitutional reforms among the various European peoples. In consequence of the activity of the alliance in this direction, France was authorized by a congress which met at Verona in 1822 to suppress a constitutional revolt in Spain and to restore the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, by force of French arms.

Castlereagh had already begun to distrust European congresses, although he continued to believe in coöperation with the

European powers through private conferences of diplomats. Just at the time of the Congress of Verona, he was succeeded at the Foreign Office by George Canning, who was decidedly opposed to European congresses for the reason that they realized a certain European solidarity against which England's influence could count for little. Only when Europe separated into "*disjecta membra,*" disjointed members, could England take the lead in European affairs. He, therefore, set himself against the congresses and sought to weaken the Quadruple Alliance. The decision of the Congress of Verona, moreover, was one which demanded immediate action on his part, since it seemed tantamount to European authorization to France to proceed anew with her age-old plan to control Spain. In spite of the fact that Canning was really a good conservative, he found himself supporting liberalism in Europe, in opposition to intervention by outside powers in the domestic concerns of other peoples. Later, in 1825, acting on the unfounded fear that France meant to extend her control from continental Spain to the revolted Spanish colonies in America by placing her military and naval forces at the disposal of the Spanish government for their reconquest, Canning recognized the independence of the revolted colonies, in order to safeguard the new British trade and the British investments there, which were already very large. Although his action was of little real importance in deciding the fate of the Spanish American states, he boasted that he had brought the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old and won an increased reputation as a friend of liberalism. His method on this occasion, as on others, was to back his fiat to the chancelleries of Europe by creating a strong public opinion by public explanations of the situation. After he had spoken in Parliament and carried the country with him in his stand by a clear, even if rather flamboyant, exposition of England's case, no European statesman was bold enough to venture to oppose his views. Later, in order to keep the French influence in Spain from extending to Portugal, he sent a British force to aid a Portuguese faction which happened at the same time to be a constitutionalist group, and in this wise he firmly founded the tradition that the British foreign policy was favorable to constitutional movements against autocracy on the continent.

During the same years of Canning's administration a second tradition was being established, that of British interest in nationalism. This force, which had done so much to destroy Napoleon, continued to manifest itself among oppressed groups

all over Europe, wherever the discontented peoples and their reactionary governments were of different races. One of the earliest of these new nationalist outbreaks was in Greece against the misrule of the Turks. The Greek cause, as the cause of the race which had given to the world those marvelous classics which every English school boy studied and loved, awakened enormous enthusiasm in England. Lord Byron sacrificed his life for the Greek cause; Admiral Cochrane, whose reputation was second only to Nelson, placed his services at the disposal of the Greeks; Canning himself was genuinely interested in Greek independence. The decisive factor in the issue, however, as far as the government of Great Britain was concerned, was that Russia was also interested in Greece and was on the point of using her interest to secure the control of the new independent state. To prevent this, the British enthusiasm was converted into diplomatic action, as a result of which Greek independence was finally secured, and Great Britain was recognized as the patron of nationalism in Europe.

This was the situation in 1830, when Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston, came to the Foreign Office in the Whig government of Lord Grey. Palmerston was the man who not only received these traditions of the Foreign Office, but most completely incarnated in foreign politics the ideals of the predominant middle class in the period from 1830 to 1865. He created himself in their image, and they fell down and worshipped him and kept him in political office almost constantly from his entry into public life down to the time of his death. The American, Henry Adams, has given a good description of Palmerston in his interesting autobiography. Speaking of Palmerston's Sunday evening parties, he says: "He stood at the door receiving his guests, talking probably to one of his henchmen who was sure to be near. His laugh (which one heard far down the staircase) was singular, mechanical, wooden, and did not seem to disturb his features. . . . It was a laugh of 1810 and the Congress of Vienna. Adams would have much liked to stop a moment and ask whether William Pitt and the Duke of Wellington had laughed so, but young men attached to foreign ministers asked no questions at all of Palmerston." He was a jaunty man with heavy side whiskers, florid face, and heavy jowl, brusque, overbearing, and unscrupulous, with a "passion for popularity." Diplomats were unanimous in warning new colleagues that they might expect to be sacrificed by him to any momentary personal object. "If Palmerston had an object to gain, he would go

down to the House of Commons and betray or misrepresent a foreign minister without any concern for his victim.'' There was no getting back at him because he had ''the skin of a rhinoceros.'' ''Having made his point he laughed and his public laughed with him at the sight of these beribboned and bestarred foreigners caught and tossed and gored on the horns of this jovial, slashing, devil-may-care British bull.'' In his diplomacy he was consequently strong on the superior tone, on the moral lecture, and in the insolent insistence upon ''right'' as seen by British eyes. ''It was a little difficult too''—foreigners said—''for him to imagine that a statesman differed honestly from views he himself honestly entertained. He could not entirely conceive . . . that Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France might have Russian, Austrian, and French ways of considering things which to them seemed natural and sensible, but which to him seemed unnatural and foolish.'' It is doubtful, however, whether this did not give energy to his policy and place him more in sympathy with his country, which recognized at once that he was emphatically English. He was not only a great moralist at the other people's expense, but a bully and militarist. He believed in a large army and a great navy as the best insurance for peace; and, having got ample forces behind him, he constantly threatened war upon his enemies or rivals to carry his point.

Photographic as it is in portraying Palmerston's lack of ''public manners,'' Adams' picture omits much about Palmerston that is of deeper significance. For, in spite of his militancy and pugnaciousness, Palmerston was essentially pacific in his policy as far as Europe was concerned. Above all else, he wished to maintain peace on the continent and prevent a recurrence of a conflagration like that of the Napoleonic wars. Adams considered him as belonging to a generation who were mostly senile from youth and had never got beyond 1815 and the Congress of Vienna, because he laid the greatest stress on prestige and on the balance of power in foreign policy, and these were old eighteenth century shibboleths. Yet, as Palmerston saw the situation, the balance of power was one of the strongest bulwarks against the renewal of war and must, therefore, be maintained. As essential parts of his policy, Palmerston regarded the friendship and alliance of France, the maintenance of Austria and Turkey, the unification of Germany, and the restraint of Russia. To certain of these things, however, there were many practical qualifications. French coöperation with England was desirable because France was the only constitu-

tional makeweight on the continent against the absolute powers, yet she must not seek to overthrow the barriers set up around her in the treaties of 1815. Austria and Turkey were of value only if they were strong enough to be real checks to Russia in eastern Europe. In so far as they themselves contained centers of disaffection and discontent, they must be dealt with.

One of the most disturbing elements to the whole peace of Europe, for example, was the demand for constitutional government in the various states and provinces of Italy, some of which were under direct Austrian rule. Palmerston feared the combustible force of constitutionalism, since a flare-up would lead to Austrian intervention and repression, which would at once be followed by French assistance to the Italians and the precipitation of a general European war. He consequently urged the Austrians to allow the Italians to have their constitutions, and, indeed, he was eager that Austria should leave Italy entirely. In the late 1840's, when Sardinia was hammering out Italian national independence at the expense of the Austrian Empire, Palmerston was well disposed to Sardinia, and he and his party approved of French aid to the Italians against Austria which culminated in the victories of Magenta and Solferino in 1859 and the practical end of Austrian rule in Italy. Even though there was much sympathy in England for Italy, evoked by Garibaldi and by Gladstone's Neapolitan letters, Palmerston's desire was the exclusion of Austria from Italy, rather than the achievement of Italian nationality. This way Austria would be strengthened as a bulwark against Russia by the cessation of the dissipation of her energies in Italy.

The German nationalist movement was another source of possible European war and, in consequence, Palmerston favored its consummation in the interests of peace, but he resolutely opposed the idea of a Zollverein, which was needed to provide the economic basis of unification, because it might prove detrimental to British business. This same consideration for English business really underlay Palmerston's attitude in another Germanic problem of his time, that of Schleswig-Holstein. These two provinces were anciently under the rule of a duke, who was also King of Denmark. Holstein was at the same time a member of the Germanic confederation. The population was entirely German in Holstein, and partly so in Schleswig. While the German part of the population of Schleswig was making a drive for incorporation in the Germanic confederation, the new King

of Denmark virtually annexed the provinces to Denmark. As a result war broke out in 1864 between Denmark and the Germanic confederation, led by Austria and Prussia, which ended in the occupation of Holstein by Austria and Schleswig by Prussia.

The part played by the Prussian statesman, Bismarck, in bringing on the war with Denmark was utterly reprehensible and was based largely on his desire to strengthen Prussia by giving her important ports, such as Kiel, in the northern waters, although his motive was covered by appeals in the sacred name of nationalism. On his side Palmerston did not consider the question of which attitude he was to take from the ethical, legal, or sentimental angle, but almost entirely from the standpoint of the reaction upon Great Britain of Prussia's possession of additional ports and the effect upon British commerce of the inability of Denmark, in her weakened condition, to control the passages from the North Sea into the Baltic. Palmerston backed Denmark to the point of leading the Danes to believe that he would intervene in their behalf, although he finally did nothing since the Queen and the nation generally were against intervention.

In Palmerston's whole policy concern for the interest of English business was the really vital impulse, and he was even more successful because he knew how to express these interests in terms which disguised their material character and were of a piece with current middle class phraseology as well as in accord with Foreign Office traditions. Thus he professed the deepest regard for liberal movements on the continent, as was the fashion in the middle classes, together with sympathy for nationalism. He never really understood nationalism, however, and often underrated it, especially in the case of the German states which were eventually to unite in 1871 into the German Empire. Moreover, as Count Gortshakoff once reminded Palmerston, if England wished to play the part of champion of oppressed nationalities, she had Ireland to begin on. In the matter of liberalism and constitutionalism, on the other hand, Palmerston unquestionably had a preference for constitutional government abroad along the lines established by the Reform bill of 1832 in England, and he actually gave advice to autocratic governments to alter their courses and make concessions to their subjects in the interests of peace. In this way he saved the liberal movements in Spain and Portugal, and he even went so far in 1848 as to order Spain to liberalize her constitution. Yet

whenever he did interfere, a close study shows that the liberal leaders and British representatives and British interests were in close understanding, while reactionary leaders were in the train of Britain's rivals. Where no British interests were involved, as in the case of Poland in her struggle against Russia, liberalism got only pious hopes and sighs. "So there is an end of the poor Poles. I am heartily sorry for them."

In a general way, as Palmerston saw the situation, peace, so necessary for English business expansion, could best be maintained by raising England to the head of the world and keeping her there, and by cherishing in the minds of other nations that this was so. It was not a matter of prestige for its own sake, but of a dominant voice in European councils to ensure favorable conditions for British trade. In his efforts in asserting Great Britain's superior position, he came into conflicts with the United States in the matter of the claim to the Oregon country, which together with the old boundary dispute was, however, peaceably settled by compromises made when Peel was Prime Minister and Palmerston was out of office between 1841 and 1846. His chief rivals were Russia and France. Under the Orleanist dynasty of Louis Philippe, who was often in alliance with England, but had no intention of playing a passive part in European politics, France still sought to control Belgium, Egypt, and Spain; Russia had designs on Turkey and threatened the route to India. England had thwarted these designs in the past and Palmerston followed out the English tradition in thwarting them now. There would have been good reason for this action even if Great Britain had never previously had the slightest interest in these countries. For all of them were important markets for British goods, which would be closed if either Russia or France gained them. In 1830 Palmerston prevented Louis Philippe of France from permitting his second son to be chosen as king of the new kingdom of Belgium, just separated from Holland by a revolution; and nine years later Palmerston's diplomacy succeeded in getting a treaty signed by the leading nations of the world to guarantee Belgium's neutrality forever and to insure her independence from France. In the case of Spain, the French government still played with the policy of Louis XIV in seeking to dominate Spain, and a splendid chance came when Queen Isabella was in the market for a husband. The British Foreign Office absolutely refused to think of one of the sons of the French King for that position, and Louis Philippe seemed to yield to British objections.

When Palmerston, who had been out of office during Peel's ministry, returned to the Foreign Office in 1846, and suggested that Isabella choose a cousin of Albert, the English Prince Consort, Louis Philippe forthwith married off Isabella to an old roué and rake who could never have any children, and on the same day married her sister and heir to his youngest son, the Duke of Montpensier. He thus accomplished "par un detour" what he could not accomplish directly. Two years later, however, Louis Philippe lost his own throne, and Palmerston boasted that he had helped bring about the fall of the Orleanist dynasty as a check to French plans.

In Egypt the Orleanist monarchy constantly supported the government of Mehemet Ali against his nominal overlord, the Sultan of Turkey. In 1831 the Egyptian army, drilled, officered, and equipped by Frenchmen, started on the conquest of Turkey itself and was stopped in Asia Minor only through Russian interference. In 1839 Ibrahim, Mehemet Ali's son, again smote the Turks hip and thigh; and the French, who were now in alliance with England, sought to use their position to bring about a division of the Turkish Empire so that Egypt would be a satellite of France, and Turkey proper, of Russia. Palmerston threw over the French and turned to Russia to form a Quadrilateral Alliance with Austria and Prussia, to preserve the Turkish Empire by bringing the Sultan to make terms with Ibrahim. French influence in Egypt continued strong, however, and in 1859 Palmerston saw the French, in spite of his opposition, strengthen their hold on the country through the concession for building the Suez Canal.

Russia's prime object, in this period as before and since, was to secure control of the warm water port of Constantinople. Great Britain opposed this, of course, on account of the danger to the route to India, if a really strong power, such as Russia, controlled Constantinople and could use it as a naval base. Russia had strengthened her influence in Turkey in 1831 by resisting Ibrahim; and, on the occasion of the Czar Nicolas's visit to England in 1844, he suggested that, since the sick man of Europe (as Turkey was called) was dying, arrangements had better be made for his funeral. Russia would have a free hand in Turkey, and Great Britain might help herself in Egypt. The idea, however, was rejected as too much savoring of immorality, and the Czar went ahead on his own account to strengthen his hand in Turkey. He began by putting forward a claim to protect the Holy Places in Palestine for the Greek church. By

a treaty of 1740 between France and Turkey, Turkey had given the Holy Places in Palestine connected with the life and passion of Christ into the keeping of the Roman Catholic church. In the second half of the eighteenth century, with the growth of indifference to religion in France, the French priests had neglected their trusts, and the Greek church secured control of them. It was this Greek Catholic control that the Czar now sought the right to protect.

At the same time Napoleon III, recently made Emperor of the French by a coup d'état, desired to secure the restoration of the control of the Holy Places to the Roman Catholic church. The French clergy were especially interested in this matter, and Napoleon III took up their cause in order to conciliate clerical opposition to his new régime. He had, moreover, a personal grudge against the Russian Czar, on account of his refusal to give full recognition to Napoleon III's title of Emperor, since Nicholas had replied to Louis Napoleon's announcement of his accession to the imperial dignity in the words "Mon Cher Ami," instead of the more equal "Monsieur Mon Frère." The Sultan referred the rival claims of France and Russia to a mixed commission, whose conclusions were given to France in a letter and to Russia in a firman. The two documents contradicted each other, but when there was danger that the question of the Holy Places might be settled, the Czar sent General Menshikov, a rough old soldier, as ambassador to Constantinople to secure from Turkey a secret treaty acknowledging Russia as the protector of the Greek Christians in the whole of the Turkish Empire. Since there were some fourteen millions of Greek Catholic subjects of the Sultan, this demand was equivalent to a claim of the right of continued interference by the Czar in the domestic affairs of Turkey.

Unfortunately for a peaceful solution of all difficulties, which Lord Aberdeen, the pacifist Prime Minister, was trying to bring about, the British government dispatched Lord Stratford de Redcliffe as British ambassador to Constantinople. He had a personal grievance against the Czar, since he had been refused by the Czar as British ambassador to Russia in 1833; and, before going to Constantinople, he is said to have told a friend that now he should have his revenge by fomenting a war against Russia. Shortly after Lord Stratford's arrival, affairs were precipitated by Menshikov's presentation of an ultimatum to the Sultan for acceptance in five days. The Sultan consulted Lord Stratford, who had been at Constantinople be-

fore and had won the Turkish confidence, and he advised the immediate rejection of the ultimatum. The French and British fleets at Constantinople placed themselves at the ambassador's disposal, and the Russian armies began to cross the river Pruth into the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. During the summer of 1853 Lord Aberdeen arranged a conference of the powers at Vienna, which sent a note, almost identical with Menshikov's ultimatum, to Russia and Turkey for acceptance. The Czar accepted the note, but since its language was so vague that Russia could have claimed all she had ever wanted, the Sultan, on the advice of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, made such changes in it that the Czar refused to accept them.

Meantime Lord Palmerston, who was for the moment home secretary in Aberdeen's cabinet, forgot his earlier fear of a great European war, and led the public opinion of the country in a demand for hostilities against Russia. In December, 1853, Palmerston, disgusted at Aberdeen's slackness, resigned his office and so weakened the government that it had to come to terms with him before he resumed office in February, 1854. An Anglo-French ultimatum was dispatched to St. Petersburg, calling upon the Czar to evacuate the Danubian principalities before April, and a fleet was sent to the Black Sea. On March 12, 1854, England and France signed a treaty of alliance against Russia, and on March 28 they declared war on Russia. The Danubian principalities were soon cleared, but Palmerston wanted Russia crippled and humiliated, so that she would never again menace the liberties of Europe. The war went on with its theatre principally in the Crimean Peninsula, where the allies, now joined by Sardinia, attempted to carry the fortress of Sebastopol. During the course of the next two years the British people lost 20,000 men and spent £77,000,000; they got in return the epic of the life of Florence Nightingale and her work for the wounded, Tennyson's jazzy poem, "The Charge of the Light Brigade," and the treaty of Paris, which was to end Russian ambitions once and for all. Yet such is the fortune of circumstances that fourteen years later Russia was enabled to tear up this treaty and throw its scraps into the wastebasket, so that, politically considered, the Crimean War accomplished nothing at all. It was Palmerston's and the British people's greatest and most expensive blunder in the middle nineteenth century.

If Palmerston was concerned with maintaining the balance

of power, largely in the interests of holding existing markets for British manufacturers, he was also interested in opening new ones for the sale of British products. It is this concern for the interests of the middle class manufacturers and their need for new outlets for their rapidly growing production that stamps Palmerston as something more than "senile from his youth" and makes him extremely contemporary with his own time. In this connection it is necessary to examine his policy, or the policy of the government which he controlled, in China, in India, and toward the United States during the Civil War.

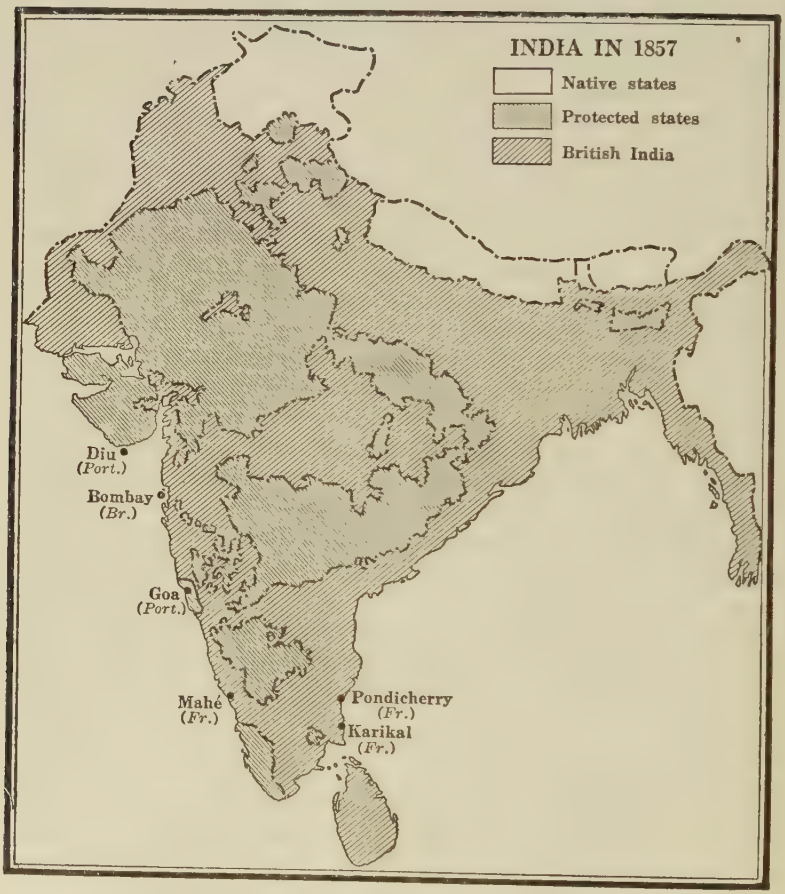
As late as 1830, when Palmerston came to the British Foreign Office, trade with China was still the monopoly of the British East India Company. On the Chinese side, traffic was severely restricted to the port of Canton under special licenses, and the monopolistic company managed to work in accord with the Chinese authorities. In 1833, however, the monopoly of the company came to an end, and commerce between China and the British empire was open, as far as British law was concerned, to all British subjects. A horde of adventurers got into the business; and, regardless of Chinese restrictions, they exploited the trade in smuggled opium, for which there seemed a ready market in China. The Chinese government attempted to stop the trade and sent to Canton a viceroy, Lin, who adopted the high-handed measure of throwing 20,000 chests of illicit opium into the Canton River. The British agent, Woods, exceeded his instructions and started war on China. Even Palmerston could not defend the war, but thought it best to continue it, once it had started, lest the Chinese be given a wrong impression of British strength. He tried further to put the Chinese morally into the wrong by declaring that they had prohibited the importation of opium to protect the native poppy-growers and to prevent the export of bullion. In 1842 the treaty of Nankin was extorted from China, involving the cession of Hong Kong to Great Britain, the opening of five ports including Canton to British trade, and the payment of an indemnity of £4,375,000 in addition to £1,150,000 already exacted.

In 1856 a new war with China was begun over the seizure of a "lorcha" or boat named the *Arrow*, sailing under the British flag, by the Chinese authorities on charge of piracy. The vessel had no claim to British protection, since she was owned and manned by Chinese, though commanded by an Englishman. She had been registered under the British flag

in September, 1855, by the British representative at Hong Kong under an arrangement which entitled her to certain privileges for one year, but at the time of her seizure she had no rights to carry the British flag or claim to British protection. Palmerston, however, flaunted the insult to the British flag and backed up the British agent in his demands upon the Chinese. When they refused them, the British squadron was called into action. The Chinese government of Canton then yielded, but Bowring, the British commander, determined to go ahead and exact further concessions, particularly the right of free admission and residence for British merchants in Canton. In company with a French squadron, the British proceeded to bombard Canton, and war with China was begun. When the matter came up in Parliament, Palmerston felt his support so slight that he appealed to the country in the most jingoistic vein, asserting that servants of the crown must be supported when placed in difficult positions abroad, proclaiming the Chinese atrocities and the dishonor to the British flag, and completely ignoring the utter indecency of the British action in the whole affair. As usual, the country realized his "English-ness" and overwhelmingly returned him to office. In 1858 a treaty was signed admitting European ambassadors and consuls to China and opening new ports, but the Chinese refused to ratify it within the appointed year. It was necessary for the French and British to renew the war and, because the Chinese had treacherously murdered four members of a truce party, the city of Pekin was looted, the magnificent summer palace of the Emperor was burned to the ground, and a heavy indemnity exacted. In the end the Chinese capitulated completely and ratified the treaty as required. New ports were opened to European and British business men, and new possibilities for the expansion of British enterprise were created.

In India there was an extraordinary extension of the territories under British control. In this, as in many other series of imperial acquisitions, the initiative was often taken by the men on the ground, for reasons varying from the satisfaction of personal vanity to a desire to extend the blessings of western civilization. The home authorities did not give previous authorization for new conquests, and often extended only a reluctant approval after the event. In 1843 Lord Ellenborough, governor general of India, for example, brought to a rather ridiculous close a war in Afghanistan, designed to prevent Russia from advancing closer to India. After relieving the British soldiers

whom his predecessors had left shut up in Afghanistan, he sent a letter to the princes of India in which he proclaimed that he had brought back the gates of Somnath to Ghazni, thus avenging an insult which the Mohammedans had inflicted upon the Hindus for the past 800 years. Unfortunately the gates



were soon found to be of modern manufacture, and India rang with ridicule. To retrieve the situation, Ellenborough embarked upon a policy of aggression against parts of India still independent and subject to native rule. He called upon the Amirs of Sind to surrender their independence and, on their refusal, authorized a campaign which was brilliantly carried through by General Charles Napier, who described his victory

in the laconic dispatch, "Peccavi, I have Sind," and referred to his success as "a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality." This was followed by intervention in Gwalior. The directors of the British East India Company, which still governed and controlled British India, recalled Ellenborough because of his too great aggressiveness; but under his successors, especially the Earl of Dalhousie, a war of conquest was undertaken against the Sikhs, who had formed a strong kingdom in the Punjab and were even encroaching on British territory. The Sikh wars (1845-1846, 1848-1856) ended in the annexation of the Punjab in 1856. Four years before this, in 1852, Dalhousie, impatient of the mistreatment of European merchants in Lower Burma, annexed that country and extended British influence to the Irawady River. In 1856, against his own will but under the pressure of the East India Company, he also annexed the territory of the King of Oudh because of the chronic disorder and brigandage there.

These various extensions of British control caused great alarm through all parts of India. This was increased by the enunciation of the doctrine of lapse, that is, that the British would regard any state or property as lapsed to British control where there was a failure of natural heirs, since the British government would no longer recognize the practice of adoption of heirs. Further alarm was created by the spread of the railroad and telegraph, the introduction of which on a large scale made India even more valuable than ever as a market for British goods. The Brahmins saw in these implements of western civilization an attack upon their religion and culture, as they did likewise in the prohibition of suttee or widow-burning, in the efforts to check female infanticide, the spread of European education, the execution of Brahmins guilty of capital offenses, and in the activity of Christian missionaries, who were aided by British military officers. The discontent of the civil population was made effective by the spread of discontent among the sepoys or native soldiers of the army, who numbered 257,000 men as against 45,000 European troops. The high caste Brahmins in the Bengal army were especially restless, and their anger was raised to white heat by various orders which seemed to them a determination to take them from their homes and convert them to Christianity. Then came the introduction of the Enfield rifle, the cartridges of which were greased and had to be bitten with the teeth before being used. A rumor ran through the army that the grease which covered the cartridges

was a mixture of pig's lard and cow fat, the one animal unclean to the Mohammedan, the other sacred to the Hindu. In the spring of 1857 the sepoys began to refuse the cartridges, and in May, 1857, some 85 sepoys at Meerut in northern India who refused the cartridges were arrested, degraded, and marched off to jail. The next night the regiment mutinied and spread murder and destruction through Meerut without a single blow's being struck against them. Their commander held his English troops inactive while the sepoys marched on to Delhi, the ancient Indian capital.

Nearly the whole British command in India was senile, decrepit, hesitant, and stupid, and the mutiny spread rapidly over northwestern India, Oudh, Bengal, and central India. The first outbreak was followed by nearly two years of deeds of breathless heroism and medieval atrocity on both sides, but finally, in April, 1859, the mutiny was over. The British retribution was terrible beyond expression, taking the form in some cases of blowing the mutineers to pieces from the muzzles of cannon, which insured not only death in this life but eternal damnation as well, since in the Hindu religion mutilation of the body has its counterpart in mutilation and destruction of the soul. One good came from it all; the British East India Company was finally dissolved. Its governing powers in India were taken over directly by the crown, to be represented henceforth in India by a viceroy. Victoria pledged herself to seek no territorial extensions, to respect the rights and dignities of native princes, to maintain full religious toleration, and to open the public service of the Indian Empire without distinction of creed, race, or color to all according to ability. The dividends on the stock of the British East India Company were made a perpetual charge, at the rate of three per cent, on the revenues of India.

Closely associated with the extensions of British control in India and a fundamental factor in the determination on the part of Great Britain to strengthen her hold on the country was the growing importance of the Indian market for the British manufacturer. Some reference has already been made to Indian railroad construction, which was carried through with iron and machinery from Great Britain, but still more significant than the Indian market for iron and machinery was the Indian market for British cotton goods. Although India had been a cotton manufacturing country long before cotton was known in Europe, the Indian methods of production by hand spinning wheels and

hand looms were inefficient as compared with automatic mules and power looms. By 1835 the Manchester manufacturers were already gaining a foothold, by 1856-1860 they were supplying 35 per cent of all the cotton goods used in India, and by 1880 nearly 60 per cent. In view of the fact that in 1860 the exports of cotton goods were one half of all British exports, and that 45 per cent of the total British cotton exports went to India, it is easy to realize that the middle class manufacturers welcomed extensions of British control in India and easily sanctioned the transfer of authority from the decrepit British East India Company to the government.

Another illustration of Palmerston's close contacts with British business and his efforts in its behalf is to be found in his attitude toward the American Civil War. Palmerston was Prime Minister when the American Civil War began in 1861, having been called to that office for the second time two years earlier. In this ministry the Peelites, who had preserved their identity in their previous coöperation with Palmerston and had left the government during the Crimean War, now definitely merged themselves with the Whigs and thus brought the Liberal Party into being. Russell, Palmerston, and Gladstone, the three chiefs of the cabinet, and all the upper classes were heartily in sympathy with the South. There had been a good deal of friction first and last between Palmerston and the Washington government. During his tenure of the Foreign Office in the 1830's, the dispute with the United States over the control of the Oregon country had been raised. He had denounced the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842 by which the boundary dispute between Canada and the United States had been settled, as a "bad and very disadvantageous bargain for England." He had been compelled in 1856, after the Crimean War, to make a full apology to the United States for permitting the enlistment of American citizens in the British army against Russia as contrary to American and international law, and he had had to bear the affront of the dismissal of the British minister to Washington on this occasion by the government of the United States.

To American bumptiousness in her previous relations with Great Britain, the objectionable American tariff was added as a further cause of dislike. Mounting higher with almost every president, the American tariff schedules excluded many English goods from the United States markets. The tariff was a peculiarly northern institution; the southern states, exclusively agri-

cultural, were bitterly opposed to it. Moreover, the southern states supplied the spindles of Lancashire with the bulk of their cotton. If they should succeed in winning their independence from the union, they would unquestionably open their ports to British goods on a free trade basis, and there would be even greater assurance of the cotton supply for British factories. It was possible to express this material concern for the independence of the South in phrases about states rights, the right of self-government, or what today would be called self-determination. Hence Palmerston and his supporters could look upon the cause of the South as a variant form of the nationalist movement with which they occasionally expressed so much sympathy. They refused to look upon the Civil War as a movement for the extinction of human slavery, as indeed it was not until Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863; but they were prevented from giving recognition to the South by the pressure of the public opinion of the British working classes. Although the factory workers were very severely hit by the Union blockade of the Confederacy, which created a cotton famine in Lancashire and threw thousands of them out of employment, they were on the Northern side; and, in the face of their fervid belief in the justice of the Union fight for liberty, Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone did not move.

It must be kept in mind that, in spite of the personal sympathies of the members of the government, their official attitude was perfectly correct, except in the one case of the Alabama affair. Moreover, in the actual incidents and events which created friction betwen the governments of Great Britain and the United States, the provocation was frequently supplied by the United States. This is well illustrated by the first critical situation in the relations between the two countries which came in the spring of 1861. A United States warship, the *San Jacinto*, stopped a British mail steamer, the *Trent*, and took off two Southern commissioners, Mason and Slidell, who had embarked on the ship at Havana and were proceeding to London to represent the cause of the Confederacy. The American action was clearly a violation of international law, and Palmerston and Russell might have brought on a war but for the restraining influence of Prince Albert, who pointed out that if the American government declared that Captain Wilkes of the *San Jacinto* had exceeded his instructions and released the commissioners, Great Britain could well be satisfied. The difficulty was surmounted by a declaration of the American

ambassador in the requisite terms and the release of the two commissioners.

The enforcement of the American blockade against the Southern ports served to keep alive British sympathy for the South, as did various speeches of Gladstone's, who declared on one occasion that Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, had made an army, had made a navy, and what was more had made a nation. In consequence the British investors advanced immense sums to the Confederacy by way of war loans, and thus helped the cause of the South in a very material way. The money which the South borrowed in Great Britain was spent there for war materials and equipment, some of which succeeded in running the blockade, and for the construction of commerce destroyers to prey upon American commerce. The most famous of these destroyers was the *Alabama*. While she was building at Birkenhead, the American ambassador protested that she was designed for use as a Confederate raider in defiance of a British statute, the Foreign Enlistment act. The case was brought before the law officers of the crown, but before they gave their decision that she must be detained, she was allowed to slip out to sea. Charles Francis Adams was so peremptory and threatening on this occasion that although the British government refused the American demand for compensation they did prevent any more commerce destroyers from leaving England for the Confederate service; and, although they still talked about the impossibility of maintaining the American union, they did not recognize the South. Here in any case Palmerston was unsuccessful in opening up a greater market for British goods through encouraging a free trade Confederate nation, but perhaps the purchasing power of the united American nation, even under its tariff, became even larger than its disjointed halves could have been capable of with no tariff at all in one half.

Palmerston made one final contribution to the middle classes during his career in his enunciation of the doctrine of the obligation of Great Britain to protect the persons and property of Englishmen in foreign countries. While this was his habitual practice, he gave most concrete, dramatic, and jingoistic expression to the idea in the case of Don Pacifico. Don Pacifico was a Portuguese Jew who had lived in Gibraltar, became a British subject, and opened a pawnshop or worse in Athens. In an Easter demonstration in 1847, the Greek populace, outraged by some peculiarly crooked transaction, had sacked his house.

Instead of appealing to the Greek courts for redress, he claimed the protection of the British government. Since this was only one of a number of rather high-handed proceedings on the part of Greeks against British subjects and their property, Palmerston decided to intervene in most energetic fashion. He sent the British fleet to the Piraeus, the harbor of Athens, to press for a heavy indemnity; and with its help, the British minister in Athens extorted very severe terms from the Greek government including the payment of the outrageous sum of £30,000 to Don Pacifico for his losses. The French government had tried to intervene between Great Britain and Greece, and their ambassador in London was arranging a set of terms when the British on the spot had gone ahead as they had. The Tory opposition to the government moved a vote of censure in the House of Lords, which was followed by a counter resolution in the House of Commons that the principles of the government's foreign policy were "such as were calculated to maintain the honor and dignity of the country." Palmerston made a masterly speech in defense of his policy, leading up to a peroration in which he asked the House to decide "whether as the Roman in the days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say *civis Romanus sum,* so also a British subject in whatever land he may be shall feel confident that the watchful eye and strong arm of England will protect him from injustice and wrong." When Peel had heard the speech, he asserted that the House was proud of Palmerston, and Russell hailed him as a minister of England. Palmerston got his vote, and Don Pacifico got more money probably than he had lost; but, most important of all, the principle had been laid down that the British government would look after and protect British subjects in their property rights abroad, even though it would do little or nothing for its subjects at home. Coming at a moment when foreign investment on a grand scale was just developing, the assertion of such a principle did much to reassure men with capital to invest to seek foreign fields.

In 1865 Palmerston died, and his death was the end of a period. For many years past Palmerston's methods and policy had been opposed in various quarters. The court disliked him because of his anti-German tendencies and because he seemed to disregard the monarch too completely. In 1848 Victoria spoke of his dispatches as "bitter as gall and doing great harm," and several years afterward, in 1850, the Queen made an attempt to compel Palmerston to show her all dispatches which he re-

ceived and to transmit nothing in her name to foreign courts without her first having seen it. Although he promised to do as Victoria desired, he constantly offended in spite of his promise. Palmerston's policy of intervention in European affairs early awakened opposition from another quarter, from the followers of Cobden and his free-trade enthusiasts. They insisted that British business had outgrown Europe and that, beyond maintaining peace and security for British rights, the British government had no concern in European politics. This point of view was finally accepted by the leaders of both political parties in the years after Palmerston's death, even though sentimental considerations and practical economics soon made the professions of both Gladstone and Disraeli futile. More broadly, the death of Palmerston was the end of the Whig era. The middle manufacturing class was still dominant in the next third of the century, but the working class was knocking on the gates to ask for such a share of power and control as was never contemplated by the Palmerstonian philosophy.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XXIII

A. W. Ward and C. P. Gooch, *The Cambridge History of Foreign Policy.*

E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War.*

E. Ashley, *Life of Lord Palmerston.*

L. Bulwer and H. L. E. Dalling, *Life of Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston.*

Marquis of Lorne, *Viscount Palmerston.*

H. Maxwell, *The Life of George Villiers, Fourth Earl of Clarendon.*

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MID-VICTORIAN PROSPERITY AND THE REVIVAL OF IMPERIALISM, 1865-1902

The governments which controlled Great Britain in this period were the ministries led by

Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell (Whig), (1859)-1866
Lord Derby and Benjamin Disraeli (Conservative), 1866-1868
William E. Gladstone (Liberal), 1868-1874
Benjamin Disraeli (Conservative), 1874-1880
William E. Gladstone (Liberal), 1880-1885
Lord Salisbury (Conservative), 1885-1886
William E. Gladstone (Liberal), (February to August) 1886
Lord Salisbury (Conservative), 1886-1892
William E. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery (Liberal), 1892-1895
Lord Salisbury (Conservative), 1895-1902

While a large share of the output of industry in the middle of the nineteneth century remained in the hands of the middle and manufacturing classes, a considerable part of the increment was distributed among the working classes in various ways. This was done first through higher wages and shorter hours, which spread employment among more workers. Wages rose in the case of London artisans, for instance, from 28 shillings a week in 1833 to 36 shillings in 1867 and 40 shillings in 1897; in the case of unskilled town laborers from 14 shillings in 1833 to 20 shillings in 1867 and 25 shillings in 1897; in the case of the agricultural laborers from 10 shillings and 6 pence in 1833 to 14 shillings in 1867 and 16 shillings in 1897. The gains were even greater than the advances indicated by the money wage figures, since prices fell sharply during the nineteenth century. On the basis of 100 in 1900 prices were 235 in 1800. By 1852 they had fallen to 108. Between 1852 and 1873, they rose again to 148 because of the heavy investment of capital in railroads and similar enterprises at home and abroad which were not immediately productive, but after 1874 they declined again, reaching the low level of 80 in 1896. As a result of these price changes, real wages advanced at least

100 per cent during the century, so that the working man could buy at least twice as much goods with the same wages in 1900 as he could in 1800.

The workingman's progress is well illustrated by the increased use of certain staple articles, as shown by the British census reports. Between 1840 and 1886 the average annual per capita consumption of ham and bacon rose from .01 pounds to 11.95 pounds; of cheese from 1.05 pounds to 7.17 pounds; of rice from .9 pounds to 10.75 pounds; of wheat flour from 42.47 pounds to 185.76 pounds; of sugar from 15.21 pounds to 65.96 pounds; of tea from 1.22 pounds to 4.87 pounds; and of tobacco from .86 pounds to 1.42 pounds. The consumption of spirits remained the same, and the consumption of beer fell from 27.78 gallons to 26.61 gallons. These figures probably represent the most extraordinary possibility of advance in living standards for the working class in all English history. Not only were wages higher and prices lower, but employment was more constant; there was less competition between the workers themselves for jobs, and the working day was shorter in the latter part than in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

These boons were won for the working class, in part at least, through factory legislation. During the first third of the nineteenth century the unfettered competition between adult men and women and children had completely demoralized the adult male worker and introduced the family wage in place of the earnings of the head of the family as the means of supplying a family's needs. The early nineteenth century saw the supremacy of the doctrines of *laissez-faire*, which maintained the benefits of competition to society and upheld freedom of contract as the most inalienable of rights. In the face of *laissez-faire* it was difficult to urge any convincing intellectual argument for the restriction of competition between workers by legislation, even though this was the only method of securing a necessary reform. Appeals to the duty of society to the individual would have been in vain in an age which denied such duties and believed all social interference with the individual mischievous. But the proponents of the limitation of competition skillfully appealed to the emotional feelings of pity and terror, which they aroused by the recitals of the wrongs of the factory children and mine women, and fought their battle behind the sentimental smokescreen of the woes of the weak and defenseless children and women. The shorter day was demanded consciously to create more jobs for more men, and so still further limit compe-

tition. At the same time, legislation for the shorter day did not concern itself directly with the hours of men's work, but fixed those of women, young persons and children; and, because it was found unprofitable to operate factories with the men only at work after the women, young persons, and children had left, the adult man's day approximated to that of the protected classes. This was, of course, the purpose of such legislation, but the direct approach to the problem of limiting the man's working day could not be taken because of the *laissez-faire* beliefs of the members of Parliament. Since an adult man's first right was freedom of contract, he could not be prevented from contracting to work as long as he pleased. The argument in the case of women and children was again overcome by the emotional appeal. No amount of intellectual conviction about freedom of contract could stand against Hood's *Song of the Shirt,* or Elizabeth Barrett's *Cry of the Children*

> "Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
> Ere the sorrow comes with years?
> They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
> And that cannot stop their tears
> . . . . . .
> They are weeping in the playtime of the others
> In the country of the free."

It is also worth while noting that the Conversatives were much more kindly disposed to factory legislation than the Whigs, and some of the greatest names in the history of factory legislation, such as that of Lord Shaftesbury, were those of Tories. They still had traditions of the duty of the upper classes to the poor, which Disraeli had tried to revive in his Tory Democracy movement as a young man. Moreover, after the repeal of the Corn Laws, they were eager to revenge themselves on the Whig factory magnates by enacting factory legislation.

Factory legislation, which began in 1802 and continued to be passed throughout the century, was designed to meet conditions as they developed. There was never a carefully meditated program. The acts were applied first to cotton factories only, but in 1833 they were extended to other textile factories, in 1842 to the mines, between 1845 and 1864 to nontextile processes, and in 1867 to workshops as well as factories. In 1864 the idea of the dangerous trade was put forward to justify extension of state control and, since that time, most extensions have been on that ground. Under the acts children were ex-

cluded from factories and workshops below certain ages, young persons and women were limited to certain numbers of hours a week, and certain important provisions for health and protection from injury by machinery were introduced.

A powerful influence in securing this sort of legislation and in winning increases of money wages was the organized activity of the working classes in trade unions. These working class associations developed most rapidly after 1848 and took the form of amalgamated societies of skilled artisans with centralized administration and benefit society features. They established libraries and reading rooms among the workers, formed classes for mutual instruction, printed magazines, and carried on negotiations with employers for shorter hours and higher wages. Above all, they substituted collective bargaining of all the workers through a representative for the bargaining of the weak and helpless individuals; they attempted to reduce the labor supply through limitation of apprentices and assisted emigration of surplus workers; and, as their most effective weapon to compel employers to come to terms, they used the strike, the concerted withdrawal of labor from work until their demands were met. Formed to secure the compulsory maintenance of living standards by the limitation and withholding of work, the trade unions were a flat denial of the reliance upon complete and full competition as the best means of securing the greatest good for all persons and classes and of society as a whole. Trade unions were consequently detested by the manufacturing and governing classes, and during the first quarter of the nineteenth century they were actually illegal. Even though given a grudging right to exist in 1824 and 1825, they still worked under serious disabilities, since the judges insisted upon regarding them as various sorts of conspiracies or criminal combinations in restraint of trade, whenever they attempted to go beyond mere negotiation with employers in determining wages and hours. Judges were just a little too eager to stretch the law to punish trade unions when they resorted to the strike to warrant giving the judiciary an entirely clean bill of health on their attitude. At last one judge hit upon a device which seemed to threaten the end of trade unions altogether. He held that, since they were illegal combinations in restraint of trade, their constitutions were nonenforceable contracts, and they could not sue their own officers who chose to embezzle their funds. At almost the same time the explosion of a can of gunpowder in a trade unionist's house in Sheffield had deeply stirred

the English public against trade unions and resulted in a parliamentary investigation of trade unionism by a royal commission, which recommended that, while trade unions should be allowed to remain, they should be put under most restrictive conditions. Gladstone was Prime Minister at the moment, at the head of a Liberal government. He had a vehement belief in *laissez-faire* and freedom of contract and would have been glad to see the trade unions ended altogether. In 1870 the government introduced a bill into Parliament which gave the unions a legal status, but contained a clause codifying the law of conspiracy in such inclusive terms that any act which might lead to a strike was criminal. The utmost the unions could do was to have the bill divided into two parts, one legalizing unions and protecting their funds, the other practically forbidding all trade union activity. The second act, the Criminal Law Amendment act, worked intolerable injustice. In South Wales seven women went to jail for saying "Bah" to a blackleg or scab. In London the gas stokers were put into jail simply for preparing to go on a strike. The trade unionists agitated earnestly for a repeal of this law; and in the election of 1874 the Conservatives under Disraeli, true to their policy of helping the poor, promised to repeal the law if they came into office. The labor vote, which had been granted in 1867 as will be described later in this chapter, went to the Conservatives and was partly responsible for the defeat of the Liberals. Gladstone was turned out, and the trade unions won, in 1875, a status which seemed to them satisfactory until destroyed by new legal decisions early in the twentieth century.

The trade unions gave the working classes not only organization through which to deal with their employers, but a means of influencing public opinion and Parliament in their interests. The new amalgamated societies had their central offices in London, and their highly trained secretaries came into frequent contact with each other. Gradually, in the 1860's, a little group was formed known as the Junta composed of men of great ability; William Allan, Secretary of the Engineers, Robert Applegarth, Secretary of the Carpenters, Daniel Guile, of the Iron Founders, Edwin Coulson, of the Bricklayers, and George Odger, of a small union of highly skilled workers on women's shoes. They came to dominate the trade union world, giving the working class for the first time genuine working class leadership to take the place of the direction of middle class sympathizers. Among them they evolved a working class policy

which was bigger and broader than the mere question of wages, concerned with political reform, the franchise for workingmen, new factory and mine legislation, national education for the working classes, and legalization of trade union activity. There were also the Trades Councils, which were local trade committees in every large city, composed of the representatives of all local trades, to secure the general good. The Trades Council of London was especially important and, under the leadership of the Junta, it did a great deal to secure the extension of the franchise to the working class in 1867 and to change the inequitable Master and Servant law which punished a servant for breach of his contract by imprisonment and a master by a fine. Finally there was the Trade Union Congress, called into existence by the Junta in 1871 to protest against Gladstone's attempt to destroy trade unions. This assembly has continued to meet every year since that time and has been the body by which working class policy has been formulated and directed ever since.

The mid-Victorian prosperity reached its apogee in Gladstone's first ministry, 1868-1874. Many classes shared in the marvelous wealth which England's factories were turning out, but the largest shares went to the manufacturers and entrepreneurs on the one hand, and the skilled, organized factory workers on the other. Their increased control of England's wealth meant, of course, more power and influence in national life, which found the clearest political expression in this first ministry of Gladstone. Gladstone himself symbolized the victory of the manufacturing interests over the Whig aristocracy in the Liberal party, and his advance to be Prime Minister in a Liberal government typified the ascendancy of the northern and western manufacturers in the control of the state.

The workers won political recognition for their new position in the Reform bill of 1867, by which the franchise was extended to the factory workers. Ever since the failure of Chartism in 1848, the factory workers had been eager for the grant of the vote through regular parliamentary process. Various bills to change the franchise were actually introduced into Parliament by both Conservatives and Whigs or Liberals from 1852 onward, three of them by Lord John Russell, in keeping with perfunctory pledges which he had given. Russell himself, however, had no interest in his bills, and Palmerston's opposition to any change from the principles of 1832 had prevented the Whigs from doing anything. The Conservatives, willing enough to help the workers, did not believe them capable of

voting and were chiefly concerned in a measure of their own in 1859 to give the vote in the counties to clergymen, lawyers, and other professional men of conservative leanings who could not qualify under the property clauses of the act of 1832. After the magnificent exhibition of self-control which the workers showed during the famine conditions brought about by the stoppage of the cotton trade during the American Civil War and the generally better political sense which they exhibited in contrast with the upper classes, this argument of their incompetence could no longer be advanced. The trade unions, led by the Junta, began a vigorous campaign for the extension of the franchise to workingmen in the towns. As Gladstone pointed out to the working classes of the towns, they had five-twelfths of the income of the country and only one-seventh of the electoral power, and with their working class organization, power of agitation, skill in presenting their case, and above all their new wealth, they could not be refused. In view of the inevitable extension of the franchise to them because of their new economic power, leaders in both parties fell over each other to give them the right to vote, though the rank and file, duller witted, held back.

In 1866 Lord Russell sanctioned the introduction of a half-hearted measure extending the franchise to about 400,000 additional persons, but it commanded no enthusiasm and was actually opposed by a part of the party called the Adullamites, who, still believing in the principles of 1832, revolted and went into the opposition. With the fall of the Liberal ministry, a Conservative ministry under Lord Derby with Benjamin Disraeli as his leader in the House of Commons came into office. Meantime, the working class demand for the vote had risen to great proportions and although even many of the Conservative leaders were reluctant to take the step, Disraeli declared that if the country would have reform, they might as well remain in office and give it to them. So the Conservative party, to "dish the Whigs," took "the leap in the dark," "shot Niagara," and gave all householders in the towns, that is the factory workers, the franchise and at the same time made certain changes in the distribution of the seats. The bill, however, was not strictly a Conservative measure, since it was amended out of all semblance of its original form by Gladstone and certain advanced Liberals called "The Tea Room Party." Consequently, both parties could claim credit for the measure. Soon after its passage Lord Derby resigned office and Disraeli be-

came Prime Minister in his place for the first time. He had, however, only a minority in the House of Commons, and when the Liberal split of 1866 was healed, he was forced to consent to a general election in 1868. In the election of 1868 the newly enfranchised voters threw in their lot with the Liberals and helped make Gladstone Prime Minister at the head of a Liberal cabinet. But so little were they committed to the Liberals that in 1874, disgusted by Gladstone's uncompromising *laissez-faire* doctrinarianism and his hostility to trade unions, they voted Conservative and helped oust Gladstone.

One of the first important working class gains, won through their new political importance, was the Forster Education act of 1870, providing a system of schools for the education of the working classes. English upper class education, conducted through the famous "public schools" (corresponding to private schools in America), such as Eton, Harrow, St. Mary's Winchester, and Rugby, and through the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge, was considered very satisfactory. But up until 1870 there was no national system of public education in state-supported and state-controlled schools for the masses of the population. There were some schools for the poor founded by private organizations, such as the "British and Foreign School Society" and the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England." Since 1833, moreover, Parliament was making grants of money to aid schools established by such voluntary societies, beginning with £20,000 in 1833 and rising to over £400,000 in 1870. These schools were, however, inadequate in number. In Manchester, for example, 16,000 out of 65,000 children had no schools to which they might go; in Liverpool out of 80,000 children, 40,000 went to government-aided schools, 20,000 went to schools which were so low in their standards that they could not qualify for government aid, and 20,000 had no schools at all. In the country as a whole 2,000,000 children out of 4,300,000 of school age were not in school and, of the rest, 1,000,000 were in schools which could not qualify for state aid.

Moreover, instruction given in such voluntarily established schools for the poor was liable to suffer from the aristocratic notion that genuine education for the poor was undesirable. "A poor boy's education," said a contemporary authority, "is reading and writing. . . . It is idle to expect that the demands of active life will let you ordinarily give him more than this. You cannot give the poor boy an education You cannot ordinar-

ily do more than give him this key, and we must limit our ideas of what constitutes a poor boy's education accordingly." It was taken for granted that the education of the poor was that of an inferior social class which was destined to remain inferior, and after all, education was sufficient if continued from three to eleven or twelve years of age, when the child had arrived at the proper age (physically speaking) for labor. The aim was to ground children in the principles of religion and enable them to learn to read and write with tolerable ease and cipher well enough for the purposes of their condition in life.

The grant of the franchise to the working classes in 1867 made it necessary to heed their demand for better educational facilities for their children and even from the upper class point of view it was seen that "we must educate our masters." In 1870, consequently, the government, spurred on by Mr. W. E. Forster, vice-president of the council, who had a genuine interest in education, introduced its education act. Any attempt to supplant the existing voluntary schools entirely would have met the most bitter opposition of the Church of England, which supported most of the voluntary schools in England through the National Society, and their opposition was powerful enough to defeat such a measure. Moreover, it would have put an excessive expenditure upon the country to make a clean sweep and duplicate already existing schools. It was, therefore, decided "to fill up the gaps," which meant, in essence, to divide England into school districts; and, wherever a voluntary school was not already in existence or was not built within one year, a school board was to be created to build and maintain a school, called a board school, through parents' fees, local taxes, and parliamentary grants. These schools were, however, neither free, secular, nor compulsory. While universal compulsion was a desirable goal, it was not adopted at first. Each school board could, if it chose, require attendance of all children between the ages of five and thirteen years, and only during the next ten years was direct compulsion introduced. Fees were required from parents who could afford to pay, and they were not abolished until 1891. Religious instruction of nonsectarian character was provided for, with a conscience clause, under which such instruction was to be given only at fixed hours, and parents objecting to it might withdraw their children from school during those hours. Moreover, the Forster act did not give England a completely nationalized secondary educational system, since the existing voluntary schools remained and pres-

ently began to envy the larger income of the board schools and to clamor for the right to levy local taxation. In spite of all its defects, the Forster act was a remarkable advance. Male illiteracy fell from 19.4 per cent in 1870 to 1.4 per cent in 1904; and, while English working class education was not comparable to that of the United States or Germany, it was vastly better under the act than it had been before.

Gladstone's first ministry was marked by many other reforms of a more general nature. It not only marked the ascendancy of the manufacturing interests and the recognition of the working class as sharing in political power, but it also achieved many changes which affected every part of the empire and every class in it. England was rich enough to abolish old abuses, to reform or discard outworn institutions, and to correct ancient wrongs. Gladstone himself was particularly concerned with the problem of Ireland which was in almost constant disorder, misery, and wretchedness. On his assumption of office he declared that his mission was to pacify Ireland. The Ireland problem, to use Gladstone's figure, was a Upas tree with three poisonous branches, the Irish land, the Irish church, and Irish education, which he must cut off. The details of his Irish program will be considered in the chapter on Ireland. In reforms along other lines, imprisonment for debt was abolished in 1869. In 1870 competitive examinations for civil service positions were extended to all departments except the Foreign Office. In 1870-1871 the military system was reformed through the introduction of short term enlistments and the abolition of the purchase of commissions. In 1871 the religious tests for admission to degrees at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were abolished; in the same year four days each year were set aside as Bank Holidays. In 1872 the secret ballot to take the place of public voting was introduced, and public houses were required to close at 12 P.M. in London and 11 P.M. in the country. In 1873 the Supreme Court of Judicature act united the superior courts of law, the Queen's Bench, Exchequer, Common Pleas, Chancery Probate and Divorce, Admiralty, and Bankruptcy, into one supreme court with two branches and several divisions, to expedite justice and make impossible in the future the long delays in justice which had been so graphically portrayed by Dickens in *Bleak House*. Great and high-timed as these reforms were, they were made too abundantly to suit many people. Gladstone hurt one vested interest after another; his Irish policy, especially in the matter of Irish education, satisfied no one;

his project in 1874 to abolish the income tax and the sugar duties and make up their losses by cutting the army and navy estimates and by increasing the death duties and the duties on spirits alarmed "the trade," the army, the navy, and many others. "The country has made up its mind to close the career of plundering and blundering" wrote Disraeli, and in January, 1874, Gladstone and the Liberals fell.

The country was tired of reforms. It was tired, too, of the rather inglorious, or at any rate inactive, part Gladstone had played in the great events of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, by which the map of Europe had been remade. It did not like the arbitration award in the matter of the claims of the United States for damages done to American commerce by the *Alabama* during the Civil War, under the terms of which Great Britain paid £3,250,000 to the United States. But fundamental in all this carping at the government was the first break in the long period of prosperity, which came in 1873. Everyone saw how ineffective the innovations and reforms of the great ministry really were, irritating many important classes, and contributing nothing to the permanence of material prosperity.

The Break in the Mid-Victorian Prosperity, and the Revival of Imperialism

The business depression of 1873 and the years which followed was attended by peculiar conditions, which must be understood to grasp the character of the international economic and political rivalries of the succeeding period. The Franco-Prussian War seemed the opportunity of British manufacturers. While France and Germany were fighting, British producers expanded their factories to supply war materials to the belligerents and goods to the former customers of French and German makers. British exports rose from £190 million in 1869 to £256 million in 1872. After the war was over, the Germans laid out a large part of the indemnity paid by France in building railroads, repairing fortresses, and constructing new buildings, and huge sums were spent in England for iron and steel for these purposes. But the payment of the indemnity crippled France, and its receipt by Germany led to a rage of speculation, which resulted in widespread bankruptcy. British manufacturers soon discovered that while the war took two groups of competitors out of the running, its aftermath was ruining two good customers. British exports to Germany began to decline, and, since the

German crisis reacted on Austria, British business in Austria also suffered.

In America the West was rapidly opened up after the Civil War. In a few years 30,000 miles of railroad, costing £10,000 a mile, were built with capital drawn in large part from Great Britain. But the excessively rapid development of the productive powers of the American West was not attended by a corresponding increase in consumption and use. The new railroads, for instance, were not used extensively enough to enable the payment of expenses or dividends, although they represented potentialities for the future and, consequently, bankruptcies began in the United States in 1873, attended by a sharp fall in the American demand for British goods.

In Great Britain herself, the collapse of agriculture, predicted by speakers in the Corn Law debates of 1846, at last arrived. In 1873 the harvests failed in England and, simultaneously, the bottom fell out of prices of agricultural products with the beginning of heavy imports of American wheat from the new wheat lands of the Mississippi Valley. Grown on virgin soil in Iowa or Minnesota, American wheat was almost a natural product as compared with English wheat, raised on poor, unfertile soil with the help of intensive cultivation and heavy fertilization. It cost more for labor, fertilizer, and rent to grow wheat in England than the American product was sold for. As a consequence half of the wheat growing area went out of cultivation in Great Britain, rents fell, and the agricultural classes from landlords down to laborers were forced to curtail their consumption and lessen their use of British goods.

In general, a period now set in of lessening demands for British products abroad and competition on unequal terms with British agriculture at home. A cycle of serious trade depression brought to an end the glowing prosperity of the Mid-Victorian era. British industry was more highly developed than it had ever been, but markets were closed to a greater or less extent in the older commercial areas of the United States and Europe, and even at home. The same situation held true for the industry of Germany and France. Manufacturers in every country wanted new markets and began to compete for them with the utmost vigor.

Africa, especially, seized upon the popular imagination as the possible dumping ground for European goods. The extreme north and the extreme south of Africa were known and partly under European control long since, but the central and interior

regions of Africa were unknown as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. After 1850, however, a great deal of exploration was done by Germans, such as Ruppel and Burckhardt, by Frenchmen, such as Caille, and by Englishmen, such as Speke, Baker, and Livingstone. Speke discovered one of the sources of the Nile in 1858 in the great lake which he called Victoria Nyanza; Sir Samuel Baker discovered the source of the other branch of the Nile in Albert Nyanza in 1864; and David Livingstone, a missionary, traced the course of the Zambesi and the upper Congo and explored the regions around Lake Nyassa and Lake Tanganyika between 1840 and 1873. On one of Livingstone's journeys he was thought lost or dead, and Henry M. Stanley was sent out to find him. Europe was held breathless for months until Stanley found him and returned; and Africa had got on the front page. French, German, and British business houses expanded in the newly explored reaches of Africa. At first they did business side by side, but presently they began to look forward to the possibilities of greater profit if their own nation should control the area in which they operated.

Africa was, however, not only a new market for European goods; it soon began to be regarded as a virgin field for the investment of capital. As British, German, French, and European industry in general was organized, the products were divided between the entrepreneur and capitalists who got salaries and dividends, and the workers who received wages. Wages were fixed at such levels that the workers could not buy their proportionate share of all goods produced, and the entrepreneurs and capitalists were so few in number that they could not consume the whole share of the product of industry apportioned to them. In other words, there was a certain surplus of unconsumed goods or capital available each year for investment. Some of this, of course, was used at home to improve the existing factories and build new ones; but a great deal of this surplus could not find any profitable use at home to stimulate production, since there was no effective demand for the new goods which could be created by it. It could have been used at home, had wages been raised. It could have been used at home in the form of municipal and public improvements on an extensive scale, such as the laying out of parks, boulevards, and the building of houses and public buildings, as has been done in the United States. But Great Britain was an old civilization, it had a fabric which was not too impossible, and improvements not absolutely necessary were seldom made in those days. The retention

of such surplus capital at home under any other conditions than those of effective demand would have involved the shutting down of the factories which created the surplus goods in question, the fall of the interest rate, and declines in prices; and consequently its owners or their agents, the bankers, who controlled it, sought to create effective demand through investments abroad. This had been true for a long time, and the heavy British investments in American railroads ever since their beginning represent one use of the surplus. Such investments, it must be remembered, actually took the form of the export of British goods. When the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad borrowed money in England, individual Englishmen bought Baltimore and Ohio stock, but what actually came to America was locomotives, rails, and railway material.

Another way of putting the matter, not quite so clear perhaps, is that British prosperity and industrial development were bound up with foreign trade. British industry could be kept running on full time to capacity only if foreign countries took large amounts of British goods, paying for them not with other goods or gold, but with bonds and stocks. In the period after 1873, however, English, French, and German bankers all had surplus capital to invest in competition with each other; the older areas of investment in the United States, South America, Russia, and Turkey (all of which were affected by the general business depression of the seventies) no longer afforded good openings, and the investors turned to Africa. The French had long been making investments in Egypt akin to those made in American railroads by the British, and between 1859 and 1869 they built the Suez Canal as a means of using and investing some of their surplus.

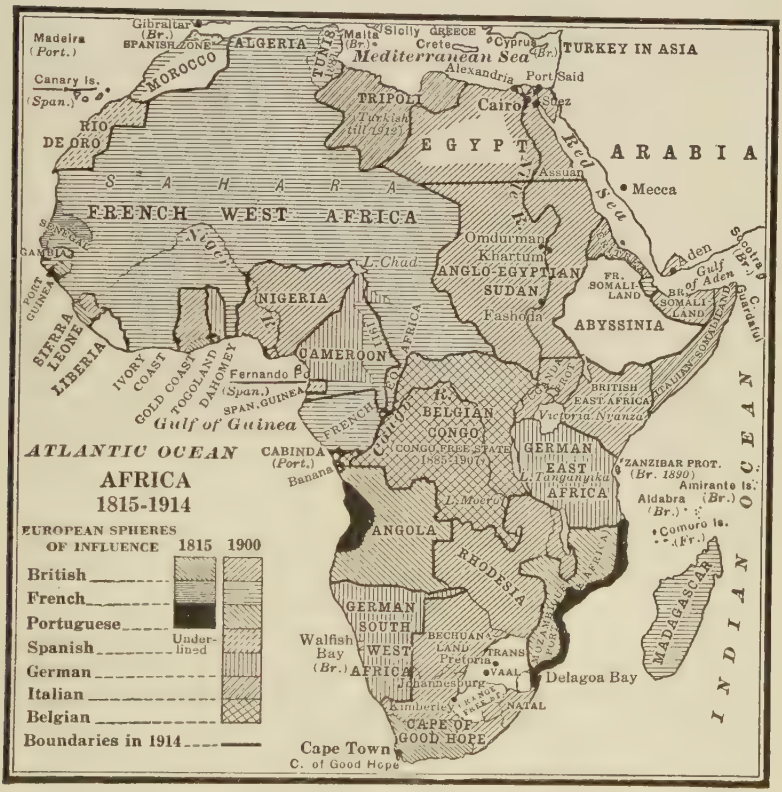
But cruder and grosser methods of capital investment were already in vogue there on the part of Europeans, made possible by the lavishness and extravagance of the ruling Khedive Ismail. In essence this sort of investment was merely the exchange of English, French, and German goods against Egyptian bonds, at high rates and large discounts. Between 1863 and 1879 Ismail increased the national debt of Egypt from £3,000,000 to £89,000,000. The kind of thing he used his money for is illustrated by the elaborate carnival which he gave on the occasion of the opening of the Suez Canal. He invited the kings and princes of Europe to be his guests, and Eugenie, Empress of the French, was Queen of the Carnival. To house his guests, he refurnished the palaces of Cairo with expensive European furniture (bought

out of a loan); to feed them, he imported 3000 French chefs with a complete outfit of French cooking apparatus (paid for out of a loan); and to entertain them, he commissioned Verdi to write *Aida* and assembled the most famous opera singers of Europe to sing it in the shadow of the Pyramids. Eventually, in November, 1875, he had borrowed so much that the bankers were getting afraid of their security and refused any further advances. At this time Ismail drew out of his strong box 176,602 shares of Suez Canal stock, which his father had received for the franchise of the Canal and, entrusting them to a secret agent, offered them to a French bank. Disraeli, however, made an offer on them and bought them for nearly £4,000,000, and Ismail managed to keep on for several years longer. In 1879, however, he announced that he was bankrupt.

The bankers of Great Britain, France, and Germany at once demanded that their governments help them to collect their money. In 1876, the Khedive had already accepted various forms of European control to prevent the further exploitation of his country which might ruin the security for loans already made. A *Caisse de la Dette publique* was erected to take charge of Egyptian finances and manage them for the benefit of the bankers to whom money was due, English and French officials were added to the Egyptian ministry, and mixed tribunals were set up to examine claims against the government. Ismail cunningly created so much dissension among the various European officials that he was able to escape from their restraint and dismiss them and embark on new extravagances. In consequence, in 1879, the powers took action. The French and British governments united to force Ismail off his throne in favor of his young son and to set up a group of Anglo-French bankers to run the finances of Egypt in their own interests. Thus, to protect these investments in Egypt, the British and French governments reduced the country to a kind of subject status; and, when the Egyptians rebelled under Arabi Pasha three years later and the French hesitated, Great Britain crushed Arabi's revolt alone. She then occupied the country with her troops, appointed Sir Evelyn Baring, later Earl of Cromer, as resident adviser to the Khedive, and made Egypt to all intents and purposes a British colony.

It must be recognized that this whole development could never have taken place but for the excessive rottenness of the native Egyptian government, and the corruption of her ruling class. On the whole, the imposition of western control in Egypt

put an end to a system of native misrule in the presence of which no decent life was possible for the mass of the Egyptian people, and it was soon possible for Earl Cromer to take real pride in the progress made by all classes under his enlightened control.



In the wilder parts of central coastal and interior Africa somewhat different methods of investment were required. In these regions the object was to introduce the complete apparatus of modern civilization, railroads, roads, telegraph lines, electric lights, harbor works, and public buildings at one fell swoop, and to exploit mines and forests and plantations through heavy importations of materials from England. Unlike the ordinary processes of exchange of goods for goods by merchants, such enterprises, to be most successful and most safe, involved the

monopolistic control of certain areas by the interested capitalists and bankers through the backing of the home government and international sanction.

Perhaps the first man to recognize the possibilities of Africa for this sort of development was Leopold, King of Belgium, who, in his private capacity, was a keen business man. He saw the value of the Congo basin which Stanley explored, 1874-1878, and forthwith used his position as a king to advance his interests as a capitalist. In 1876 he called a congress of European nations to "discuss the question of the exploration and the civilization of Africa and the means of opening up the interior of the continent to the commerce, industry, and scientific enterprise of the civilized world," and to extinguish slavery there. The International African Association was formed with its seat at Brussels, but Leopold alone among the rulers of Europe paid much attention to it. He provided it with funds; he employed Stanley to organize a state in the Congo basin through treaties with the natives; and, in the Congress of Berlin, in 1885, he secured the recognition of the Congo Free State as a neutral international territory with himself as king. When the various sham associations finally disappeared, Leopold stood forth as the owner and exploiter of the Congo with a monopoly of trade, raw materials, and construction in the country, which he used for himself and his friends.

Capitalists who were not sovereigns like Leopold soon embarked in similar schemes of investment on a large scale in various parts of Africa; but, instead of getting international congresses to guarantee their monopolies, they secured recognition from their own governments, which in turn came to understandings with the other governments of the world on the matter. Thus Sir William Mackinnon and his associates, known as the British East Africa Company, took up British East Africa; Sir George Goldie and his group got Nigeria; Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company opened up Rhodesia. It is worth noting that wherever a group of British capitalists planned large scale investment in some uncivilized area in Africa,—and the same thing is true in detail in the case of German capitalists,—the British government acted to secure international recognition of British interests by creating the area a British colony. But it is also true that in many areas where there were no large British interests, the British government refused to annex the territory; and the same is true of the German government.

The Popularization of Imperialism

The extension of the empire in Africa was the answer of the banker and financier to the problem of how to restore prosperity to English business and end the long trade depression of the seventies and early eighties (1873-1885). This new interest in colonies among the bankers had powerful support among the aristocratic classes, who saw in every extension of the empire the creation of more jobs for their sons as government officials. This led John Stuart Mill to refer to the British empire as "a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes," and another writer had the same thought when he insisted upon the value of colonies as providing employment "for these superfluous articles of the present day, our boys." The extension of the empire was also popular with the services, the army and the navy, because it was bound to increase opportunities for distinction and promotion, and it found zealous supporters among the armament firms, the shipbuilding companies, and the Boiler-makers' Union, which is composed of men who work in the shipyards. Finally, the bulk of the English people was interested in the new empire, not through the economic approach, which seldom inspires men in the mass, but through the emotional appeal.

The genius who popularized the idea of imperialism and made the people eager to welcome every new spot of red on the map was Disraeli. Up until 1870 there was little popular interest in the empire and, indeed, between 1860 and 1870, even the intellectual classes were quite ready to let the empire go. But as early as 1872, Disraeli with his extraordinary intuition of the trend of the future, or because the idea fitted in with his fundamental philosophy, or because it was the policy best calculated to take the minds of the people off reforms at home, began to preach a revival of "the sublime instinct of an ancient people." He held the aristocratic view that government should be the rule of the strong, the monarchy and the landed interest, for the protection of the poor and weak. He did not believe in democracy, the rule of the mob, since that only resulted in confusion and disorder. Just as the strong and wise should rule in England, so in the world they had a God-given mission to bring the blessings of good government to the more backward peoples of the earth. His belief in imperialism was a corollary to his creed of aristocracy, and he systematically exploited "the sublime instinct of an ancient people," the popular interest in

empire, in order to turn the attention of the people from a further weakening of aristocratic rule. His importance at this juncture lies in his ability to stir the emotional depths of Englishmen by preaching the evangel of empire so that they were ready to accept the obligations and burdens which the annexations of new territories were soon to involve. This was his outstanding achievement during his ministry when he succeeded Gladstone in 1874, that he made Englishmen eager to assume the responsibilities of imperialism. He provided the gospel and the necessary emotional boost to enable the real empire builders, Mackinnon, Goldie, Rhodes, and others to count on popular support in their own operations.

Disraeli's direct material contributions to the new imperialism were of less importance. His practical interest in the empire was not strictly in line with the newest developments. He was a good deal less interested in Africa, the coming colonial land, than in India, the most important colony of the period just ending. In his foreign policy it was India and the approaches to India that he endeavored to secure, and it was in connection with his Indian policy that he aroused most popular enthusiasm. In 1875 he purchased the Suez Canal stock. He did so because the Suez Canal was a most important link in the way to India, and he glorified his action in the phrase, "The Highway to India is now secure." On January 1, 1877, new lustre was added to the British crown, which Liberals declared would eventually prove to be only electro-plating, by the proclamation of Victoria as Empress of India.

In 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey in order to free the Serbians and Bulgarians and probably to bring herself nearer to her coveted possession of Constantinople through Serbia and Bulgaria which she would control. During the war Great Britain had stipulated that the Suez Canal, Egypt, the Persian Gulf, and the route to India were not to be brought within the scope of Russian operations, and Russia had stated that she had no designs on Constantinople. At the end of the war, however, Russia imposed the treaty of San Stephano on Turkey, which left almost nothing of Turkey in Europe, and placed Russia in control of the Balkans through her protégés, Serbia and Bulgaria. Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, was violently alarmed for the safety of the road to India and demanded that the treaty of San Stephano be revised in a general European congress. This was held in Berlin in 1878. Although Great Britain and Russia had settled their discords between them by a secret

memorandum before the conference met, the debates at the congress were animated, and Beaconsfield stood out prominently, even though it is apparent from the diplomatic documents since published that he had no real understanding of what was going on. Perhaps he realized this himself, for at a ball on the last evening of the congress, when he was asked by a lady what he was thinking about, he replied, "I am not thinking, I am enjoying myself." For Beaconsfield the important thing was that Russia's Balkan designs were materially reduced. Beaconsfield incidentally took advantage of the congress to make a treaty with Turkey guaranteeing that Great Britain would defend the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan for all time, in return for which the occupation of Cyprus was entrusted to Great Britain. When he returned to London, Beaconsfield announced that he brought "peace with honor," and the cheering, exultant crowds which met him showed their approval of his whole imperialist policy.

If Disraeli gave imperialism its vogue, it remained for Gladstone to sanctify it by providing it with a saint and hero. Gladstone on the whole was anti-imperialist in theory, and he certainly opposed Disraeli's imperialist practices, particularly in relation to Turkey and Russia. But Gladstone could not stem the current of the new movement, and it was he who authorized British action against Arabi Pasha in 1882, which resulted directly in the sole British occupation of Egypt.

South of Egypt lay the Sudan, which, nominally subject to Egypt, had been ruled in the name of the Khedive from 1877 to 1879 by Charles George Gordon, a brilliant military officer, who many years earlier had won great fame by his work as an officer in the Chinese army in suppressing the Tai Ping rebellion in China. After his departure from the Sudan in 1879, disorder broke out in the country, and a Mohammedan fanatic, the Mahdi, gained control of a good part of the country. The Egyptian government attempted to reconquer the Sudan with an army commanded by General Hicks, an Englishman in Egyptian service, but on November 5, 1883, his force was cut to pieces in the desert. Only in the fortified garrison towns did Egyptian troops hold out and, eventually, it was decided by the Egyptian and British governments to extricate the garrisons and Europeans from these towns and retire from the Sudan. Gladstone selected General Gordon to carry out the withdrawal, but, after his arrival in Egypt, Gordon was appointed governor general of the Sudan by the Khedive, and he himself seems to

have determined not to withdraw the garrisons and Europeans, but to establish order and settled government and to remain there until that was done. Recognizing the difficulties of the task once he reached the Sudan, Gordon called for British troops to come to his aid, and presently England was horrified to learn that Gordon was shut up in Khartum. The public clamored for a relief expedition, but Gladstone was undecided. Gordon was "surrounded," but not hemmed in; who should command the relieving force? by which route should it proceed to Khartum? Months were wasted. Gordon was cut off on May 26, 1884; it was September 1, 1884, before Wolseley, the commander of the relief expedition, was able to leave England; it was January 17, 1885, before the relief expedition formed contacts with the Mahdists. On January 28, 1885, the first detachments of British troops reached Khartum to find Gordon dead two days before and the famine-stricken population turned over to massacre.

Anger, dismay, and grief filled England when the news of Gordon's death was received on February 5, 1885. He became the popular hero. The Queen openly showed her grief. The House of Lords voted censure on the government, and the Commons rejected such a vote by the barest majority of 14. Gladstone was forced to take up a policy of "smashing the Mahdi," and the country was quieted by a good deal of bloodletting and slaughter of Arabs before the government again decided for the present to withdraw from the Sudan altogether. In this wise the new imperialism of the latter part of the nineteenth century was evolved and made popular. It was an attempt to solve the problem of the restoration of prosperity after the hard times of the 1870's and early 1880's, and in a sense it was successful. The new colonies did afford outlets for enormous capital sums, and thus served to start the British factory working again at full time.

Closely tied up with the desire to monopolize colonial areas for capital investment was the kindred desire to monopolize the markets in Great Britain for British manufacturers and agriculturalists through a high protective tariff excluding foreign goods. Many books, such as Henry Fawcett's *Free Trade and Protection,* were written during the middle 1880's to urge a reversal of England's free trade policy, and there was a widespread discussion of the advantages of a protective tariff. The landowners and farmers particularly desired the imposition of a high protective tariff to protect them from the deluge of cheap

American wheat. On the other hand, many manufacturers who had grown prosperous under free trade were so wedded to that policy that they refused to consider any reversal of the decision of 1846. The Conservative party would in all probability have adopted a protective tariff policy but for the fear of the agricultural laborers who had just been given the vote in a new franchise act, the Reform bill of 1884. Since the country laborers formed a most important voting element in the Conservative party, it was dangerous to alienate them by any move which would have increased the price of food. Protection remained, however, in the back of the heads of many Conservatives and, when the twentieth century had scarcely begun, it was actually made a part of the Conservative party's program.

Imperialism in Practice, a Concrete Example

The way in which the schemes of capitalists to secure the safest and greatest possibilities for investment operations worked together with the imperialist enthusiasm and generous idealist emotion of the general mass of the people, who had not the slightest glimmer of the economic interests involved, to force the hand of the government to extend the empire is shown in the most complete way by the annexation of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State to the British Empire.

South Africa was originally settled by the Dutch, as part of Holland's colonial empire; but, during the Napoleonic wars, it was annexed by Great Britain to keep it from falling into Napoleon's hands after his subjugation of Holland. When the peace was made in 1815, Great Britain kept it, compensating Holland with a large sum of money. The English government at the Cape soon began to irritate the Boers, as the Dutch settlers were called, by giving the natives civil rights, by abolishing slavery, by the introduction of English into the law courts, and by the organization of centralized administration. Many Boers were so dissatisfied that in 1836-1838 they "trekked" or migrated into Natal, into the region across the Orange River, and that across the Vaal River. The British government refused to recognize the separation of Natal from the empire and in 1843 declared it annexed to Cape Colony. The Orange River and Transvaal colonies were, however, disregarded and in 1852 the Transvaal and in 1854 the Orange River colonies were recognized as independent.

In 1876 Lord Carnarvon, the colonial secretary, sent Sir Bartle

Frere to the Cape as High Commissioner to carry through a scheme of federation among the British colonies. In the next year, disturbed by the lawless conditions on the borders of the British colonies in the Transvaal, Carnarvon sent out Sir Theophilus Shepstone to sound the Dutch on the subject of confederation and to invite them to come under the British flag. Shepstone, imbued with the new passion for empire, proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal without even asking the sentiments of the Dutch; and, though he had gone beyond his orders, Carnarvon backed him up and declared the act irrevocable. Shortly afterward Sir Bartle Frere provoked the cruel and able Cetewayo, King of the Zulus, by demanding that he accept a British resident and reform his bloodthirsty military system. Frere so far exceeded his instructions that the majority of the cabinet wanted to recall him, but Beaconsfield supported him, and he was merely censured. In the Zulu war which resulted the Boers would have been destroyed but for British protection, and it seemed reasonable that they should be willing to remain in the empire. They were not, however, and prepared to oust the British by force. They found support in the election speeches which Gladstone made in 1880, when he said, "If Cyprus and the Transvaal were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them because they are obtained by means dishonorable to the character of the country."

When Gladstone took office after the election, he nevertheless decided to continue Frere in South Africa, much to the disgust of the extreme Liberals in his own party; and when he yielded to them and recalled Frere, he still determined to stay in the Transvaal. The Boers armed and soon held the British garrisons beleaguered. Sir George Colley, governor of Natal, collected all available forces against them and was twice badly beaten in January and February, 1881. When reënforcements came up, he determined to seize Majuba Hill, dominating entrenched Boer positions at Lang's Nek. Next day the Boers stormed the hill, and the British lost 20 officers and 266 men killed, wounded, and prisoners out of 554 men in their force. Colley himself was killed. Majuba Hill was only a skirmish, but a British column had been annihilated, and a British general killed. The British public was aroused and demanded angry retribution. Gladstone wavered; to punish the Boers would be "bloodguiltiness"; and negotiations, which had been under way when Colley decided to put all to the touch, were resumed. In 1881 the autonomy of the Boers in local affairs subject to the

suzerainty of the English crown was acknowledged. In 1884 a new convention was adopted restoring the title of South African Republic to the Transvaal and omitting all references to suzerainty. Years afterward the British claimed that the omission had been accidental and Britain still exercised certain rights in the Transvaal; but the private papers of the Earl of Derby, who carried through the negotiations in 1884, have since revealed that he purposely omitted the phrase. In all probability the South African Republic would now have been allowed to pursue its own pastoral rural existence with its 10,000 acre farms to provide for the children in the future, but for the discovery of gold in the country in the Witwaters Rand, in 1885, and the interest of Mr. Cecil Rhodes in the matter.

Cecil Rhodes had already grown rich in the Kimberley diamond fields which had been discovered in 1871. Together with such men as Alfred Beit and Barney Barnato, he was at this time a member of a syndicate of international capitalists, which soon controlled the gold mines. He now turned to politics and, having made three new gods for himself in Queen Victoria, the British empire, and the Anglo-Saxon race, he began to dream of a white empire in South Africa which should be completely British and should be connected with the northern African British empire in Egypt by the Cape to Cairo railroad. In pursuance of this great plan, and also to exploit the mineral concession at Bulawayo, which he had received from Lobenguela, chief of the Matabele, Rhodes, backed by powerful London business interests and social leaders, secured a charter from the British government, in 1889, establishing the British South Africa Company. The company was given sovereign powers in that part of Africa which Rhodes modestly called Rhodesia. The little Dutch states, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, found themselves surrounded by British territory and threatened by the dreams and ambitions and economic requirements of a very practical man.

The more sentimental considerations of a single empire, white, and British, in South Africa, were not so dangerous to the Boers as the fact that their continued existence soon interfered seriously with the profits of Mr. Rhodes and his associates in the gold company. The Boers were Bible-reading Puritan farmers, hostile to mechanical civilization, except in such useful forms as sharpshooting rifles, with no interest in the gold which had been discovered in their country. They did endeavor, however, to get some of the profits of the gold mines as public

revenues. This they did by a high import duty on goods used by the miners, by creating a monopoly of the sale of dynamite used for mining purposes, and by a tax of five per cent on the net profits of the mines. At the same time they declined to compel a reduction of rates on the Netherland railroad which ran from the mines to Delagoa Bay, the nearest seaport, and above all they absolutely refused to sanction compulsion, in the form of a head tax, to force the negroes to work in the mines. The Boer president, Paul Kruger, may not have been adverse to light slavery on farms and in households, but he absolutely refused to be party to any slavery in the mines with their compounds and cruelties. To be free of these disadvantages, Rhodes and his associates planned, in June, 1895, to overthrow the South African Republic.

Their plan was to organize discontent among the Uitlanders or foreigners living in the South African Republic, and foment revolution among them. The material for such an attempt was provided by the fact that Johannesburg, the mining center, was a city of 100,000 inhabitants, nearly all Uitlanders (foreigners), who were prevented by a law of 1890 from becoming Transvaal citizens except after extremely long terms of residence. Most of them were adventurers who had no interest in citizenship of any country, although some were genuinely aggrieved at their exclusion from political life, especially since they had to bear the burden of citizenship without the privileges. Rhodes now began to stir up Uitlander opinion through the Johannesburg *Leader,* a newspaper which he founded, and through the Johannesburg *Star,* which he controlled; and he presently entered into an agreement with the Uitlander elements in Johannesburg to carry through a revolution there. His design was to assist the "reformers" with the mounted police of the British South Africa Company, oust the Dutch government, and bring about the annexation of the South African Republic to the British empire. At the last minute the Uitlanders decided that they had no wish to haul down the Boer flag merely to enter the British empire. They really wanted to overthrow the existing government and remain independent with themselves in control. Consequently, Dr. Jameson and 600 mounted police of the chartered company met with no help when they rode across the frontiers of the Transvaal on December 29, 1895; and, after a brief resistance, less effective because of overissues of whiskey rations, they were captured by the South African police and handed over to the British High Commissioner who hurried up

to Pretoria to mediate in the matter. Jameson was tried and sentenced to 15 months imprisonment; Rhodes, who was at the time of the raid the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, resigned. A parliamentary investigation was held in London and the following note of censure against Mr. Rhodes adopted: "Whatever justification there may have been for action on the part of the people of Johannesburg, there was none for the conduct of a person in Mr. Rhodes's position."

The raid itself, the trials of Dr. Jameson and the leaders of the rebellion, and the parliamentary investigation in England let loose a mass of imperialist sentiment and aroused public interest in the Transvaal as nothing else could have done. Moreover, the whole incident had succeeded in involving the British government directly in the affairs of Mr. Rhodes and the South African Republic. While there is no evidence that the British government was privy to Mr. Rhodes's scheme before the raid, as the Boers believed, certain ministers, especially Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, very warmly defended Mr. Rhodes afterward; and on the surface of things it looks as if Mr. Rhodes now succeeded in enlisting the coöperation of Mr. Chamberlain and the British government in his determination to annex the Boer state. There is as yet no definite proof of this, but Mr. Chamberlain's moves during the next few years appear to be conscious plays in a game to get what Mr. Rhodes wanted, through a war of conquest if necessary.

Public opinion in England, stirred up by the Jameson raid, was now worked up to a pitch of intense excitement by detailed descriptions of the wrongs of the Uitlanders in being refused the franchise, the corruption of the Boer government, the outrages and atrocities of the South African police, and allegations of a widespread conspiracy against the British empire on the part of the corrupt Boer politicians. Such stories went the rounds of the Cape press, reprinted in eight newspapers owned by Rhodes and his associates, gaining authority as they went, and were eventually reproduced in the English newspapers with all the appearance of truth which is given by repetition. The Boer government played Rhodes's game by attempting to muzzle the English press in its territory through the arrest of editors, one of the most unspeakable offenses in late nineteenth century free England; and by such stories and incidents the conscience of Great Britain was conquered and made ready and eager for a war.

Meantime, Mr. Chamberlain had begun to interfere in the

matter directly by sending Sir Alfred Milner to South Africa as a High Commissioner. He was an official of the most unbending type with a certain frigid punctiliousness which in itself alarmed the Boers. When he demanded the franchise for the Uitlanders, the Boers were alarmed, especially because of a recent speech of Mr. Rhodes in which he spoke of "constitutional means" to carry out his projects, apparently meaning the annexation of the Transvaal through the votes of the Uitlanders. President Kruger was stubborn and obscurantist; he put himself in the wrong many times during the negotiations, but at last yielded on the subject of the franchise, provided that Great Britain drop the claim of suzerainty, which had been brought up, and give up the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. Further negotiations made no progress; and, when Chamberlain declared that the British government would itself in due course announce the terms of settlement, war broke out.

During the war the imperialistic spirit reached the zenith of its development. A good many people were led, however, to question the value of imperialism in view of the loss of thousands of lives and the expenditure of £250 million. Some of the best Englishmen were rather alarmed by the excesses which the war spirit called forth, especially the wild orgy of joy which followed the relief of Mafeking, a garrison under Colonel Baden-Powell besieged by the Boers 218 days and relieved May 18, 1900. Many more were shocked and alarmed by the horrible cruelties incident to the final subjugation. In 1902 Lord Kitchener undertook to clean up the straggling guerrilla commandoes still in the field. In order to deprive these bands of supplies and bases, he undertook to turn the country into a desert by burning every farm house and driving off all the stock. The policy was successful, but many men in England asked whether it was worth it, and there was generally less enthusiasm for a repetition of such a measure when the ghastly facts became known in England. The net result of the whole matter was that Mr. Rhodes had his way, and both the Transvaal and the Orange River State were conquered and incorporated into the British empire, where their later history will be studied in another connection.

The Brighter Side of Imperialism

In spite of the completely selfish impulses which led to the new colonial acquisitions of this period, there was a brighter side

to the whole movement which must not be neglected. In South Africa, for example, much may be said for the annexation of the two Dutch provinces to the British empire. Under the conditions which prevail there, the negro races greatly outnumber the Europeans; and, if white civilization is to survive in South Africa, the two peoples, the Dutch and the British, must not exhaust themselves in conflicts with one another, such as those which sapped their energies before their union. In a more general way, British and European rule in the new colonial areas has led to progress in civilization and advances in the lives of the people. The various forms of mechanical apparatus which the capitalists laid down in the new lands, such as roads, railroads, and harbor works, soon began the transformation of primitive societies. In the British colonies, moreover, the colonial administrators have been men of high type, imbued with a desire for extending every possible benefit to the peoples over whom they rule. Slavery in its more primitive form has been abolished by them, ancient cruelties, such as flogging, have been banned, tribal wars ended, tropical diseases studied and checked, economic life, in the case of the Sudan, stimulated by an elaborate system of state socialism, and peaceful development with the assurance of speedy and swift justice to the humblest savage made possible in many areas in which every imaginable wrong was formerly current.

Finally, it must be kept in mind that, as British society was organized in the nineteenth century, imperialism was one of the solutions of the problem of restoring prosperity after the crises of the seventies.

By the later 1880's Englishmen could congratulate themselves that the turn in the tide had come. The well-being of the middle Victorian period was regained; England was again as prosperous as she had been in the middle years of the century. Yet before long it was suddenly brought to the notice of statesmen and "the public" how shallow this prosperity was, how small a percentage of the people of England shared in her wealth, and how wretched the mass of the population really was. While imperialism had done much for British business, it had not helped the people. These revelations were probably the most momentous political discoveries of the century and had effects of the most far reaching sort in politics and thought and social organization. After some attention to the problem of Ireland, to which a brief reference has already been made in this chapter in connection with Gladstone's work, the newly discovered social

problem and the attempts to provide a solution wil be taken up in detail in Chapter XXVI.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XXIV

POLITICAL AND NARRATIVE HISTORY.

R. H. Gretton, *A Modern History of the English People, 1880-1910.*
J. McCarthy, *A History of Our Own Times.*
Herbert Paul, *History of Modern England.*
S. Walpole, *The History of Twenty-five Years,* 1856-1880.
T. H. Ward, *The Reign of Queen Victoria.*

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

A. L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century.*
T. Escott, *Social Transformations in the Victorian Age.*
C. R. Fay, *Cooperation at Home and Abroad.*
H. B. Gibbins, *English Social Reformers.*
G. J. Holyoake, *The History of Cooperation.*
B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison, *A History of Factory Legislation.*
Holbrook Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties.*
W. T. Layton, *An Introduction to the Study of Prices of the Nineteenth Century.*
J. R. McCulloch, *Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation.*
R. H. Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy.*
R. W. C. Taylor, *Introduction to a History of the Factory System.*
S. and B. Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism.*

IMPERIALISM.

A. C. Doyle, *The War in South Africa.*
H. H. Johnston, *History of the Colonization of Africa.*
The Opening up of Africa.
C. K. Hobson, *The Export of Capital.*
J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism.*
The War in South Africa.
L. Woolf, *Empire and Commerce in Africa.*

BIOGRAPHY.

J. Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography.*
G. Cecil, *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury.*
E. Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Earl Granville.*
A. G. Gardiner, *The Life of Sir William Vernon Harcourt.*
J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Earl of Shaftesbury.*
B. Holland, *The Life of Spencer Compton, Eighth Duke of Devonshire.*
H. Johnston, *The Story of My Life.*
G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes, the Man and His Work.*
E. T. Raymond, *Portraits of the Nineties.*
G. W. E. Russell, *Portraits of the Seventies.*
A. L. Thorold, *The Life of Henry Labouchere.*
A. Watson, *A Great Labour Leader: The Life of Thomas Burt.*
B. Williams, *Cecil Rhodes.*

CHAPTER XXV

THE LIBERALS AND THE PROBLEM OF IRELAND, 1868-1914

In point of time this chapter goes back over the same period as the last chapter, but extends beyond it to 1914. The governments which ruled Great Britain from 1868 to 1902 have already been listed; between 1902 and 1914 the ministries were led by

Arthur J. Balfour (Conservative), 1902-1905
Henry Campbell-Bannerman and
Herbert H. Asquith (Liberal), 1905-(1916)

On Lord Salisbury's resignation in 1902, he arranged to have his nephew, Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, succeed him. He held office until the end of 1905, when he resigned, and the Liberals were called in to take over the government under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. On Sir Henry's death in 1908, he was succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr. Herbert Asquith, who remained in the office until December 1916.

In the even flow of English life in the prosperous mid-Victorian age, politics had a certain unreality. It often seemed like an amusing game played between friendly groups of the same upper class, to win the applause and admiration of the great London hostesses to whose houses lords, ministers, and Parliamentarians flocked nightly to recount their triumphs, to retell scandal, to learn secrets, and to get some of their best advice. The one note of passion from the repeal of the Corn Laws to the end of the century was struck by the Irish problem. Ireland gave interest to parliamentary debates whenever she was mentioned; Ireland eventually split parties and turned Liberals into Conservatives; Ireland provided a real issue by which the whole of political life was stirred and excited.

The fundamental Irish grievance was English domination. In the eighteenth century it took the form of protest against the Declaratory act of 1719; in the nineteenth century it was directed against the act of Union of 1800, by which the Irish Parliament was merged with that of Great Britain. The United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland contained 100 Irish members in the House of Commons and 28 Irish peers in the House of Lords. Since the Irish were always in a minority,

they pretended to imagine that they were really being governed against their will by a foreign assembly in which they had a few seats. The very circumstances of the creation of the United Parliament lent some color to the view that this was the intention of English politicians in bringing the Union into being, and certainly the practical working of the arrangement gave the Irish little real voice in their own affairs.

Irish protest against the Union itself was often obscured by agitation against more present and galling abuses and against technical manifestations of the Union. Thus, in the twenties of the nineteenth century, the Irish under O'Connell demanded the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts; directly thereafter they demanded the admission of Catholics into Parliament; and it was not until the late thirties and early forties that agitation for the repeal of the Union itself became serious with the foundation of the Repeal Association and the establishment of the *Nation* newspaper by Charles Gavan Duffy and Thomas Davis. This movement, stimulated by the misery of the great famine of 1845 and 1846, culminated in a revolt in 1848 called the Young Ireland Revolution.

After the famine Irish emigrants left Ireland by the millions, carrying with them to their new homes in America a romantic picture of the glorious land, greener, more beautiful, more wonderful than any land under heaven, together with an undying hatred for England, the mother of their miseries. They were joined in 1848 by the revolutionary exiles, among whom was John O'Mahoney, a Trinity College graduate, who dreamed of freeing Ireland from England through Irish-American resources. In 1858 he definitely founded the Fenian Society in New York to work for an Irish republic by organizing an Irish rebellion supported by Irish-American money. One of the members of the conspiracy, however, turned informer. Before the plans for the revolt in Ireland had matured, the British officials in Ireland raided the office of the *Irish People* newspaper, arrested the Irish leaders, and hunted down stores of arms, while Parliament immediately suspended the right of habeas corpus. The revolt was nipped in Ireland, but in America, near the end of May, 1866, about 1200 armed Irish-Americans began an invasion of Canada. The Canadian government had been warned, and forces of volunteers soon drove the raiders back over the border. The United States government refused to intervene to save six leaders who were arrested and shot, and the attempt came to nothing.

The Fenians now began a kind of guerrilla warfare both in Ireland and in England. Early in 1867 a mob of several hundred men sacked a coastguard station at Kells in county Kerry and interrupted the working of the new Atlantic cable for several hours. Worse still, the American Fenians passed a resolution at a great public meeting in the United States to "carry the war" into England. A few days after the Kerry attack the country was amazed to learn of a plan, to be carried out by a band of 500 men, to seize the castle in the city of Chester, cut the telegraph wires, and tear up the railroad tracks. It failed only because the government had been warned on the previous day and was able to get troops to Chester to disperse the Irish who were already in the city. Fenian raids took place in Ireland all through the spring and summer of 1867, and in the autumn intense excitement was created by news from Manchester. Certain Fenians were being remanded to jail for further investigation. As the prison van rumbled through the streets, it was stopped by 40 or 50 armed men, who released the prisoners after killing the sergeant in charge of them. Twenty-six of the assailants were captured, and five of them were condemned to be hanged, of whom three actually suffered the extreme penalty. The "Manchester martyrs" were three new heroes and saints on the already too crowded Irish calendar. Shortly after the Manchester outrage, in December, 1867, the war was carried into London itself. Two Fenians were in prison in Clerkenwell jail. On December 13 their friends outside exploded a barrel of gunpowder under the outer wall of the yard where the prisoners would at that moment be taking their exercise. The explosion destroyed a row of poor houses skirting the prison wall, killed six persons outright, and wounded 100 others, of whom six afterwards died. English indignation was at fever heat. At this point Gladstone became Prime Minister for the first time. To his mind, Fenianism was not a movement for Irish independence so much as a protest against real and pressing evils, the existence of which he acknowledged. He conceived it his duty to pacify Ireland through lopping off from the Upas tree the poisonous branches of the Irish church, the Irish land, and Irish education. In his diagnosis of Irish troubles he was close to Disraeli's, made many years before, when he said that the causes of Irish discontent were a starving population, an absentee landlord class, and an alien church.

Gladstone turned first to the question of the Irish church. While the bulk of the population was Roman Catholic, the state

church in Ireland was the Anglican church. It included only eight to twelve per cent of the population; in many parishes there was not a single member. Yet this "alien" church enjoyed the tithes of the land, which, however, had been reduced in 1838 to a rent charge, and had extensive endowments and property, but the Roman Catholic church, which ministered to the spiritual needs of the people, had no governmental recognition or support. Gladstone's plan was to reduce the Anglican church in Ireland to the status of a voluntary organization. The property of the church, consisting of tithe-rents and land, was valued at £16,000,000. This was divided into two parts. Slightly more than half was to be assigned to the new voluntary church, either to pay the incomes of such clergymen as continued to serve in their churches or to provide for the commutation of the incomes of such clergymen as were ready to give up their churches for a lump sum paid in cash. The surplus, somewhat less than one-half, was to be used to form a fund to relieve unavoidable calamity not provided for by the poor law.

The measure met determined resistance from the Irish Anglican church and from the Anglican church in England, since it was feared that disestablishment in Ireland might be followed by disestablishment in England. The opposition was especially vocal in the House of Lords, and for a time it seemed as if the Lords would reject the bill altogether or amend it in committee beyond recognition. Partly through the efforts of the Queen, who desired to avoid any constitutional crisis over a religious issue, a compromise was effected, which gave the new voluntary church £850,000 more than originally stipulated and provided that the Parliament should have unfettered control of the appropriation of the surplus.

In the next year, in 1870, Gladstone turned to the land question. Ireland has an area of 20,000,000 acres, of which 5,000,000 acres are waste land, bogs, and swamps. On the rest there were 500,000 farms, of which 200,000 were from one to 15 acres in size. These 200,000 farms were the homes of 1,000,000 peasants and were found largely in the worst and poorest sections of the country.

As densely settled as the Irish are on their small farms, there is need of the most expert farming in the world to maintain them on anything like a decent standard of living. But instead of being the most expert farmers in the world, the Irish are the worst. One of their own leaders, Sir Horace Plunkett, declares that they are not agriculturally inclined. They prefer

grazing to tillage, and city life to farms. Gladstone, examining the problem in 1870, did not realize these deeper implications of it. He did not see that the fundamental reason for Irish misery was ignorance of good farming and dislike for farming; he believed it was due to the particular technicalities about which the Irish were especially complaining; namely, that the common tenure used by the English landlords was tenancy at will, subject to six months notice, without written contract. The tenants made all the improvements, and the rent was raised on these improvements. Since Ireland had no industries, there was nothing for a man to do except obtain land or starve or emigrate. Many emigrated, but among those who remained there was the most intense competition for the limited area of land on the part of the enormous population, and the landlord could exact more than a "fair" rent. Since the famine much land had been sold by the old landlords to men determined to work the land as an investment, and they were nothing loath to take the full competitive rent or "rack rent." Crime and disorder were the outcome.

In Ulster the custom prevailed of having the "fair rent" fixed not by competition but by valuation. Moreover, rent could not be raised on improvements, and the holder had a right to transfer his tenancy. In other words, the law recognized that the tenant had certain rights in the land, of which the landlord could not deprive him. On the advice of Irish officials, Gladstone planned to solve the land problem by applying the Ulster custom to all Ireland. Under the land act of 1870 a tenant evicted for no fault of his own received compensation. The expectation was that this provision would prevent increases in rents, which could be enforced only by threat of eviction. Moreover, tenants were entitled to compensation for such permanent improvements as added to the letting value of the farm. At the instance of John Bright, who wanted to buy out the landlords and establish peasant proprietorship, the Bright clauses were added to the act, providing for loans to tenants who wished to buy their holdings from their landlords.

In 1873 Gladstone turned to his third measure, to provide the Irish, that is the Catholic Irish, with facilities for higher education, such as the Irish Protestants already had in Trinity College in Dublin. He planned to erect a university system which would cater to Protestants and Catholics without distinction, but which could not teach "controversial" subjects—history, philosophy, and theology—the three subjects in which

the Irish were most interested. The Irish members of the House of Commons were not interested in the bill and, when it came to a vote, their opposition was fatal. The bill was defeated, and Gladstone resigned although, since Disraeli refused to assume office, he came back for another year.

The land act of 1870 was not successful. It did not give real fixity of tenure or security against increased rents. Above all, it did not take into consideration the fact, soon to be brought home with overwhelming force by the flood of cheap American wheat in European markets, that existing rents were too high and could not be paid by the Irish farmer if he had to compete for markets with the cheap American foodstuffs. The Irish attached no value to the concessions of 1870. As a result of all Gladstone's labor "Ireland was more disturbed than she had been since 1852," and he had to turn to the favorite means of coercion and repression by force to keep Ireland in order.

During the next ten years the wrongs of Ireland were kept in the public eye by the activity of two groups, one in the English Parliament and the other in Ireland, which worked together. In 1871 the Home Government Association, later known as the Home Rule League, became a force in politics. Its purpose was to secure the election of members to the House of Commons committed to the principle of home rule, that is, a separation of the Irish Parliament from Great Britain, and presently there was in the House of Commons a body of Home Rule members. Under the guidance of Isaac Butt they developed a party discipline and tactic, but their real importance came when Charles Stuart Parnell, elected president of the League in 1877, assumed their leadership in the House of Commons. Parnell was a Protestant Irish landowner, of English ancestry on his father's side. His mother was the daughter of an American admiral, and from her he learned an undying hatred of England and all things English. He believed that the quickest way to get an independent Parliament for Ireland was for the Irish members to make the English Parliament unworkable as long as they remained in it for lack of a Parliament of their own. With the perfect confidence of his followers, over whom he enforced an iron discipline, he perfected a process of obstruction that almost paralyzed parliamentary action. One of his favorite devices was to present, in the midst of a debate, a motion for adjournment, which is always in order, and then demand a division or roll call, which might consume several hours before business could proceed.

While the Home Rulers were driving political leaders to distraction with their obstructive tactics, Michael Davitt was organizing the Land League in Ireland to secure the reduction of rents and the transfer of the ownership of land to the occupiers. Parnell became president of the Land League and, in speech after speech, advised the farmers to pay what they considered a fair rent and, if that were refused, to pay none. Fair rents, he said again, might be paid for the next thirty years, after which the land should become the property of the tenant.

At the same time Parnell entered into relations with a Fenian organization in Paris, the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, survivors of the revolt of 1848, and with an American organization, the Clan-Na-Gael. In this way the various political and economic revolutionists were brought into touch with each other and, through Parnell's dictatorship, were able to coördinate their efforts in the problem of breaking English domination.

Affairs were brought to a crisis in 1879-1880 by the failure of crops and poor harvests. The yield of the principal Irish crops was worth £10,000,000 less in 1879 than in 1878; only 22 million hundredweight of potatoes were grown in 1879 as against the average of 60 million hundredweight. The farmers could not pay their rents, and the landlords evicted them by the hundreds. Michael Davitt carried the flaming gospel of the Land League up and down Ireland. Outrages and crime were rampant, and with these as his object lessons, Parnell tried to force Gladstone, just come into his second ministry, to some new concession. The government did offer a measure to distinguish between those tenants who could not pay their rents and those who would not, but even that slight measure, which Parnell held insufficient, was thrown out by the House of Lords.

Parnell now aroused Ireland in earnest. He called upon the Irish to "isolate from his kind as if he were a leper of old" any man who became a tenant on a farm from which his neighbor had been evicted. He made no secret of the fact that his ultimate end was independence in the sense of a separate Irish Parliament, but the immediate requirement was land reform. Ireland was in such wild disorder that the government resolved to resort again to coercion. It was declared that 1253 outrages occurred in 1880, which could be stopped only by extraordinary powers in the government's hands. Parnell opposed the coercion bill; he kept the House in continuous sessions, one of 22 hours and one of 41 hours, before he permitted the first reading of

the bill; but he could not prevent its passage. Shortly afterward, however, the government introduced a new land act, which was based upon the demands of the Land League for the three F's, fair rents, determined by judicial tribunals, free sale of tenants' interests to other tenants, and fixity of tenure.

Irish outrages did not stop, and Parnell did nothing to stop them. He denounced the act as a sham and went to Dublin to speak against it. The government decided to arrest Parnell himself under the latest coercion act in a grand gesture to show that "the resources of civilization were not exhausted," and to suppress the Land League as an "illegal and criminal organization." Parnell had maintained that his place would be taken by "Captain Moonlight" and that the Land League alone stood between Ireland and anarchy. The event seemed to prove him right, for, after the government's action, disorder and outrage became worse than ever. Nevertheless, Parnell and the government were soon brought into touch with each other, and an agreement was made, known as the Kilmainham treaty, under the terms of which all Irish suspects were to be released, the Land League would endeavor to put down disorders, and Parnell gave a general promise of coöperation in the future between the Home Rulers and the Liberal party.

Unfortunately, the treaty was made of no effect by a terrible crime in Ireland. Gladstone appointed Lord Frederick Cavendish as Chief Secretary for Ireland to carry through the work of conciliation. While he was walking in Phœnix Park in Dublin with the undersecretary, Mr. Burke, he was assassinated by a band of Fenians. This murder rendered Lord Hartington, the brother of Lord Frederick, one of the leaders of the Liberal party, absolutely adamant to any suggestion of Irish independence, and he eventually led part of his party into the Conservative ranks on this question. The crime was denounced by Parnell, who offered to resign the leadership of the Home Rule party. It led the government of Mr. Gladstone to clamp a new crimes act on Ireland. Disorder, however, continued in Ireland, and explosions of gunpowder at London Bridge, the Tower, and even at the Parliament buildings continued to excite the English people.

Meantime, Parnell organized the National League to turn attention from land reform back to the principal object of Irish desires, that is, home rule. Little could be accomplished as long as Gladstone held office, but in 1885 he resigned, and the Marquis of Salisbury headed a Conservative ministry. While out of office,

Gladstone began to realize the need for conciliating the Irish by giving them home rule, especially since Parnell was in negotiations with the Conservatives, whose agent, Lord Carnarvon, had expressed leanings toward limited home rule. Gladstone now began to sound his followers on a plan to treat Ireland like Canada. At the same time he endeavored to keep Lord Hartington and his friends and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and his radical followers, who also opposed home rule for Ireland, from splitting away from the Liberal party. The general election of December, 1885, determined Gladstone. The Liberals carried 335 seats, the Conservatives 249, and the Irish Home Rulers or Nationalists 86. The Nationalists held the balance of power and demanded a home rule bill for Ireland as the price of their support. Gladstone made the effort in 1886 to give them a bill establishing a Parliament at Dublin, but the Whigs and Radicals of his own party, Hartington and Chamberlain, voted against him, and Lord Randolph Churchill stirred up Ulster to threaten revolution if the bill were ever adopted. "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right" was the slogan, and it made a tremendous popular appeal.

Defeated in Parliament, Gladstone dissolved and went before the country in a new election. The English electors decisively rejected home rule for Ireland and put in a Unionist ministry made up of Conservatives supported by the revolted Liberals who stood for the maintenance of the Union. The government had such a majority that there was no need of paying the slightest attention to Parnell's "85" so far as legislation was concerned. But Parnell was pastmaster of the art of keeping the cause of Ireland before Parliament and the country; and further publicity was given to the Irish cause by the publication in the London *Times* of a series of articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime," in the course of which a letter was published said to have been written by Parnell, by which he was implicated in the Phœnix Park murders. A special investigation lasting through until early 1890 found Parnell innocent, since the letter was a forgery. So much attention was paid to Irish affairs in Parliament in some sessions like that of 1887 that practically no other important business could be proceeded with, but it was the government's belief that strong coercion, long enough applied, would reduce Ireland to peace and quiet. Lord Salisbury appointed his nephew, Mr. A. J. Balfour, as Irish Secretary in 1887; and during the next four years Balfour enforced a crimes act in Ireland and at the same time sweetened its rigors by ex-

tending facilities to the Irish tenants to enable them to purchase their holdings. During the temporary *rapprochement* between the Conservatives and Home Rulers in 1885, the government had adopted the Ashbourne act, which made provision for giving effect to the Bright clauses of the act of 1870 and for transferring the ownership of land to tenants on a large scale. Under this act the government set aside a fund of £5,000,000, from which, if landlords wished to sell, the tenants could borrow the entire purchase money, repaying the loan at four per cent with amortization in 49 years. Under Balfour's administration, the Ashbourne act was twice extended, in 1888 and in 1891; and, between 1885 and 1891, £9,992,536 was advanced to 25,367 tenants to enable them to become owners.

In the election of 1892, the Liberals were the minority party in England; but with the help of the 81 Home Rulers they could count on a majority of 40 in the House of Commons. Parnell had died in 1891, and even before his death his party was divided by revelations about his private life and his relations with Mrs. O'Shea. In spite of this, the Home Rulers were strong enough to induce Gladstone to introduce a measure for Irish home rule in the session of 1893. One of the serious objections to the bill of 1886 was that the Irish were completely excluded from the British Parliament, and thus the symbol of the imperial supremacy of the British Parliament was destroyed. In the first draft of the measure of 1893 Gladstone avoided this criticism by including 80 Irish members in the British Parliament with a vote, however, only on imperial issues. The Conservatives declared that the supremacy of Parliament thus achieved was but an unsubstantial pageant, "the baseless fabric of a vision." After 85 sittings of Parliament and much remodeling of certain clauses, the bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of 34 votes—only to be rejected by the House of Lords seven days later by 419 votes to 41. Gladstone himself retired from public life shortly afterwards, resigning the premiership in favor of Lord Rosebery. The Liberals remained in office under Lord Rosebery's leadership until 1895, when they resigned and a Conservative government headed by Lord Salisbury came in. The cause of home rule seemed to be in abeyance. The leading Liberal politicians had no enthusiasm for it, the Conservatives were flatly opposed to it, and the Irish Home Rule party was rendered ineffective by its continued division on the question of Parnell's private life. It was not until 1899 that the two factions of Home Rulers

were reunited under the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, and by that time the Conservatives were already well along in their policy of "killing Home Rule with kindness." In 1896 they amplified the provisions of the previous land purchase laws, and in 1903 they secured the passage of the Wyndham act, which did much to settle the Irish land question. By loans of £73,000,000 between 1885 and 1912, over 220,000 peasant occupiers were enabled to purchase their holdings, totaling 7,000,000 acres, from the landlords, and it was made easy for all other tenants to become owners if they desired to do so. The greater part of the land of Ireland thus passed out of the hands of the English landlords and became the property of the Irish peasants. In 1898 a local government system was set up in Ireland with popularly elected County and District Councils, and in 1899 a Department of Agriculture, Industries, and Technical Instruction for Ireland was created.

When the Liberal party returned to office in 1905, it was lukewarm to the cause of home rule. Nobody in England was interested in it, and no responsible politician in the Liberal party had the slightest intention of bringing up the measure again if he could avoid it. Since the Liberal majority in the elections of 1906 was overwhelmingly large, it was not necessary to consider Mr. Redmond's Irish Home Rule party or to bargain for its votes in the House of Commons. The situation was altered in 1910. As a result of the refusal of the House of Lords to approve of the budget of 1909 before it had been referred to the British people, a general election was held in January, 1910. The question of the budget, which the Liberals approved and the Conservatives opposed, as will be described in detail in the next chapter, aroused tremendous interest; and it was clear that the results of the election would be close. During the campaign Mr. Asquith, now Liberal leader and Prime Minister, made a bid for the support of Mr. Redmond's Irish Home Rule party by promising a measure of home rule for Ireland if the Liberals were returned to office. When the new Parliament met, the Conservatives counted 271 seats, the Liberals 274. The Irish Home Rule party with 82 seats dominated the situation, and Mr. Redmond agreed to unite with the Liberal party only on very exact conditions; namely, that the House of Lords should at once be stripped of its power to veto any measure passed by the House of Commons, since it was known that no home rule bill would ever be accepted by the House of Lords, and secondly, that a Home Rule bill should be put on the

statute books as soon as possible thereafter. Faced by the alternative of seeing the Conservatives in office or of accepting Mr. Redmond's conditions, which were not altogether attractive to Mr. Asquith, in spite of the fact that the Liberals had discussed the alteration of the power of the House of Lords for a generation, Mr. Asquith complied with Mr. Redmond's terms. A contemporary cartoon summed up the situation admirably. It pictured Mr. Redmond seated on the imperial throne at Westminster invested with the crown, mace, and sceptre, remarking that if he couldn't rule in Dublin, at least he could do so in London. In 1911 the veto power of the House of Lords was restricted by the Parliament act, so that any measure which was passed by the House of Commons three times in two years in the life of the same Parliament should become a law whether the Lords accepted it on third passage or not, and any financial bill became a law within a month after its first passage in the House of Commons with or without the Lords' approval. In the next year, in 1912, Mr. Asquith introduced the government's Home Rule bill for Ireland. It was a moderate measure. Under its terms Ireland remained an integral part of the empire with a large amount of local government vested in her own Parliament. All imperial questions, however, were reserved to the imperial Parliament at Westminister, to which Ireland was to send 42 members with a vote on all questions. Among other things, the Conservatives objected to the 42 Irish members at Westminster, since they claimed that Mr. Asquith retained them merely to keep his majority in the House of Commons. Rejected by the Lords twice in 1913, the measure came up for final passage in the House of Commons in the spring of 1914, when it would become law regardless of what action the Lords took.

In the two years after 1912 very serious opposition to the new home rule measure broke out in Ireland in the province of Ulster. Settled in the reign of King James I with Scottish Presbyterians, Ulster was different from the rest of Ireland in that a majority of the people of Ulster taken as a whole, 57 per cent of a total population of 1,581,000, were Protestant. At the same time it must be noted that owing to the concentration of the Protestants in Belfast and Londonderry many of the counties in Ulster actually had a Catholic majority, and of the 33 members of the House of Commons from Ulster, 17 were Nationalists. The Presbyterian Ulstermen had for centuries had a violent dislike for Roman Catholicism and, although

they had not been too loyal to Great Britain in the eighteenth century, in the nineteenth century they had come to believe that "Home Rule meant Rome Rule." On the basis of their hatred of political domination by the Roman Catholic church and its priesthood, they had opposed home rule in 1886 under

the leadership of Lord Randolph Churchill, and they prepared to do so again in 1912. While among the unthinking Presbyterian masses the dislike for the Roman hierarchy was emotional and elemental, among their leaders, the business men and trade unionists, it was the cloak for more rational grounds of resistance. Ulster is the industrial region of Ireland with some of the largest linen factories and shipyards in the world. The rest of Ireland is agricultural. It was the general belief in Ulster that any Irish government set up in Dublin would be extrava-

gant, and Irish governments in American cities certainly offered no grounds of disproof. It was also well known that taxation could be levied more easily on industry than on agriculture. Consequently, every Ulster manufacturer and business man was certain that he would be ground down by taxes imposed exclusively upon industry to support the extravagance of John Redmond and his priests in Dublin. The Protestant skilled workers of Belfast and Londonderry saw another danger. The unskilled workers in Ulster were Catholic and, without trade union organization, their lot was as bad as any in western Europe. The skilled workers, themselves highly organized, believed that a Catholic government in Dublin might encourage organization among the Catholic unskilled workers, who, as the skilled trade unionists believed under the influence of the teachings of a false economics, could better their position only at the expense of the skilled workers.

Even before the government Home Rule bill was introduced into Parliament, a conference was held in Ulster, presided over by Sir Edward Carson, at which it was resolved to form a provisional government for Ulster to go into effect on the day of the passage of the Home Rule bill. "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right" was again the watchword; and to get the Ulstermen to fight, a Covenant made its appearance in Protestant places of worship, tobacco shops, and elsewhere, in 1912, pledging its signers to die in the last ditch, and an Ulster volunteer army began drilling on the village greens of northern Ireland. Mr. Asquith failed in an attempt to effect a compromise with the Ulster leaders in the autumn of 1913, and consequently the bill came up for final passage in 1914 in the face of the uncompromising resistance of Ulster to its provisions. As the debates on the bill proceeded in the House of Commons in the spring of 1914, English sentiment was to a great extent on the side of Ulster, and certain army officers ventured to go so far as to assert that they would refuse to obey orders if directed to force Ulster out of the empire. The government was clearly unwilling or unable to coerce the province into accepting the bill, and yet Mr. John Redmond held the whip hand and insisted upon its passage. The situation was saved by the outbreak of the Great War. The Irish Home Rule act was placed on the statute book with the understanding that it was not to go into effect until amended at the end of the war.

During the course of the agitation over the bill, a momentous development took place in southern Ireland. In the end of 1913

Mr. John MacNeill, professor of Irish History in the National University of Ireland (founded in 1908 after Gladstone's failure in 1873), a Nationalist leader, wrote a series of letters to a Dublin paper, the *Gaelic League Weekly*, urging the formation of a body of volunteers in southern Ireland as a countermove to the Ulster volunteers, to guarantee and safeguard the constitution that represented the democracy of Great Britain and Ireland. Leaders in Dublin were at first startled at the idea of an armed Irish force, but in November, 1913, a meeting of Irish leaders of all shades of opinion was held in a Dublin hotel, and the formation of a body of Irish Nationalist volunteers was decided on. Arms were smuggled in from Germany where they could be purchased most easily and cheaply, and much bitterness was engendered when it became apparent that, while the British authorities in Ulster made no effort to stop the Ulster volunteers from receiving contraband supplies, those in Dublin did all in their power to prevent supplies from coming to the Irish Nationalist volunteers. Very bad feeling was created in July, 1914, when, in a brush between British soldiers and some Irish volunteers landing arms from a German merchantman, five persons were killed at Bachelor's Walk just outside Dublin. Nevertheless, as long as there were prospects that the bill would pass, the Irish Nationalist chieftain, Mr. John Redmond, retained command of the situation and, above all, kept control of the Irish Nationalist volunteers, the first armed force of their own that the Irish had had in many a year.

There were, however, already in 1914 in Ireland new leaders with a new program and a new tactic developed during the past generation, ready to take the place of the Irish Home Rule party and all it represented. This movement had a three-fold origin in various cultural, political, and economic organizations of the past twenty years. In 1893, in the year in which Gladstone's second Home Rule bill was defeated, a group of seven thoughtful and literary men of Dublin, among whom were Dr. Douglas Hyde, a Protestant Englishman, and Mr. John MacNeill, a Roman Catholic Irishman, founded a literary society which they called the Gaelic League. Their object was to discover the cause of Ireland's economic wretchedness, why the rule that had made Great Britain the leading nation in western Europe had turned Ireland into chaos, and depopulated and impoverished her. They sought a common platform on which Roman Catholic and Protestant, Unionist and Nationalist could unite and work together for the common good of Ireland. They

sought to awaken enthusiasm for Ireland and to kindle Irish patriotism. To do this, it was necessary, to use Dr. Hyde's thoughts in an address on "The Necessity for de-Anglicizing Ireland," to make Ireland a nation. "You cannot make a nation of half and halfs. You can only have a province where people are half Irish and half English." He thought in terms of a nationalist revival based on a literary revival as in Greece, Bulgaria, and other countries in the nineteenth century; and the Gaelic League fathered this idea. It stimulated the study of the Irish language, Irish literature, and Irish tradition and history. It revived Irish games, sports, and music and encouraged the old Irish crafts and industries.

This Celtic revival was a great task. The Irish language, called Gaelic, for instance, was dead in two-thirds of Ireland, and English only was spoken by the mass of Irishmen. Gaelic is, moreover, an exceedingly difficult language, but after the British government, in 1905, withdrew its grants from schools where Gaelic was studied, Gaelic made more rapid progress, since it was now eagerly taken up by many young enthusiasts who saw new value in anything opposed by Great Britain, even if they could not express twentieth century ideas nearly so well in a tenth century language as in English. In opposition to the Irish Home Rule party, the Gaelic League presently began to advise its members to beware of parliamentary agitation. Irish Ireland was the watchword, and what had Ireland to do with England and the British House of Commons? This view was put with greatest vigor in 1904 by Arthur Griffith, editor of the League's newspaper, the *United Irishman,* in a little pamphlet entitled the *Resurrection of Hungary.* He showed how Francis Deak, a Hungarian patriot in the nineteenth century, had won the independence of Hungary from Austrian rule by passive resistance. Ireland was like Hungary. Following Deak's tactics, Ireland must demand the restoration of her constitution of 1782. Irish representatives must be withdrawn from Westminster, and Ireland must set up a provisional government in local councils. Arbitration courts should be established, and British courts avoided. In other words, the Irish should treat the British government in Ireland as though it did not exist. This policy was covered by the words Sinn Fein, we ourselves, and the idea spread widely.

A generation before the foundation of the Gaelic League, William Rooney had founded another society known as the Celtic Literary Society. This organization had in the course of time

become a strictly political organization with the name of Cumann Na M Gaedhal, the Gaelic council, determined to separate Ireland from England. While not a large organization, the Gaelic council did have the apparatus of a political party; and, soon after Griffith's brilliant Sinn Fein pamphlet was published it took over the Sinn Fein idea. Thus Sinn Fein had behind it a political organization and a body of opinion strengthened from year to year by the brilliant journalism of Arthur Griffith.

At the same time that the Gaelic League tackled the problem of how Ireland was to work out her own salvation from the cultural angles, Sir Horace Plunkett attacked it from the economic side in the agricultural districts of Ireland, and later James Larkin and James Connolly did the same thing among the unskilled town workers. While English politicians, both Liberal and Conservative, were expressing their conviction that the problem of Ireland was a land problem and were attempting to solve it through their various land laws from Gladstone's first land law of 1870 to Wyndham's land purchase act of 1903, Sir Horace Plunkett, a great Irish landlord himself, was becoming convinced that the problem of Ireland was really an agricultural problem. From his knowledge of agriculture, he came to realize that the Irish were the worst farmers in the world and that their lot, already wretched by virtue of their own ignorance of farming and disinclination to it, was made worse by the control of all their marketing and buying by middlemen and cattle rings, often made up of the local public house keepers. He sought a solution in organizing agricultural coöperative societies among the Irish farmers which should make for better business, better living, and better farming.

He began his work in 1890-1891 and soon created 34 local societies, which were joined in 1894 into a central organization, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. Through his efforts, ably seconded by Mr. George Russell, the distinguished literary man better known as A. E. with his *Irish Homestead* magazine, more than a thousand local coöperative societies were organized by 1911, operating creameries, purchasing seeds, implements, and manures, selling eggs, poultry, and other produce, curing bacon, scutching flax, and obtaining cheap credit for their members. In these societies were enrolled 100,000 members, representing half of the agricultural population of Ireland. An evidence of their effectiveness is seen in this, that through the coöperative purchase of fertilizer the price to the farmers was reduced from £5 to £2 10 shillings per ton, and through the

coöperative creamery the income from the cows on a farm was raised from £27 to £81 a year. With the rapid spread of the coöperative societies it seemed to many Irishmen that they were evolving an Irish economic system quite different from the profit-making capitalist system of Great Britain, and that this economic differentiation might be more easily developed if Ireland were politically separated from Great Britain. This point of view was the more popular inasmuch as the "Gombeen Man," as the middleman was called, was invariably pro-British. Consequently, coöperators must needs be separatists, and their new form of organization, so different from British capitalism, required separation from Great Britain for its growth.

Quite distinct from the Dublin intelligentsia of the Gaelic League and the peasants of the coöperative societies in working out a program of self-help which left Britain out of account were the Dublin workers. It is generally believed that the unskilled workers of Dublin were the worst paid and the most wretchedly situated workers in the western European world at the beginning of the twentieth century. But with their organization by James Larkin and James Connolly into the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union they secured some real advances and were able to conduct an extensive strike in 1913 to secure better wages and conditions. During this strike Larkin and Connolly organized the striking workers into the Irish Citizen Army to prevent in the future the brutal attacks of the British police upon the strikers. So while the Nationalist volunteers were drilling in Phœnix Park in Dublin to aid the British government to force Ulster to abide by the Home Rule act, the Irish Citizen Army was drilling in Croyden Park in another part of the city to challenge the right of the British government to interfere in Irish affairs.

In no other country in the world could such diverse and opposed elements as Dublin capitalists, who owned the rotten slums in which the workers lived, Irish farmers, and Dublin laborers have united to carry out a common program. The emergence of coöperating peasants and self-conscious unskilled workers would in almost any other country have resulted in a program of class war; but in Ireland all classes were artificially held together or separated by the question of British rule, which was paramount to all class interests. The peasants and the Dublin workers had not actually joined the Sinn Fein movement in 1914, but all was in readiness for their doing so. Thus it was that in 1914, while Mr. Redmond was insisting upon the

Home Rule bill, the Sinn Fein party, not large as yet but well organized and capable of appealing to other elements which were to join it, was at hand ready to challenge the place of Irish leadership if Mr. Redmond should fail. This situation accounts for Mr. Redmond's extraordinary firmness in insisting upon the enactment of the Home Rule bill in 1914, even in the face of a threat of civil war in the empire. The compromise of enacting the bill and suspending its operation until the coming of peace, which England's entry into war with Germany brought about, was really equivalent to a defeat for Mr. Redmond in Irish eyes. The situation was unsatisfactory to the Irish, and within a few months it was apparent that they were losing confidence in Mr. Redmond and home rule and were adopting the new program of Sinn Fein.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XXV

(See other references to Ireland in previous chapters)

A. Balfour, *Aspects of Home Rule.*
E. Barker, *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years.*
E. Childers, *The Framework of Home Rule.*
A. V. Dicey, *England's Case Against Home Rule.*
St. J. G. Ervine, *Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Movement.*
Lord Eversley, *Gladstone and Ireland.*
G. Locker-Lampson, *Considerations of the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century.*
J. H. Parnell, *Charles Stuart Parnell.*
W. B. Wells, *The Life of John Redmond.*

CHAPTER XXVI

THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL REFORM, 1880-1914

The prosperity of the mid-Victorian period and its significance for the middle manufacturing classes and for the skilled working classes have already been described. Yet this prosperity was far from being general. The skilled workers, for example, formed only ten per cent of the industrial working population. While they benefited greatly from higher wages and shorter hours, enjoyed the protection of their trade unions, and sent their children to the new board schools, below them were the semi-skilled and the unskilled workers in town and country, who had never more than touched the prosperity of the good times of the middle of the century and had been reduced to absolute wretchedness by the hard times which began in 1873. In the unprosperous years which followed, their condition was made known, partly through the researches of humanitarians and sociologists, who touched men's consciences by the appalling facts which they set forth, and partly through threatening gestures on the part of the poor themselves against society, which was thus startled into recognizing their existence. Some dim glimmer of life in the working class quarters of the large towns had come down from the middle 1850's, when the brothers Mayhew had published their volumes on *London Labor and the London Poor;* but it was not until 1883, when William Reaney, a Nonconformist clergyman, published his *Bitter Cry of Outcast London,* that the public actually became excited about the conditions under which the working classes lived. This pamphlet was followed by articles in the reviews telling about housing conditions, by testimony before parliamentary commissions such as that of Miss Octavia Hill, who claimed that the one way to improve a man was to improve the house he lived in, by such books as Henry George's *Progress and Poverty,* which tried to get at the roots of the social problem, and by the foundation of social settlements, such as Toynbee Hall, to improve the conditions of the poor and bring an understanding of their life to the upper classes who worked in them.

A solid basis of facts was given to the whole discussion by a series of investigations into working class conditions. In the years after 1889 Charles Booth carried on a survey of London life, which he published as the *Life and Labor of the People;* somewhat later Seebohm Rowntree made studies of working class life in York; many other similar studies of other towns were made in subsequent years by sociological investigators. Parliamentary commissions also held inquiries into the matter. The general conclusions of Mr. Booth and Mr. Rowntree were that the unskilled worker did not obtain a wage sufficient to maintain himself and his family in a state of efficiency and that he worked excessively long hours and lived in an unsanitary house. "The results of all our inquiries make it reasonably certain," wrote Mr. Booth, "that one-third of the population are on or about the line of poverty or are below it, having at the most an income which one time with another averages 21 shillings or 22 shillings for a small family, or up to 25 shillings or 26 shillings for one of larger size, and in many cases falling below that level. There may be another third who have perhaps 10 shillings more or taking the year round from 25 shillings to 35 shillings a week, among whom may be counted, in addition to wage earners, many retail tradesmen and small masters; and the last third would include all who are better off. The first group are practically those who are living two or more persons to each room occupied. The next has on the average nearly one room to each person; while the final group includes those who employ servants as well as some who do not. Of the first many are pinched by want and all live in poverty, if poverty be defined as having no surplus. The second enjoy solid working class comfort; and of the third group the worst off live in plenty and the best off in luxury." Ninety per cent of the actual producers of wealth had no home they could call their own beyond the end of the week, had no bit of soil or so much as a room which belonged to them, had nothing of value of any kind except so much old furniture as would go in a cart, were housed in places which no gentleman thought fit for his horse, and were separated from destitution by so narrow a margin that a month of bad business, sickness, or unexpected loss brought them face to face with hunger and pauperism. Continuously and concurrently with the great production of wealth there were always one million or very nearly a million of persons in receipt of parish relief. There were more than one million others on the verge of pauperism who in times of depression

were "subject to the most desperate privations." Agricultural laborers never more than made ends meet and looked forward to the workhouse as their only future. Tens of thousands of households did not know the luxury of milk, and their children were stunted because of want of proper food, and owing to overcrowding, ordinary decency and morality were impossible. Even in times of fairly good trade at the beginning of the twentieth century there were several million persons in a state of more or less acute poverty, and there were no signs that things were growing better as the new century opened.

Not satisfied with sociological investigations, the wretched workers began to call attention to themselves by gestures of discontent and violence. In February, 1886, a meeting of unemployed was held in Trafalgar Square, followed by mobs parading through the principal streets of London, breaking windows and wrecking shops. During the autumn of 1886 the police attempted to prevent a similar meeting from being held. The unemployed rushed the police, and in the riot which followed two men were killed in a capital city where bloodshed had been unknown for many a year.

During this same time a new leadership arose among the unskilled working classes of London, in the persons of John Burns, Tom Mann, and Ben Tillett, which sought to extend the advantages of trade union organization to the less skilled laborers. Only ten per cent of the workers, those in the most skilled trades, enjoyed the advantages of collective bargaining—and it is interesting to note that the organized ten per cent were bitterly hostile to any extension of organization among the less skilled, in the fear that the New Unionism would cause a reduction in their own privileged position. In 1886 Ben Tillett tried to organize the dockers of East London into the Tea Operatives and General Workers Union to win advances by a strike. This effort failed; but three years later, in 1889, Tillett, Burns, and Mann formed a Gas Workers and General Laborers Union, which secured, by threat of a strike, a reduction of the working day in the London gas works from twelve to eight hours. Thus encouraged, Tillett reorganized his dockers and demanded that henceforth no dock laborer should be employed for less than four hours a day and wages should be raised to six pence per hour, with eight pence per hour for overtime. Within ten days the whole port of London was tied up, and Tillett, Mann, and especially John Burns, who captivated the popular imagination by his personality and his ragged straw hat, marshalled their

army so successfully that they not only won their strike and the right to exist, but they captured public sympathy and attention.

The newly discovered unskilled laborers and their problems assumed political importance almost at once. As early as 1883 the extension of the franchise to the agricultural laborer was urged on the ground that "great social questions, which are every day becoming more important, can only be satisfactorily settled when the whole of the people take a part in the work of legislation. . . . There were social questions upon which the majority of people were agreed, but the solution (was) of necessity delayed till all the people (were) taken into counsel."

Apart from extending the franchise in 1884 to the agricultural laborer, and incidentally to many town workers who could not previously meet the qualifications, Gladstone, the Liberal Prime Minister, refused to take any action in the interests of social reform. He was so thoroughly imbued with the ideas of freedom of contract and the *laissez-faire* philosophy that he could not sanction government action beyond the protection of life and property and the enforcement of contracts. Above all, he opposed the idea that the state had any right to take the earnings and property of certain subjects by way of taxation in order to provide money to help other subjects through social reform measures. In his party, however, there was a Birmingham manufacturer, Joseph Chamberlain, who had a clearer insight into the future importance of the masses and the changing nature of the functions of the state. To him politics was not merely a game of personal ambition, but the science of social happiness. Political influence was the chief instrument by which any large amelioration and extensive improvement in the condition of the masses of the population could possibly be secured. "The community," he said, "may, ay and ought, to provide for all its members benefits which it is impossible for individuals to provide by their solitary and separate efforts." With two million new voters added by the act of 1884 to the previous three million (of whom at least one million were already workingmen), it was no longer possible, he held, for a Liberal to cultivate his own garden for himself. His zeal for a social reform program was partly due to his emotional desire to help the working class to greater comfort, but it was also due in part to his keen realization that the ruling classes must give up something in order that they might keep the rest. "What ransom," he asked, "was property willing to pay for

the natural rights which now cease to be recognized? What insurance will wealth find it to its advantage to provide against the risks to which it is undoubtedly subject? . . . The revenues of the state are a portion which each citizen gives from his property to have assurance of the rest."

In 1885 Mr. Chamberlain put forward a program of the measures which he felt ought to be adopted at once. Since this program was not sanctioned by the Liberal party chiefs, it was called the "Unauthorized Program." It is important because it foreshadowed some of the most important legislation of more recent times. The first measures of the program dealt with the land. Mr. Chamberlain's object was to increase the number of those who had direct access to the soil in order to find work for a larger proportion of the people in agriculture, and revive the yeomanry or the small farmer. This could be done by giving the local authorities power to purchase land and rent it in small holdings at fair values. Not only would the agricultural laboring class in the country be given a new dignity as landholding peasants, but the toilers in the towns would also be benefited. For one of the chief reasons for low wages in the unskilled trades there was the constant supply of new labor coming in from the rural districts. Unable to better their condition in the country through becoming small landholding farmers, the most energetic agricultural laborers were going into the cities and beating down wages there. This would be ended if the land was made accessible to the country worker and, in the face of the shorter supply of labor in the towns, wages would rise.

Chamberlain also favored the abolition of fees in the schools provided by the state for the working classes; he favored a revision of taxation so that it might involve "equality of sacrifice" and be proportionate to the superfluities of the taxpayer; he favored greater democratization of the local government in the country, which was still, as in Elizabeth's time, in the hands of the local squires in their capacity as justices of the peace.

As a counterpoise to the Unauthorized Program of Chamberlain in the Liberal party was a Tory Democratic movement in the Conservative party, led by Lord Randolph Churchill, which sought the same ends of social amelioration by paternalistic legislation. Although the details of their schemes were different, there was much in common between Churchill and Chamberlain; and the plans of both were rejected with equal decision by their parties. Churchill, who was Chancellor of the

Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, reacted to his party's rejection of his program by dramatically resigning his high places in 1886 on the ground of his disapproval of the government's spirited foreign policy and consequent expenditures on the army and navy, which interfered with the adoption of reforms. Chamberlain rather obscured the decision of the Liberal party to have nothing to do with his program of social reform by disagreeing with Gladstone on the subject of Irish home rule and leaving the party on that ground in 1886.

By virtue of traditions of the duty of the state to the individual, going back to the Tudor concept of the well-ordered state, the Conservative party seemed at first sight the more apt of the two parties to espouse a program of social amelioration. But a rather important change was coming over the Tory rank and file in the 1870's and 1880's. The ruin of British agriculture had forced them more than ever before to become interested in industry through their ownership of joint stock shares. They still owned land for its social value, but large parts of their income came from stocks and bonds. They were, therefore, ever more loath to sanction any sort of social reform program. To the old objection to the costs of such reforms were added new arguments of opposition to state interference in industry, utterly wanting among the Tories half a century earlier when they were spreading the factory legislation of the middle nineteenth century on the statute books.

On the other hand, even though Chamberlain left the Liberal party in 1886, other supporters of the Unauthorized Program remained within it. Moreover, some of the genuinely *laissez-faire* politicians, such as Sir William Vernon Harcourt, next to Gladstone the ablest man in the party, recognized the future importance of the labor vote. He felt that the Liberal party's tenure of office would be considerably reinsured if he could attract the workingman to become a Liberal. In 1891, in conjunction with the social reformers of the party, he evolved the so-called Newcastle Program. This set forth a series of political reforms designed to interest the working classes, such as the disestablishment of the church in Wales and Scotland, local veto (local option in regard to the liquor business), abolition of the dual franchise, improved registration of voters, and definition of employers' liability.

The bulk of the Liberals were not heartily in accord with even these political reforms any more than the Conservatives; but, nevertheless, in the period from 1887 to 1900 both Liberals and

Conservatives sought to benefit the working classes by way of the extension of local government to the counties and parishes by the acts of 1888 and 1894, the abolition of fees in the board schools in 1891, the passage of a Workingmen's Compensation act in 1897, the enactment of small holdings and allotment acts, which expressed the pious wish that agricultural laborers might be able to procure land, but were absolutely futile as far as accomplishment was concerned, the elaboration of new factory acts attacking the problem of "sweating," which involved the least skilled and most wretchedly paid labor, and by radical changes in taxation which subjected landed property, on its true capital value, as well as personal property to the payment of inheritance taxes.

All these laws, however, did not materially better the condition of the working class; Rowntree found it as badly off in 1902 as it had been ten years earlier. Nevertheless, new developments were under way. In 1899 the Trade Union Congress had suggested the possibility of bringing workingmen together into a new political party, to take its place alongside of the older organizations. This suggestion led in 1901 to the foundation of the British Labor party as a political group.

The Rise of the Labor Party

In the decade between 1880 and 1890, when the problems of poverty were first mooted, a number of socialist societies were formed in England to study social phenomena, such as the nature of wealth and its distribution. One of the most important of these was the Fabian Society, which grew out of a series of lectures by Professor Thomas Davidson of New York before a middle class audience of young Londoners in the year 1883. He expounded the ideas that human life did not consist in material possessions, but that in this world at least material possessions were an essential condition of free spiritual activity; and, after his visit, a group of those who had listened to him decided to continue to hold regular meetings. Early in 1884 this group took the name of the Fabian Society, after Fabius Cunctator, because they were willing to wait as Fabius did for the right moment to strike for the safety of the commonwealth and for social reorganization. The object of the Society was to "help on the reconstruction of society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities"; and in studying this problem the members came to the conclusion that the competitive system

assured the happiness and comfort of the few at the expense of the suffering of the many, and that society must be reconstituted in such a manner as to secure the general welfare and happiness. The easiest and best way of doing this ultimately, they came to believe, was through the securing to society as a whole the enjoyment of every kind of rent and interest, which, according to their economics, were real social products and, therefore, could justly be socialized. To attain their objects they relied upon education and the slow permeation of their opinions through society by means of pamphlets, lectures, special researches, and by the personal influence of the members with politicians and statesmen. Although the Fabian Society was never larger than 5000 members, it numbered in its ranks such men as George Bernard Shaw, Ramsay MacDonald, H. G. Wells (until he found that he and Shaw couldn't possibly belong to the same society), Mr. Philip Snowden, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, and many others who were to become literary, political, and social celebrities, who directly and indirectly worked incessantly to spread the Fabian idea.

A second of the socialist organizations, formed out of smaller groups in 1884 by Mr. H. M. Hyndman, was the Social Democratic Federation, later known as the British Socialist party. Unlike the Fabians who wanted to work with all classes, the Social Democratic Federation accepted the dogma of the class war preached in Europe by Karl Marx, together with the whole Marxian socialist doctrine; and, instead of relying upon education, it participated in politics from the beginning. In the election of 1885 it ran three candidates and polled 657 votes, most of which went to Mr. John Burns. More important than the Social Democratic Federation was a third association, also interested in political action, known as the Independent Labor party, formed in 1893 out of a combination of lesser organizations by Mr. James Keir Hardie. This group is in its practical suggestions the most advanced of the socialist societies, and its importance since its beginnings has continued to lie in this, that its membership has spread into every kind of trade union society, local labor group, and factory in England and has kept thought simmering among the mass of British workers. What the Independent Labor party thinks, a large number of British workmen will be thinking one year later.

Working independently, these societies made little progress. In 1899 a new departure was made. At the suggestion of the Trade Union Congress of that year, a conference of trade union

delegates and representatives of the three socialist groups was called to consider the question of direct labor representation in Parliament. The decision to form a separate political party, called the British Labor party, with its own program, caucus, party whips, willing to coöperate with either of the other parties to get legislation in the direct interests of labor, was strengthened by the Taff Vale decision of the British supreme court, which practically outlawed all trade union action by holding trade unions responsible for damages to corporations and companies growing out of strikes. To secure legislation setting aside the force of this decision, the political organization of all workingmen was considered essential, and the British Labor party assumed immediate importance. The new party was a confederation of trade unions and the three socialist parties, for common political action, and was governed by an executive of sixteen members, representing the trade unions and the socialist societies, all of which kept their own identity. While the Independent Labor party, for example, carried on its own propaganda, nevertheless, as candidates for office its members must bear only the label of the British Labor party and be subject to its discipline. The party was financed by dues of its members, so as to be independent of the financial pressure exerted by large contributors.

When the possibility that the working classes would enter politics as an independent element came nearer to realization with the organization of the Labor party in 1901, there seemed to be two ways for the old parties to meet the situation. One was to absorb it by alliance; the other was to make the workingman so happy that he would have no interest in the Labor party. The Conservatives at once tried the second; the Liberals, a little of both.

The Conservative and Liberal Programs of Social Reform

When the new British Labor party came into being, the Conservatives were in control of the government under the domination of the "Cecilians," Lord Salisbury and his nephew, A. J. Balfour. They had no interest in social reform, but since 1895 another important member of the party was the ex-Liberal, Joseph Chamberlain. He had not forgotten all his social reform ideals, but had rather subtly changed his notions of how they ought to be achieved. He had become very much interested in imperialism and conceived the clever notion of linking imper-

ialism and social reform together. Speaking in 1895 he said, "It is only in such developments that I see any solution of the social problem with which we are surrounded. Plenty of employment and a contented people go together, and there is no way of securing plenty of employment except by creating new markets and developing old ones." The only markets which could be created and developed were those in the colonies. The Boer War distracted interest from the whole problem for a time, but after the struggle in South Africa was over Chamberlain returned to the subject. He urged that Great Britain adopt a high protective tariff against Europe and the United States, but give a preference in rates to the British colonies, which were willing to give similar preferences to Great Britain in their tariffs. In this way the British manufacturer would be assured of the markets of the colonies, and work would be created for British workers, and the colonies would be provided with markets for their food stuffs, wheat and meat, in Great Britain. Incidentally, through the creation of business ties and economic bonds, the empire would be greatly strengthened; Great Britain would be independent of outside nations, such as the United States, for food; and a very pressing financial problem left by the Boer War would be solved through the yield and increase of the customs revenues.

Interestingly enough, this proposal of Chamberlain was violently attacked by many of the leading conservatives. They wanted a tariff too, but a tariff on agricultural products which would protect British landowners, with no provision for preferences to Canada, South Africa, and Australia, which were just as serious competitors with British agriculture as the United States had ever been. A tariff which let in Australian mutton and Canadian grain was as good as no tariff. After a terrific struggle inside the Conservative party, Chamberlain resigned his place in the ministry in order to be free to propagandize his new idea which had so many appeals. He hoped to attract the worker, who was to be protected at home against the labor of the United States and Germany and assured of colonial markets; the landowner, who was to be given agricultural protection (except of course for the matter of colonial produce); the imperialist, who desired to see the empire bound more closely into a genuine unity; and the taxpayer, who was encouraged to expect relief from higher taxes through the yield of the customs dues.

In 1905 Balfour resigned his office of Prime Minister, which

he had held since 1902. In the general election of 1906, unable to find anything better than Chamberlain's Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform, the Conservatives offered it to the country as the panacea for social ills. But the Liberals, keener than the Conservatives in their insight into working class psychology, which took account only of higher prices that a tariff would entail and refused to consider the higher wages, offered a whole program of social amelioration which would give direct benefits to the poor at the expense of the rich. Opposition to Balfour's Education act of 1902 and dissatisfaction with the policy of permitting the importation of Chinese coolies into South Africa were also important factors in the election. These things aroused the Nonconformist conscience and contributed very materially to the sweeping Liberal victory at the polls.

In the discussions of the social problem in the years just before 1906, the sincerest advocates of reform among the Liberals were a group of "young Liberals," who had a genuine humanitarian program and a deep enthusiasm for the cause of the poor. These men had been insurgents against Gladstone and were much chagrined when Chamberlain left the party because his radical ideas found no acceptance with their chief. In consequence they were almost determined to be radical and were much relieved when Gladstone's death (1898) gave them a chance to push their views. Through their speaking and writing they created a psychological mental state in England which made the acceptance of reform possible in the country as a whole, and forced even reluctant Liberals to join in their crusade.

The immediate program of the Liberal party concerned itself necessarily not with the ultimate conditions of a higher cultural and spiritual life for the people, but with the most pressing immediate evils. Less immediately important than the preparation for a new social order was the happiness and contentment of the masses and the protection of their present living standards. The greatest threats to these grew out of old age, sickness, with which the matter of bad housing was closely connected, and unemployment, whether due to bad trade or displacement by other workers. Hence as practical politicians the Liberal ministers seem to have kept ever before them the lessening of unemployment, the alleviation of sickness, and provision for old age. In connection with these things certain ideas in particular caught their attention. These were the fundamental importance of the ownership and use of the land of England

as a responsible element in the problems of poverty and wretchedness, and the necessity of state aid and interference under state socialistic forms to make desirable readjustments. The migration of unskilled country workers to the towns, for example, constantly tended to crowd out of work and force down into the ranks of the casually employed others of the unskilled, who had been stripped of their stamina by urban conditions. To overcome the superior attractions of town life, the Liberals took over Chamberlain's earlier land policy and determined to make it possible for the agricultural laborer to have hopes of becoming a small farmer on his own account by making a few acres accessible to him. The land question was also involved with the problem of housing. It was believed to be the settled policy of the landlords, whose property included not only the agricultural areas but also the land on which towns had grown up and the districts around them, to limit the amount of building sites made available for workingmen's houses in order to keep the ground rents up. As a consequence of the high ground rents, workingmen got almost nothing in the way of houses, either in the matter of rooms, light and air, or conveniences for such rents as they could pay. If building land (or site-land as it is called in England) could be forced into the market, ground rents would fall, and workingmen would get better houses and with them better living conditions and better lives.

Besides interfering to make land more accessible, the state, it was held, was under the further necessity of helping the workers help themselves to guard against the unavoidable or unforeseeable evils growing out of old age, sickness, and unemployment, for which the poor as individuals were unable to make provision by reason of their limited wages and earnings. This could be done best by several varieties of insurance, to which the workers should make some contribution (in order to preserve their self-respect and dignity), but to which other contributions also should be made. The state itself should assume direction of such schemes and contribute to them. The large expenditures involved would have to be made good by heavier taxes.

Not all the Liberal ministers were heartily in favor of these reforms of social nature, especially when they entailed heavy outlay. The Liberal party, as it returned to office in 1905, was made up of two rather antagonistic groups, on the one side, the Little Englanders, led by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, and John Morley,

and on the other, the Liberal imperialists, led by Mr. Herbert Asquith, who became Prime Minister after Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's death in 1908, Sir Edward Grey, who was Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Haldane, the War Minister. The Little Englanders had opposed the Boer War on the ground that more vital problems ought to be solved at home before the empire was increased to satisfy Mr. Cecil Rhodes and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain; and indeed, in the course of his denunciation of the war, Mr. Lloyd George, a fiery and very radical Welshman, almost lost his life in a meeting in Birmingham. While this wing of the party was keen for social reform, the Liberal imperialists were at one with the Conservatives in the desire to build up and strengthen Great Britain's influence abroad. Although they were willing ordinarily to tolerate social reform measures, a much more important object of expenditure presently showed itself. In January, 1906, Lord John Fisher's first *Dreadnaught* was launched. It made all existing battleships obsolete. Naval power rested with that nation which built the greatest number of this new type of ship in the shortest time; and Great Britain, having the lead, must keep it. A Dreadnaught cost several millions of pounds, and Great Britain must build a dozen or sixteen of these new ships. In view of the large naval estimates considered necessary by the Liberal imperialists, they were inclined to go very slowly in adopting remedial legislation, especially after the true magnitude of the costs of the Little Englanders' program was clearly revealed in 1908-1909, when the first of the social insurance measures was put upon the statute books. This was the Old Age Pension Law, which provided for a pension of five shillings a week for every man and woman in Great Britain and Ireland who reached the age of 70 years under certain conditions of residence, income, and previous conduct. In the first year of the operation of the scheme, which was noncontributory, the state making all payments, the cost to the government was about £7,500,000 with prospects of considerable increases in the future. Was it possible for Great Britain to embark upon a new naval program and a costly program of social reform at the same time?

The situation was saved by the statistical economists, who showed that the government was taking really only a very small percentage of the national income for state purposes, and that it might easily take even twice as much as it was taking in the form of taxes without being oppressive, in the sense of re-

stricting the normal expansion of industrial life. On the basis of such suggestions, David Lloyd George, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1908 when Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, resolved to get the additional revenue needed for both the social reform measures and the new navy and, incidentally, to deal with the land problem all at once in a measure in which these things were so inextricably connected that they must command the support of every Liberal of either faction of the party. Hence it happened that the chief and central measure of the Liberal program was the budget of 1909, in which Mr. Lloyd George attempted to do this.

As a revenue measure the budget was very successful. The increases in revenue which it and subsequent budgets based upon it succeeded in getting were striking. Between 1908 and 1914 the national revenue jumped from £155 million to £210 million a year. These increases came largely from the higher and graduated death duties or inheritance taxes, and from new rates of income taxes, which, besides being graduated and providing for supertaxes on incomes above £5000 a year, distinguished between earned income and unearned income derived from investments. There were also heavy taxes on automobiles (at the rate of £1 per horsepower), gasoline, and mining machinery, and higher excises on beer and liquors. Although the rates of the death duties and inheritance taxes were lower than in more recent times, they were higher than anything Englishmen had previously known. A contemporary cartoon summed up current opinion when it depicted a rich man standing on a rocky ledge facing a precipice with his back to a cliff with the caption, "Pity the poor rich man. He cannot afford to live on account of the income tax, and he cannot afford to die on account of the death duties."

In the budget there were certain other taxes which were not intended strictly and exclusively for revenue purposes. The first of these was the Site-Tax on undeveloped building land. The purpose of this tax was to force the owners of such land to put it into the market and to get houses built on it as soon as possible, as a contribution to the solution of the housing problem. The second tax which had social rather than revenue-getting implications was a tax of 20 per cent on the unearned increment value of land sold, leased, or transmitted by inheritance. Under the provisions of this tax all the land of England was valued as of the 30th of April, 1909; and whenever land was sold or transferred later it was to be revalued. All such

increase in value due to the growth of the community or to social development, not due to any effort of the owner, was to be considered unearned increment; and a tax of 20 per cent of this amount was to be paid to the state. The object of the tax was to force heirs, when they inherited their estates and were already under the obligation to pay the death duties, to make further heavy payments of the unearned increment tax. To raise the money it was believed that they would be forced to sell part of their land. Thus the large estates would be split up, land would be made available for the ambitious agricultural laborer who wanted a small farm of his own, and the problem of the casual laborer in the towns would begin to adjust itself. Another advantage expected from the opening of the land was based on observations in certain European and Asiatic countries where access to the land was easy. Not only did the rural laborer stay at home, but the unemployed town laborer was drawn into the country, and industrial crises were more easily met. It was hoped that this might happen in England and thus serve to aid in solving the problem of unemployment.

The Liberal party succeeded in forcing the budget through the House of Commons, but in the House of Lords, which was strongly Conservative, whose members, the great landowners *par excellence,* were personally to be affected by the new land taxes, it met unprecedented opposition. Even Lord Rosebery, himself a Liberal ex-Prime Minister, denounced the measure, and some of the Conservative Lords went beyond themselves in excoriation. As a revenue measure, the budget was not subject to amendment in the House of Lords, although it might be rejected. Such a step would, however, have involved an immediate constitutional struggle, which the Lords were not prepared to precipitate; they, therefore, took the stand that, although the budget paraded as a revenue bill, it really went beyond that and introduced socialistic principles into the British constitution which the Lords were not prepared to accept until the measure was submitted to a popular vote in the form of a general election. Mr. Asquith accepted their challenge. Parliament was dissolved, and a general election was held in January, 1910. The Conservatives offered their old standby of a protective tariff as an alternative measure both to get money for the government and to effect social reforms; but, although the Liberals did not carry as many of the independent voters (who after all seem to decide modern elections) in 1910 as they had rallied in 1906, they still had a slightly greater

number of seats than the Conservatives in the House of Commons, 274 to 271. The balance of power was held by the Irish Home Rule party, which had 82 seats, and by the new Labor party, which had 40 seats. The Irish Home Rule party required a pledge of an Irish Home Rule bill with the preliminary limitation of the power of the House of Lords as the price of its support of the Liberals, and the Laborites were willing to support the Liberals in return for their general policy of social reform and specifically on condition that the power of the House of Lords be limited. Ever since the House of Lords had rejected the Irish Home Rule bill of 1893, many Liberals believed that its powers should be restricted; and this feeling grew very strong between 1906 and 1908 when a number of Liberal measures, such as a new education bill and a measure for the reform of the liquor trade, passed by the House of Commons, were rejected by the Lords. As soon as the budget had been voted, the Lords accepting it in view of the popular verdict, Mr. Asquith and the Liberal ministry took up the matter of ending or mending the House of Lords. After many plans and suggestions, some of which came from the more perceptive Lords who saw the necessity of some change, the government carried a measure, now known as the Parliament act, through the House of Commons, providing that any money bill passed through the House of Commons became a law upon the king's signature in spite of any action by the Lords; that any measure other than a money bill became a law if passed by the Commons three times in two years within the life of a single Parliament even though twice rejected by the Lords; and finally that the life of Parliament in the future should be five instead of seven years. This measure was immediately voted down by the Lords. Mr. Asquith went to the country for a second time in 1910 in the general election of December, which resulted much as the January election had. The Parliament bill was again sent up to the Lords with the threat that the King would create enough new peers to secure its passage. The threat sufficed, and although a few "Die Hards" came and voted no, enough Liberal Lords were mustered to secure the passage of the bill.

The enactment of the Parliament act in 1911 insured the successful passage of certain measures of political reform to which the ministry was committed, which the Lords had been determined never to accept. These were the Irish Home Rule bill, a bill for the disestablishment of the Anglican church in Wales,

analogous to the earlier bill for the disestablishment of the Anglican church in Ireland, and a bill for franchise reform. All these bills were given final passage through the House of Commons in 1914 just as the Great War broke out, and all were put into a state of suspension for the duration of the war. At the end of the war interest in these measures had lessened, so that the net results of the Parliament act are as yet unimportant.

As a matter of fact, although the Parliament act occupied a prominent place in the eyes of contemporaries who were still unaware that in the dawning age economics, and not politics, was to be the dominant passion, it was much less significant than the statutes in which the Liberal government redressed pressing evils, or the series of laws which followed out the social reform program firmly established in the budget of 1909. A Workingmen's Compensation act (1906) amplified the provisions of an earlier law; the Trade Disputes act (1906) counteracted the effects of the Taff Vale decision; and, after the courts had held that trade unions could not use their funds to support labor representatives in Parliament, a third act provided for the payment of members of the House of Commons. The social measures may be divided into several groups. First of all, was a series of laws intended to regulate the newly freed land. Since, however, practically no land was forced into the market by the new land taxes, inasmuch as wealthy landowners generally had other resources to draw upon beside their land, these were unimportant, even though there was among them an interesting Town Planning act designed to make of England a garden city.

In the second place, were the sickness insurance features of the National Insurance act of 1911. Convinced that 30 per cent of all pauperism was due to illness, Mr. Lloyd George provided for compulsory insurance against sickness for all working people with earnings of less than £160 a year, with voluntary provisions for all others. Fourteen million seven hundred thousand persons received the advantages of the provisions of the act, which provided for weekly contributions from the insured, his employer, and the state, in return for which a sick-benefit was paid in case of illness, maternity benefits were stipulated, and free medical attendance and free medicine were provided for. All physicians who wished to do so were invited to put their names on a panel or list, and with such physicians the local committee entered into contracts for attendance upon sick

persons in the community. For free treatment insured persons were obliged to go to physicians whose names were on the panel, though, of course, they might go elsewhere if they wished to pay.

In the third place, there was a series of laws designed to deal with the problem of unemployment, or underemployment. With the knowledge that much work in England was seasonal locally, that is to say that when there was an excess of labor in one place there was often a shortage in another, the Liberal government planned to give greater mobility to labor and provide some sort of machinery which would enable men who were out of work in one place to get into touch with jobs elsewhere, some method to increase the workers' knowledge of the labor market. In 1909, therefore, it established a system of Labor Exchanges, based to some extent upon German models, maintained by the state, where exact information was available for both workers and employers. Any worker out of a job could go to the nearest exchange and learn what was available all over England. He might borrow money from the exchange to go to the new job, and he might rest at Poor Law houses on the way. He was assured that he was not being asked to accept less than current wages in the place to which he was going, and that he was not being sent to fill a job left by a strike or created by a lockout. The Labor Exchanges also had laid upon them the work of collecting statistics of prices, costs of living, and unemployment which are of inestimable value to students. Another part of the Liberal government's policy with regard to unemployment was compulsory unemployment insurance. The idea was that through some such scheme the burdens of unemployment could be spread over the whole mass of workers and shifted in part upon society and industry, so that no group would feel them very severely. In other words, by pooling the danger, unemployment would be less of a risk for any individual worker. While sickness insurance had been worked for a long time in Germany, and the German experience was available for the government in framing the provisions of the sickness insurance measure, almost nothing had been done anywhere with unemployment insurance outside a few German and Swiss towns. The government, therefore, went rather slowly and began with unemployment insurance for about 2,470,000 workers in the engineering and building trades. Here again the state, the employer, and the worker made contributions to the unemployment insurance funds, and in times of slack work and trade

depression those workers who were unemployed might receive benefits for a certain number of weeks, depending upon the length of time they had contributed. Benefits were not allowed during strikes or lockouts, or in case a workman was dismissed for misconduct or left his work without cause. On the other hand, if a man was seldom or never out of work, he could claim all contributions made by him at 2½ per cent compound interest, less the amount received in benefits, when he reached the age of 60.

The fourth series of measures of the Liberal program consisted of a number of laws designed to give a better chance for a happy future to the new generation of children. One act made it possible for municipalities to provide compulsory notification of the birth of a child and to extend medical service and the visitation of a nurse for several months to newborn children and their mothers. Another act permitted educational authorities to provide play centers for children attending elementary schools, and to establish play centers for children under five in which the principles of Pestalozzi and Froebel would be exemplified (Kindergartens). Medical inspection of children in schools was introduced in 1907, and where children, in the opinion of their teachers, were undernourished, the local authority might provide meals for them. In another act the labor of children was more strictly limited, juvenile courts were established, and provision made for lengthening the time of school attendance to 14, with continuation schools to the age of 16.

One of the most significant features attendant upon the elaboration of this Liberal program was the growth of Stateism, that is, the increase of the numbers of state officials and bureaus and the augmentation of the powers of the state through them against the individual. In this matter the Liberals played directly into the hands of the Conservatives, who wanted a strong state for military purposes and believed that the absolute control of the state over every aspect of life was necessary in the event of a war. The Conservative belief was justified during the Great War, and at that time the increase in the state's powers was made much easier because of the initial developments in the days of the Asquith government. Meantime, the rich accepted the whole business of social reform as a cheap escape from a more fundamental social change, and the poor welcomed the alleviations which it made in their condition. At the same time, however, other workingmen in ever growing numbers were becoming entirely disgusted with politics and

were beginning to think in terms of "direct action" through economic pressure on society by means of general strikes. This feeling, which began about 1911, continued to become stronger, until in the recent past it has intrigued the imaginations of perhaps a majority of workingmen.

In spite of the well-articulated government program and of the very obvious benefits which it brought to the working classes, many of the workers made the discovery between 1911 and 1914 that they were more than losing at one end what they were gaining at the other. Between 1896-1900 and 1914 a new rise in prices had begun in Europe and in England, which, unattended by any general increase in wages, was steadily, year after year, reducing the value of the workingman's earnings and nibbling at his standard of living. While prices rose by about 10 per cent from 1900 to 1914, wages remained stationary (with slight fluctuations either way), so that real wages were rather sharply reduced. Not understanding the causes of the phenomena which seemed to be robbing them of every gain which the government made for them, the working classes began to express their discontent in bitter criticism of certain details of the government's measures and in a revived outbreak of strikes. Thus, for example, they found much dissatisfaction with the sickness insurance on the ground that it gave least protection to the physically unfit who needed it most. Beginning in the summer of 1911 a series of strikes among the railway workers, the miners, and the dockworkers took place. These were all the more ominous in that they were not local as earlier strikes had been, but nation-wide and comprehended whole industries. A period of disillusionment, with an acute revival of labor unrest, had begun and was in full swing when the war broke out. The Liberal politicians sought to stem the tide "by an advance all along the line, a prompt advance, and a bold advance." But all they could think of was a new crusade against the monopoly in land. Mr. Lloyd George began this with a kind of semiofficial, semisecret inquiry into the land question in 1912-1913. This, however, aroused no enthusiasm, and numbers of workingmen were ready to cease following the old parties and leaders for the new evangel, which was already being preached by the various socialist societies and had concrete political expression in the Labor party. As a consequence, the Labor party grew rapidly. It ran its first candidates in the election of 1906 and succeeded in electing 29 out of the 51 which it nominated. In 1910 it carried 40 seats in the House

of Commons, and with its continued growth its determination to overcome both old parties and to control the state in the interests of labor was no longer so chimerical as it had been in 1901.

The Extensions of the Franchise and the Suffrage for Women during the Era of Social Reform

In the first part of the twentieth century the British franchise or right to vote was fixed by the terms of the law of 1884. Although no classes of adult males were excluded from the right to vote after the third Reform act of 1884, in actual practice only from two-thirds to one-half of all the adult males could actually qualify for the franchise because of the imposition of certain qualifications, such as residence for a certain time in a district, the occupation of a household, or the occupation of lodgings paying a rental of £10 a year. The principle of one man one vote, moreover, had not yet found acceptance, and cases were known where men voted at least six times on different qualifications. Women were, of course, entirely excluded from the franchise in national elections, although women with the proper qualifications were permitted to vote in local municipal elections on the same terms as men.

The whole franchise situation was entirely unsatisfactory to many at the opening of the twentieth century, and suggestions of franchise reform were made as early as the Newcastle Program. It is rather curious to note that in the agitation which followed the men played a less significant part. This was partly due to the fact that even in this period many men were becoming more and more doubtful about the success of political action in accomplishing anything, and very skeptical, moreover, of the possibility of influencing even political action through the vote. Women, on the other hand, hitherto excluded from the right to vote, were evincing a new faith in the business of dropping a piece of paper into a ballot box once in every seven or five years, and were demanding admission to the ranks of the voters with an insistence and even a passion quite un-English.

The first suggestions for votes for women in the national elections date from the 1830's; and from the first mention of the idea at that time, on through John Stuart Mill's reasoned defense of women's votes in 1867 at the time of the second Reform bill, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the very

mention of suffrage for women was received with so much mirth and ridicule that it was instantly dismissed from court. The idea was kept in the air by a number of dilettante suffrage societies, but practically nothing was accomplished by the time the twentieth century opened. Dissatisfied with these older societies, a small body of women, recruited chiefly from Lancashire and Yorkshire, formed a new society known as the Women's Social and Political Union. It based its demand for the franchise for women on the working woman's necessity for a vote to improve her industrial position and her domestic rights. In the 1906 election the Union was very active in Manchester, and soon afterwards moved its headquarters to London and entered upon a most sensational career. It organized processions of women and demonstrations in Trafalgar Square, its leading members paid organized calls on the ministers, and groups invaded the lobbies and the women's gallery of the House of Commons to interview ministers and disturb the sessions. Several women were presently arrested for riotous behavior and refused to pay their fines. Remanded to prison, they refused to take food and defied the police to allow them to starve, which, of course, the police dared not do. As soon as they were freed, the women adopted a new method of attacking the government in revealing the vileness of the English prisons. When the government ultimately adopted "Cat and Mouse" tactics to deal with the hunger-strikers, keeping them in prison until they were exhausted, releasing them until they recovered, and thrusting them back into prison until their sentences were served out, it gave even greater advertisement to the women, and thousands of wealthy women joined the movement.

In 1912 the Union sought to persuade the government to incorporate the franchise for women in the new franchise bill of that year; and when the government refused, they determined to make England too uncomfortable to live in until they got the vote. They destroyed plate glass windows; they poured acid into the letter boxes to destroy the mail; they slashed pictures in art galleries (until all women were excluded from them); they attended theatres and the opera in large bodies (especially when the King was present) and, chained to their seats, chanted "votes for women" until they were removed, chains and seats and all; they interrupted the services at St. Paul's with choruses of "God save Mrs. Pankhurst" (their leader); and whenever a minister of the government was spend-

ing a week end at some country house, they attempted to burn the place down and occasionally succeeded. Against such tactics on the part of thousands of resourceful and courageous women, the government could not make any headway in restoring normal conditions of comfortable life, and in all probability it would have had to yield sooner or later.

When the war came, the suffragettes called a truce. They were, after all, English and refused to embarrass their government in time of war. Before they needed to resume their activities at the end of the war, as they were fully resolved to do, women were granted the franchise in the Representation of the People's act in 1918, with certain qualifications. This act, belated climax of the fourth Reform movement on its political side, marks the full attainment of political democracy in Great Britain. By the act of 1918 all men over 21 years of age, resident for six months in a district or in adjoining districts could vote in the general election, and all women over 30, entitled to vote in local elections through the ownership or tenancy of land or premises for six months, or the wives of men so entitled, were also given the franchise. In local elections women might vote at 21 if they had the proper qualifications. About half the women of Great Britain received the right to vote in the general elections. All the old qualifications which had hitherto made possible many votes for one man (plural voting) were abolished, but at the same time it was made possible for a voter (man or woman) to cast two votes under certain conditions. In case he was a university graduate, for instance, he could vote in his own district on residence qualification, and he could also vote as a degree holder. He might also receive a second vote if, in addition to his residence, he occupied a business premise worth at least £10 a year. No man, however, could have more than two votes. Provision was made for voting by mail or by proxy in case of absence from home on election day, and it was further provided that elections in all parts of England should be held on the same day, not spread out over a month as had been the custom in the past. The membership of the House of Commons was increased from 670 to 707. The grant of the right to vote to women was a recognition of their splendid service to Great Britain as war workers. Unfortunately, there are more women in England than there are men, and the fear of petticoat government led the politicians to exclude the younger women so as to leave male voters in the majority. By a curious irony the very women excluded were

those who had performed the major portion of war service, since most of the war workers were under 30.

The great series of legislative enactments described in this chapter placed Great Britain in the forefront of Europe by 1912, and still further progress was promised by the growth of the Labor party, the new campaign of the Liberals, the agitation of the women, and the activity of those workers who looked to economic rather than political action. Before all this could come to fruition, however, it was interrupted by the cataclysm of the Great War in 1914. The origins of this greatest tragedy in history must be examined in the next two chapters.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XXVI

NARRATIVE HISTORY.

J. A. Farrar, *England under Edward VII.*

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

F. E. Bell, *At the Works* (1907).
W. Beveridge, *Unemployment* (1909).
C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People* (1892-1904).
A. L. Bowley, *Livelihood and Poverty* (1915).
S. J. Chapman, *Work and Wages* (1904-14).
L. G. Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty* (1910).
G. H. D. Cole, *The World of Labor* (1913).
J. Collings, *Land Reform* (1908).
E. Dewsnup, *The Housing Problem in England* (1907).
F. E. Green, *A History of the English Agricultural Labourer 1870-1920* (1920).
H. Haggard, *Rural England* (1906).
C. B. Hawkins, *Norwich, A Social Study* (1910).
J. A. Hobson, *Gold, Prices, and Wages* (1913).
L. Jebb, *The Small Holdings of England* (1907).
B. S. Rowntree, *How the Laborer Lives* (1913).
Poverty, a Study of a City (1902).
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W. Savage, *Rural Housing* (1915).
Outer London Inquiry Committee, *West Ham, a Study of Outer London* (1907).
St. Philip's Settlement Society, *The Equipment of the Workers* (1919).
Liverpool Economic and Statistical Society, *How the Casual Laborer Lives.*

SOCIAL REFORM PROJECTS.

W. Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1891).
E. Gulley, *Joseph Chamberlain and English Social Politics.*
E. R. Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society.*

TARIFF REFORM.

W. J. Ashley, *British Industries.*
The Tariff Problem.

J. Chamberlain, *Imperial Union and Tariff Reform.*
H. Cox (Ed.), *English Industries under Free Trade.*
A. Shadwell, *Industrial Efficiency.*
W. Smart, *The Return to Protection.*
G. Armitage-Smith, *Free Trade and Its Results.*

The Liberal Party's Program.

P. Alden, *Democratic England.*

Woman Suffrage.

A. E. Metcalfe, *Woman's Effort.*

Constitutional History.

A. V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion.*
The Law of the Constitution.
C. Hayes, *British Social Politics.*
A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England.*

Political Thought.

E. Barker, *Political Thought from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day.*
L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism.*
J. R. MacDonald, *The Socialist Movement.*

Nineteenth Century Science.

A. Schuster and A. E. Shipley, *Britain's Heritage of Science.*
J. Arthur Thomson, *The Outline of Science.*

Biography.

W. S. Blunt, *My Diaries, 1888-1914.*
W. Churchill, *Lord Randolph Churchill.*
H. A. L. Fisher, *James Bryce.*
J. L. Garvin, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (forthcoming).
J. W. Mackail and G. Wyndham, *Life and Letters of George Wyndham.*
W. Robertson Nicoll, *Princes of the Church.*
E. T. Raymond, *Life of Arthur J. Balfour.*
J. A. Spender, *The Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*
The Public Life.

CHAPTER XXVII

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1890-1914

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIANCE OF THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

In the generation from 1890 to 1910, European life experienced another great acceleration in speed. One of the basic features of this development was a remarkable increase in facilities and means of rapid transportation and communication. On the railroads, which were still the most important factor in land transportation, the fastest scheduled time of express trains in Great Britain in 1890 was 54.12 miles per hour, by 1900 it was 59.09 miles per hour, and in 1910 it was 61.7 miles per hour, a figure which has not yet been exceeded. This augmented velocity was accompanied by an increase in the weight and size of trains as well as of their number, and vastly more passengers were carried, so that not merely did a few people move more rapidly from place to place, but a large part of the whole population seemed to become mobile and to be traveling at an expedited rate. Less noticeable, but part of the contribution of the railroads was the provision of better terminal facilities, improved parcel collecting and distributing services, and heavier freight trains, all making for more rapid transport of goods and products. In the cities the trolley car appeared; on the roads the lowly pedestrian was supplanted by the cyclist riding first the high wheel and later the "safety" bicycle; and just at the end of the generation Gottlieb Daimler's researches bore fruit in the automobile, which, making any speed from twenty miles an hour upward, was to make the seven miles an hour of the gentleman's carriage or the twelve miles an hour of the bicycle seem ridiculously slow. Communication and correspondence was made more rapid through the greater dispatch of the mails, the wider use of the cheap telegraph (which, controlled by the post office, carried a 12 word message for six pence anywhere in Great Britain), and the coming universality of the telephone in all business houses at least, if not as yet in private homes.

On the ocean the engineer had perfected the triple expansion engine in the 1880's; in the 1890's the quadruple expansion engine was introduced; and, almost simultaneously, the steam turbine was invented and developed by Charles A. Parsons. Ship builders were using these new types of highly efficient engines in ever larger hulls. The first ship to exceed 10,000 tons, the *City of Paris*, was built in 1888, and she cut the time of the trip across the North Atlantic from Queenstown to New York to under six days; in 1899 the *Oceanic* was built, the first ship to exceed 15,000 tons; in 1901 the *Celtic*, the first to exceed 20,000 tons; and in 1907 the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania*, the first ships to exceed 30,000 tons. The *Mauretania*, equipped with quadruple screws and turbine engines of 70,000 horse power, which gave a speed of 26 knots, reduced the passage of the North Atlantic from Queenstown to New York to 4 days 10 hours and 41 minutes, a record which still stands. While all these figures are those of the crack ships of the world, engaged in the northern transatlantic service, the cargo ships of the world also increased in size from an average of perhaps 2000 tons in 1890 to an average of 6000 or 8000 tons in 1910, and in speed from seven to nine knots an hour. Incidentally, the volume of business which steamships carried had grown so large that it was possible to develop considerable specialization in their construction, and refrigerator ships, tank-liners, cattle ships, ship ferries, and other types were introduced. In all this quickening movement on land and on the sea, so great were the new efficiencies in construction that there was no increase in the costs of transportation, but in some cases, such as ocean freights, actual decreases.

With the lessening of the time and cost element in distance, exchange and turnover became more rapid and greater in volume, and business men could spread their markets over wider areas. As a consequence, industrial enterprises developed constantly larger units, and more extensive factories equipped with new machinery, new techniques, and greater outputs were built. Firms which had manufactured for a town now expanded to supply the nation; companies which already had had national markets entered international trade. Great economies of production were further assured by large scale amalgamations, covering the whole country, of plants engaged in particular lines of business. This movement toward larger industrial units culminated in the formation of gigantic trusts. Organizers seized the opportunity to effect still greater economies of production

by eliminating or preventing competition and by reducing overhead in the form of numerous managements through the mergers of many concerns into single vast enterprises. The Tobacco Trust, the Match Trust, the Cotton Thread Trust, and many others came into existence in this way at just about the beginning of the twentieth century. The enhanced production of British factories in this generation due to all these developments can be shown rather graphically by certain figures of Great Britain's national income. In 1883 the total national income was estimated at £1200 million, and in 1910 it was about £2000 million. The increase is in largest part due to the heightened output of British industry.

This extraordinary growth in producing power was not accompanied by sharp rectifications and improvements in the distribution of the yield among the various contributing classes. As British industrial life had been organized ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution, the surplus of production, or that part of each year's output not immediately required to support the workers, pay the technicians, engineers, and managers, and reward the capitalists with a fair interest, remained in the hands of the capitalists. The capitalists at first invested the surplus in extending the existing plant; and, in the earlier days of the nineteenth century, the whole scheme may be lauded as a device for enforcing thrift on all classes, so that the new industrial plant might be completed. Already before the beginning of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, however, it was impossible to use all the surplus in England itself, that is, it was impossible to use it and at the same time maintain a fair interest on capital. What was true before 1875 was increasingly true after 1890, particularly from 1900 to 1914. Each year there was an ever larger surplus available which could not be used at home.

The desirable development may have been some process of transferring this surplus to the workers to enable them to improve their still relatively low standards of living. While rises in wages had been almost continuous through the nineteenth century, the greater efficiency of methods, machines, and workers together with the augmented volumes of business created additional profits which more than overbalanced the larger payments for wages and left growing surpluses in the hands of the capitalists. Realizing the difficulties of transferring these incrementing sums to the workers by a general rise of wage scales, certain thinkers who took part in the social reform

movement before 1914 consciously purposed the enforced socialization of the surplus for the benefit of the labor. They planned to have the state take the annual excess in the form of taxes and extend it to the working classes in the form of benefits, such as old age pensions, insurance, and so forth. How little success attended these efforts may be judged from this, that the amount of surplus capital available in the hands of the capitalists grew constantly larger, and was considerably greater in 1912, after all of the Liberal legislation, than in 1905 when the Liberals came into office. Unable to find use for it at home, its owners sought to invest it abroad even more insistently than in the period of the 1880's when similar circumstances had led to the new economic imperialism. The surplus capital actually exported was as follows:

1890	£ 82.6 million
1895	22.7 "
1900	31.2 "
1905	62.8 "
1906	104.4 "
1907	140.2 "
1910	150.8 "
1911	192.2 "
1912	226. "

The extremely rapid rise from 1905 onward is the most significant and pregnant fact in modern history. For this development in England was not an isolated phenomenon. It had its analogues in France, Germany, Austria, and other countries in western Europe, as well as in the United States, and competition between the owners of capital for profitable investment fields broke out in an extremely aggravated form. In so far as English, French, German, and other owners of capital invested it in the United States, South America, Russia, and the various British colonies, no political reactions followed. On the other hand, there were certain independent countries which merited the title of "more backward nations," because, while they had ancient cultures, they had not adopted western mechanical civilization. These decayed states, such as Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, and Persia of the Mohammedan world, together with Siam, China, and Korea, also interested investors, and the particular syndicates first on the ground often sought the creation of monopolies in their own favor. It must be kept in mind that ordinary commerce, exchange of goods for goods,

does not come into question here at all. There was no desire on the part of any group to monopolize commerce in any of these areas for itself. The rivalry was "less a struggle for a chance to sell than for an opportunity to lend," that is, to advance money for the construction of harbor works, railroads and roads, electric light and power plants, water works, telegraph and telephone lines, and other appliances of mechanical civilization and for the development of iron mines, rubber estates, and vegetable oil plantations which would give substantial returns on the capital laid down.

In this intensified rivalry from 1890, and especially from 1900 onward, there were substantial differences from the earlier international competition for the control of fields of capital investment in barbarous Africa, which had marked the period of the 1870's and 1880's. In the first place, the operations were no longer in the hands of single investors and their associates, such as Sir George Goldie, Sir William Mackinnon, and Cecil Rhodes, or even private partnership banking houses, such as the Barings or the Bisschopheims. The control of capital for investment had come largely into the hands of joint stock investment trust companies founded in particularly large numbers from 1884 to 1890, which could wield an influence and pressure quite unknown in the earlier period. In the second place, there was a much closer relationship between the governments of Europe and these great banking institutions than had been the case earlier. In Germany the Deutsche Bank was so intimately associated with the government that it was hard to tell where the bank, a private joint stock company, began and where the government left off. In England, Sir Edward Grey, foreign secretary in the Liberal government from 1905 until 1916, frankly admitted the close relationship between his government and the British financial houses. "I regard it as our duty, wherever bona fide British capital is forthcoming in any part of the world and is applying for concessions to which there are no valid political objections, that we should give it the utmost support we can and endeavor to convince the foreign government concerned that it is to its interest as well as to our own to give the concessions for railways and so forth to British firms who carry them out at reasonable prices and in the best possible way." A more vivid illustration of the same intimacy between governments and banks was shown in connection with the British-German negotiations over the Bagdad railway in 1914. The actual negotiations were

conducted by Sir Ernest Cassell of the banking firm of Cassell and Company on the British side, and by Dr. von Gwinner of the Deutsche Bank on the German side. After they had signed their agreement in a room in the Foreign Office, Sir Edward Grey and the German ambassador initialed the document as the first step in establishing it as a formal treaty between the German and British governments. Only the outbreak of the war several months later prevented the complete ratification of a bankers' agreement as a treaty of friendship between Great Britain and Germany.

In early twentieth century Europe the trust movement, already mentioned in connection with British industry, had extended across national frontiers to include industries in a number of countries in various sorts of agreements, pools, apportionments of areas, and even outright amalgamation. The International Steel Rail Syndicate, for example, included the steel rail manufacturers of Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, and the United States with a division of the export trade in steel rails among the manufacturers of the various nations; the American Tobacco Company had subsidiaries which controlled the tobacco trade of Great Britain, worked in Germany, and competed for the trade of the rest of the world; the Nobel Trust Company made the world's dynamite. In all, several hundred international associations of various sorts in industry can be found in this period. Industrial capital had no country. The advantages of similar associations and agreements apportioning areas over the world where monopolies of investment opportunities would be assured soon became apparent to bankers of various nations; and such agreements were made, without, however, becoming so complete and general as to destroy entirely the bitter competition between financiers of different nations in all the more backward areas.

The discords between capitalist investors in Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Siam, Korea, and China, together with subsequent agreements among financiers to divide and assign rights in these countries along the lines of the apportionments of international industrial syndicates, form the economic basis of a large part of European foreign policy from the beginning of the twentieth century to the World War in 1914.

In one sense, foreign policy is the economic needs and requirements of the financial interests in their competition with each other and in their agreements with each other transformed into politics. Such agreements were the vital impulse of

foreign relations, and there were few developments in foreign policy where the economic interests and arrangements of influential financiers were not concerned. At the same time, however, there was more in foreign policy than economics. It was both something more and something less than deals between financiers. It never concerned itself with all the disputes and agreements of financiers, and there was in it a great deal of tradition and of personal element. For the men who conducted Great Britain's foreign policy were carrying on a rich tradition of their offices. They all had strong and positive personalities, like their *confrères* in other European countries, which determined exactly which of several possible lines of action they would take, and they were subject to a very peculiar and very strong public opinion. The Foreign Office and the diplomatic service were, together with the army and the navy, the least democratized of all public services and least subject to the opinion of the majority of the people. While something was done to popularize knowledge of foreign affairs by Gladstone in 1876 in the Midlothian campaign, on the subject of Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, and something by Disraeli, when he went to the Congress of Berlin, ordinary men, possibly because of the complexity of the foreign problems, took practically no interest in them; and even Parliament showed little or no concern for foreign affairs, had no knowledge of them, and exercised practically no control over them. At the same time the Foreign Office constantly watched internal politics, and was subject to the pressure of the press and other organized groups.

Because of the requirements that young men who entered the diplomatic and foreign service must have a considerable private income to meet the expenses necessary to their state which were not covered by their meagre salaries, only the rich could seek admittance. As a matter of actual fact, the whole service was the closed preserve of a very small group of extremely aristocratic and wealthy families, whose thoughts on foreign affairs were "public opinion" by which the foreign secretary and his technical experts, the undersecretaries, were in large part guided. Like the Foreign Office officials of all European governments of this era, the British exhibited a tendency to credit every current rumor; and a study of their mentality shows that they were exceedingly suspicious and ready to believe that any move by any power was designed to injure the British empire. In true mercantilist fashion

they held that every advance by every other nation must be made at the expense of Great Britain with the ulterior purpose of ultimately destroying her. In their positive creed the chief article was that Great Britain's very existence as a world power depended on the supremacy of her fleet, and that any challenge to her naval supremacy was a threat to her very existence. Consequently, it never occurred to them that this item of faith was just as true and just as false for other countries which, like Great Britain, imported most of their food and exported manufactured goods, and that such countries might justifiably want fleets to have a makeweight in diplomatic struggles with Great Britain without ever dreaming of attacking her.

Between the official classes of the foreign and diplomatic service and the world of high finance contacts were close and intimate. In the 1860's, 1870's, and 1880's Lord Rothschild kept court at Gunnersbury and systematically collected about him the men who made and wrote about foreign affairs. He held weekly conferences in this great country house between the Prime Ministers (Palmerston and Disraeli) and the editor of the London *Times*, and together they drew up the half columns of news on foreign policy which gave an official character to the *Times* in this period. In the decade of the 1890's Cecil Rhodes, representing the gold and diamond mining interests, was on terms of closest intimacy with Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, as well as with other cabinet ministers, and even went so far as to negotiate directly with the Kaiser in person, riding out to Potsdam on his bicycle and announcing himself at the royal palace in his cycling clothes to the consternation of the royal equerries who, when his card was at last taken in, were ordered to admit him without further ceremony. In the decade from 1895 to 1905 and later, the Rothschild brothers paid the closest attention to foreign affairs, and urged their views directly upon cabinet ministers and even King Edward. They were invited frequently to dine most informally with the King and one or two experts in foreign affairs, when their views, as the views of the "city" (the financial interests), received the greatest attention.

Splendid Isolation and the First Efforts to Abandon It

Even during the most active days of Palmerston's interference in the affairs of Europe, Richard Cobden had been

propagandizing for a policy of nonintervention. With Palmerston's retirement and the disintegration of his policy, nonintervention was officially adopted by Gladstone and his foreign secretary, Granville, as the future policy of the Liberal party. As fully formulated by Gladstone, "the right principles of foreign policy" were to foster the strength of the empire by just legislation and economy at home, to preserve the blessings of peace to all nations, to maintain the concert of Europe, to avoid needless and entangling engagements, to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations, and to inspire Great Britain's foreign policy always by love of freedom. Gladstone tried to practice some of his precepts by his withdrawal from Kandahar (in Afghanistan), recently annexed by Disraeli, and by his retirement from the Sudan even after Gordon's death and from the Transvaal in the face of Majuba Hill. He welcomed Germany in the colonial world as a friend and ally in the spread of civilization. He could not, however, sit back quietly in the face of the atrocities of the Turks in Bulgaria in 1876 and urged the expulsion of the Turks "bag and baggage" from that province. Above all, he could not resist the pressure of bondholders in Egypt to put down Arabi Pasha's gesture of independence in 1882 or the importunities of Sir George Goldie, Sir William Mackinnon, and others to recognize certain areas in Africa as within the sphere of British influence.

As actually developed during the rapid succession of Liberal and Conservative ministries from 1868 to 1892, nonintervention came to mean nonintervention in the affairs of western Europe, which even Disraeli admitted Great Britain had outgrown, and splendid isolation from any entangling alliances in the midst of a welter of various combinations. The main object of both Liberal and Conservative foreign ministers in this period was to maintain the British empire and to safeguard its communications. The Conservatives were even willing to enlarge the empire, but took no aggressive steps in that direction; the Liberals felt the empire was large enough, but eventually recognized additions secured by men on the ground. Whatever their party connections, the officials in power were likely to prefer to do nothing to make additions to the empire. At the same time they were being constantly pushed by English business men, investors, missionaries, and others in the colonial areas in the imperialist direction, and there was little difference between the decision of a Conservative or a Liberal minister if the pressure was strong enough. Some Liberals recognized

the power of attendant circumstances, and openly admitted their imperialism. With this development, by the middle 1890's there was no vital difference between the two parties in their foreign policy. This unity of the policy of the parties was symbolized by Lord Rosebery on assuming the foreign secretaryship in 1892, when he adopted the doctrine of "continuity" in foreign relations (formally announced in 1895), so that whatever party was in control, foreign affairs should be conducted as an unbroken policy.

There was, nevertheless, a real difference between the conduct of the Foreign Office by ministers of the different parties. Liberal foreign secretaries, such as Sir Edward Grey (1905-1916), were, as a result of certain exigencies of party politics, subject to certain kinds of pressure to which Conservatives were indifferent. The Liberal party, for example, numbered a very large number of Nonconformist voters, who were interested in the widely flung missionary activity of their churches. Appeals of their missionaries for governmental action of one sort or another were, therefore, likely to receive very careful consideration from a Liberal minister. Nonconformity was moreover the reservoir of British idealism, and humanitarian appeals of every sort were certain to find a ready response. It was more than politic for Liberal ministers to pay careful attention to idealistic movements, and to take some cognizance of them in shaping their policies.

The personal equation introduced by the individual foreign secretary must be kept in mind also. Although it is true that the details of business of the Foreign Office were preponderatingly in the hands of the undersecretaries, the general tone was set by the foreign minister. There was in consequence a marked difference in general Foreign Office reactions under a smooth realist, such as Lord Lansdowne, and an idealistic pacifist, such as Sir Edward Grey. The ineffectiveness of an initial bellicose essay in 1895, in which Sir Edward, then an undersecretary, shook the mailed fist at France in the matter of French advances in Africa, seems to have made a great impression on him, and henceforth he showed himself sincerely adverse to military measures. During his ministry, which began in 1905, he dedicated himself to arranging outstanding difficulties with one country after another in the hope of eliminating all causes of conflict, in so far as that could be done commensurately with British imperial interests.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the splendid isola-

tion which Liberals and Conservatives had upheld since the disintegration of Palmerstonism was found to have its defects and dangers. This was brought home to the nation sharply during the Boer War. Everywhere in Europe Great Britain was cordially hated for her efforts to destroy the liberties of two small courageous republics. The press of France went beyond itself in denunciation and contumely; its cartoons of this period are among the most bitter and cruel ever drawn; and the press of Germany was not far behind that of France. With all peoples the idea of intervention to save the Boers was popular; and, as has been just recently learned, Russia actually proposed intervention to France and Germany in February, 1900; and, had that intervention actually been attempted, it would not have surprised the British people. All the details have only recently been revealed in the publication of German documents, *Die Grosse Politik*, carried on by the German government, and they make a fascinating story. The proposal was actually turned down, and intervention was made impossible by the refusal of Germany to go in. The German declination was not due to any superior morality on her part, but was occasioned by the unwillingness of France, as part of the agreement, to sign a guarantee treaty, forever renouncing her rights to Alsace-Lorraine, and by the Kaiser's realization, as he declared later, that in the face of the British navy any continental combination was powerless. With sublime and unparalleled mendacity the Russians (April, 1900) now represented to Great Britain that Germany had proposed intervention, and that the Russians and their allies, the French, had refused; and, although the lying character of Russian diplomats was fully recognized in London, and though British cabinet ministers and King Edward accepted German assurances that the Russians had made the proposals and that Germany had turned them down, the popular belief never wholly acquitted Germany.

The danger of intervention was a real fear in Great Britain and prepared the nation for the abandonment of splendid isolation; but it probably had less effect than is generally supposed upon the responsible statesmen. They were in a position to evaluate the possibilities of European action in the Boer War rather exactly and cannot have been much alarmed. At the same time they were preparing to abandon the traditional policy for quite a different reason. That was their dread of Russia.

In 1899, the year before the proposal of intervention in the Boer War, Russia and France had transformed a defensive arrangement by which they were bound into an offensive and defensive alliance, directed, as now seems probable, against England. Whether this development was known in London or not is still a matter of conjecture; if it was, it made official British fear of Russia all the greater. Russia's proposal to France and Germany to interfere in the Boer War was, of course, but a move in a larger game. That proffer would never have been made by Russia if friction between herself and Great Britain had not been acute already. The real difficulties between the two countries were more fundamental than a sentimental regard for Boer liberties, and concerned Russian expansion and aggression in China and Eastern Asia. Ever since 1898 there had been much alarm in British and, incidentally, in German government circles about the Russian advance in China. Russia had jockeyed the other powers out of a loan to be made to China and advanced the whole loan of £16,000,000 herself, after borrowing the money in Paris, receiving in return from China many valuable concessions for capital investment. In 1898 she virtually annexed Port Arthur and Manchuria and began to destroy the Lancashire cotton trade in North China in the interests of Russian industry. The protests of British chambers of commerce fairly showered upon the British Foreign Office; and matters became so serious that Lord Rothschild, Joseph Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, and Count Hatzfeldt, the German ambassador in London, met together quite regularly for a time in the spring of 1898 to discuss policy and ways and means against Russia. The situation had not improved, and on January 16, 1901, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain made the following very informal declaration to Baron von Eckardstein, councilor of the German embassy in London:

"The time of splendid isolation is over for England. England is willing to settle various questions still open in world politics, above all, that of Morocco and Eastern Asia, in common with one or the other of the present national groups. Some in the cabinet will probably insist on England's joining the Dual Alliance of France and Russia. We, however, (Mr. Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire) belong to those who prefer that England shall join Germany and the Triple Alliance. Should it happen, however, that an understanding with Germany is impossible, we would consider an understanding with France and Russia, even though it entailed the greatest sacrifices as, for example, Morocco and Persia, China, and so forth."

This was reported to Berlin in the following letter:

"He and his friends in the cabinet had made up their minds that the day of a policy of splendid isolation was over for England. England must look about for allies for the future. The choice was either Russia and France, or the Triple Alliance. . . . There were those who wished for and eagerly worked for an understanding with Russia; . . . He was rather convinced that a combination with Germany and an association with the Triple Alliance was preferable. . . . For the present he was in favor of arranging a secret agreement between Great Britain and Germany with reference to Morocco. But should a permanent partnership with Germany prove unrealizable, he would then support an association with Russia in spite of the excessive price that England would probably have to pay in China and the Persian Gulf."

It will be noticed at once that, while the departure from splendid isolation was motivated by political considerations, such as the desire for allies in the game of European politics, the meat and matter of the new arrangement was the economic control of Morocco, Persia, China, and so forth. Politicians were still thinking in exclusively political terms; but the reasons for their thinking and acting at all, the questions which made alliances necessary were South Africa, Persia, China, and Morocco, which were all economic in their import; and the concessions which Great Britain was willing to make were likewise economic, concerned with capital export under the most favorable conditions.

Chamberlain's attitude in his conversation with von Eckardstein that Great Britain had a choice of allies for the future was really only a diplomatic expression of the fact that Great Britain was faced by two alternatives; surrender to Russia in China and in other parts of Asia and, in a more general way, concessions to the Dual Alliance of France and Russia, which was actually directed against Great Britain or the formation of an alliance with Germany which would enable England to withstand and resist Russia.

Many considerations pointed to the alliance with Germany as a possibility. Although the people of the two nations, Great Britain and Germany, were constantly thumbing their noses at each other through their newspapers, and although there was a feeling in England that Germany was unconscionable in her desire for a colonial empire, and a feeling in Germany that England was playing the dog in the manger in interfering with German colonial designs, nevertheless there were no fundamental disagreements between the two governments. In actual

fact, they were really so friendly that on at least three occasions in the period 1895 to 1899 suggestions of better accord had been put forward. These suggestions were the culmination of a considerable process of adjustment and concession between the two governments. In 1890 Salisbury, then Prime Minister and foreign secretary, had come to an agreement with the German government about the respective rights of the German East Africa Company and the British East Africa Company. Boundaries were defined, and Zanzibar, admitted to be a German protectorate in 1885, was turned over to Great Britain in exchange for Heligoland, the possession of which by Great Britain off the coast of Germany was a constant prick to German national pride. In western Africa, the frontiers of the Cameroons, the domain of the Woermann Line and other German capitalists, were likewise defined. Although the imperious Kaiser strained relations a little by his annual visits to England and his superior airs toward his noble relatives of England, particularly toward his uncle, the Prince of Wales, nevertheless the two governments were so friendly that in 1895 Salisbury, the Prime Minister, just returned to office after the Liberal defeat in general elections of 1895, called upon the Kaiser personally on his yacht *Hohenzollern* at Cowes, and put forward a proposal for the partition of Turkey among Germany, Austria, and England. According to one account the interview resulted in a "heated altercation," because the Kaiser was piqued that Salisbury, through a breakdown of his launch, was an hour late in keeping his appointment, and the whole business ended in a profound and protracted breach between the Kaiser and Salisbury. A more realistic reason for the Kaiser's rejection of the British offer to divide Turkey is probably to be found in the Kaiser's confidence that his bankers, army officers, and diplomats with the aid of occasional speeches from himself, visits to Jerusalem, and the like were in process of annexing Turkey as a whole to Germany. Why divide it?

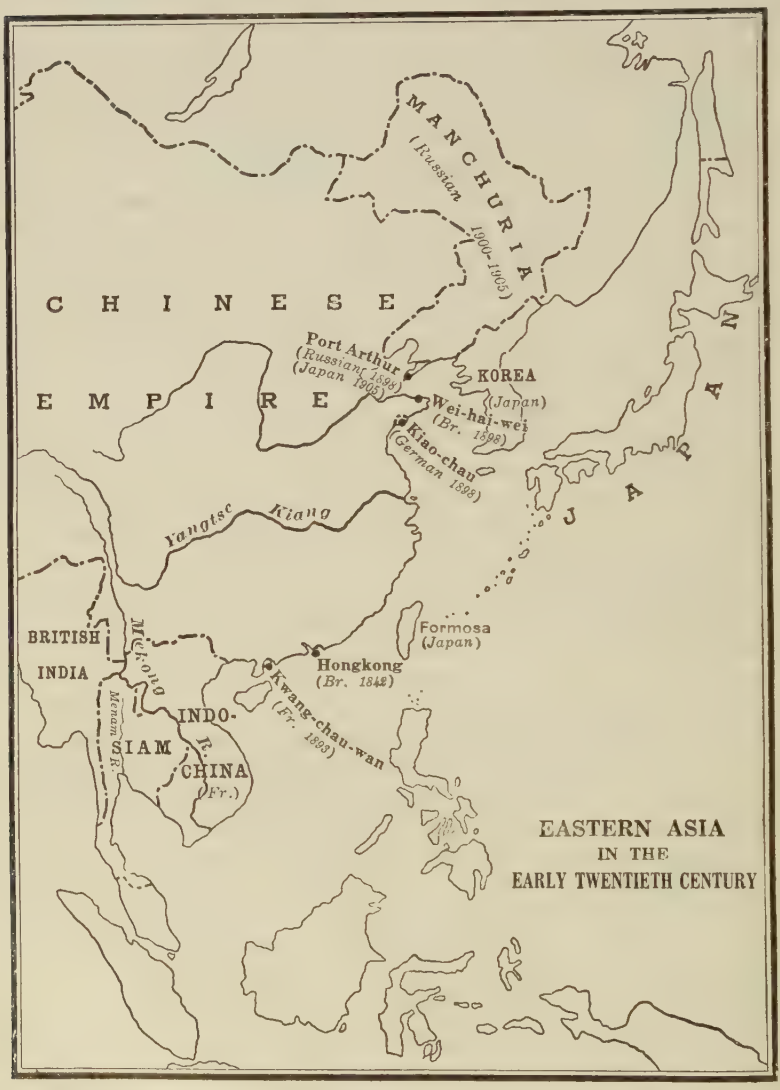
The coolness engendered by the rejection of the offer of 1895 was accentuated soon afterwards. In the last week of 1895 Dr. Jameson led the forces of Mr. Rhodes' South Africa Company in a raid against the South African Republic, only to be stopped and arrested by the South African police. When the news of this action reached Europe, there was universal rejoicing at the setback to British imperialism, and certain officials in the German Foreign Office conceived the idea of giving Great

Britain a further rap over the knuckles and at the same time of advancing German prestige in Africa by having the Kaiser send a telegram of congratulation to President Kruger of the South African Republic. Although the Kaiser is said to have demurred, he finally consented to send the telegram which had been prepared for him. It raised the greatest enthusiasm in Germany, but the British resentment was deep and lasting and was made more bitter by a German move to send a few hundred German troops to the South African Republic to signify Germany's recognition of the absolute independence of the state.

In spite of the telegram with its exceedingly serious repercussions in the public opinion of both countries, relations were restored to a more normal footing by a diplomatic coup of Count Hatzfeldt, the German ambassador in London. Germany's ally, Italy, had gotten into difficulties in her Red Sea possessions. The Italian army had just been defeated by the Abyssinians at Adowa and was being hard pressed by the dervishes of the Sudan on the frontiers of Eritrea. Hatzfeldt suggested that Germany should ask Great Britain to send an expedition to the Sudan for its reconquest in order to take the pressure of the dervishes off Italy, and that Germany should undertake to support Great Britain against any power which might interfere with a Sudan campaign, such as France, for instance, which had already started two expeditions of her own for the conquest of the Sudan from the east and west coasts of Africa respectively. Hatzfeldt's suggestion went through at Berlin, and the plan was so acceptable to Lord Salisbury and the British cabinet that within a short time Lord Kitchener was preparing an expedition into the Sudan, which in 1898 succeeded in destroying the Khalifa and his army and taking control of the Sudan in the joint names of Great Britain and Egypt.

The resumption of more friendly relations between the two governments was given a sound basis in 1898 and 1899 by important economic agreements between British and German capitalists, one of which dealt with much the same general question which later led Chamberlain to suggest an alliance in 1901. German attention was also directed toward China, and in September, 1898, a representative of the Disconto Gesellschaft, one of the four largest German banks, accompanied by William Betzold, one of the best known figures in high finance and high politics in the world, came to London in the interests of the

Deutsche Ostasiatische Bank to negotiate with the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank and other financial groups interested in



China about a division of China into spheres of influence, particularly in the matter of railroad building. The discussions were conducted at New Court, the office of the Rothschilds in

the city, and were attended by Count Hatzfeldt as representative of the German government, together with certain English cabinet ministers representing the English government. The negotiations were successfully carried through and celebrated in a magnificent dinner at Baron Rothschild's house. Political expression was given to this agreement in the Yangtse Convention of October 16, 1900, which stipulated the integrity of Chinese territory and upheld the principle of the open door, but really admitted the Germans into the British preserve in the Yangste valley, and envisaged the possibility of the division of China into "spheres" of German and British "influence," if any other power made use of "the complications in China" to obtain territorial advantages. The convention had, moreover, a distinct animus against Russia to prevent further Russian advances in China, although during the discussions the Germans carefully excepted Manchuria from the scope of the negotiations.

In the same year (1898) as the disposition of concessions in China between British and German bankers, a secret convention between Great Britain and Germany, negotiated by Mr. Balfour and Ambassador Hatzfeldt, arranged for the future of the Portuguese colonies in Africa. On the hypothetical supposition that Portugal, in need of money, might at some future date be compelled to pledge her colonies for a loan, in that event it was to be made clear to Portugal that Germany and England were ready to advance her money on the pledge of her colonies in Africa. While France was to be excluded from any share in them, Angola was to go to Germany and Mozambique was to be divided. In the next year wool was drawn over the eyes of Europe so far as the existence of this treaty was concerned by an announcement of the revival of an ancient alliance between Great Britain and Portugal, which did not, however, as Lord Lansdowne assured the Germans, affect the validity of the secret convention in any way. In 1899, the year following the arrangements of 1898, Cecil Rhodes visited Berlin, saw the Kaiser at Potsdam, and secured from him his consent for the building of the Cape to Cairo railroad and the British telegraph line from the north to the south end of Africa across German East Africa. In return Rhodes promised to do all he could to further a scheme which German capitalists had very much at heart, the building of a railroad from Byzantium or Constantinople to Bagdad. In the matter of the Bagdad railroad, however, no agreement could be reached between the financial interests in London and Berlin. This railroad was to

run through exclusively Turkish territory, but it was useless for the Germans to think of building it until they were assured of their monopoly position, which they felt would be done if they came to some agreement with Englishmen against the field. In January of 1900 Georg von Siemens, head of the Deutsche Bank, came to London to conduct negotiations with British capitalists for their sanction of the railroad. He met Alfred Rothschild and many other prominent financiers, but could not carry through his plans. A second attempt to come to some agreement on the question of the Bagdad railroad failed in the summer of 1900, because the Germans wished to put up less than half the capital and still control a majority of the directors.

As a result of the agreements of 1898 and 1899, certain economic bases for a general alliance between Great Britain and Germany were at hand, and it is not to be wondered at that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain began to put forward feelers for a general alliance between Great Britain and Germany. The first hints were dropped at those meetings in the spring of 1898 at which the Chinese question was discussed. In 1899 Mr. Chamberlain returned to the matter again. While he and Baron Eckardstein were conducting a bit of negotiation regarding British and German rights in Samoa, Chamberlain suggested a general alliance of Great Britain and Germany with Morocco as the *corpus vile*. With the settlement of the Samoan question just after the Boer War broke out, the good relations of the two governments were advertised to the world by a state visit of the Kaiser, accompanied by his chancellor, Prince Bülow, to England. Certain conversations took place between the Kaiser, Bülow, and Chamberlain under cover of a barrage of state dinners, house parties, and entertainments, in which the division of Morocco was again suggested as the cement of a general alliance. The Kaiser had no interest in Morocco, but expressed himself in general terms as favorable to alliance; and Chamberlain was so encouraged by the progress of events that in a famous speech at Leicester, delivered on November 30, 1899, a few days after the Kaiser left England, he said that every farsighted statesman had long been anxious that Great Britain should not permanently remain isolated on the continent, "and I think . . . that the natural alliance is between ourselves and the great German Empire."

This speech almost wrecked negotiations. It aroused the Anglophobes in Germany to such an extent that Prince Bülow felt he had to make a speech in the Reichstag practically

repudiating Chamberlain. Chamberlain himself took offense at the way Bülow treated him, and on top of this came reports, systematically spread by the Russians, who wanted nothing better than to sow dissension between Great Britain and Germany, of German officers in the Boer armies, which enraged the English people. Immediately afterwards, in January, 1900, British insistence upon exercising the right of search for contraband and the arrest for that purpose of the German mail-steamer *Bundesrat* of the Woermann Line in South African waters produced a really serious crisis between the two governments. There was a rumor of an ultimatum from Germany; Salisbury was irritated and declared that "on no account could he allow his policy to be dictated from Berlin with a stop-watch"; but the feeling quieted down when no contraband was discovered on board the *Bundesrat*, the steamer released, and assurance for the future given. A few months later (April, 1900) more friendly relations were resumed when the Kaiser paid the Prince of Wales, who happened to be traveling through Germany, the "great courtesy" of a visit. Following this came the German refusal to intervene with Russia and France in the Boer War, German and British coöperation in China after the Boxer rebellion to thwart Russia, the Yangtse Convention of October, 1900 in regard to China, and finally the Kaiser's refusal to receive President Kruger of the South African Republic, who was making a tour of Europe to secure aid to save his country and who had just been officially received in France.

Time again seemed propitious to Chamberlain, and on January 16, 1901, at the Duke of Devonshire's house party at Chatsworth, Chamberlain made to Baron Eckardstein a careful statement of Great Britain's problems and the offer of a formal alliance between the two countries, which has already been quoted. Immediately after this came the last illness of Queen Victoria, and the Kaiser's spontaneous hastening to England to be present at the deathbed of his grandmother. This act of simple affection made the Kaiser for a time the most popular man in England; it also gave Lord Lansdowne, who was now foreign secretary, and the Kaiser opportunity to talk over the alliance which Chamberlain had broached a few days before. The negotiations were continued in London from March to May and even as late as July, and revived again in Berlin in October. But there were difficulties. Lord Salisbury, still Prime Minister though he had given up the foreign office, was opposed to the alliance and raised objections now and then,

although he was really powerless in the hands of Chamberlain, Lansdowne, and the Duke of Devonshire. The personalities of the Kaiser and Prince Bülow, their dislike of England, their uncertainty as to what they wanted, their shiftiness (as Lord Lansdowne believed it), and the Kaiser's calling the British statesmen "unmitigated noodles" in a letter to Edward VII in the midst of the negotiations made the British hesitate; and German distrust of Salisbury, who was still believed to govern Britain, made the Germans reluctant. The Germans wished to bring Austria into the discussion, but the British statesmen would have nothing to do with carrying the burden of that decrepit empire. Then Holstein, who in fact controlled German foreign policy, never really wanted the alliance at all. He believed that Germany had a strong position as arbiter of the balance of power between Great Britain and France and Russia, which gave her more than she could gain by an alliance with Great Britain, because Great Britain and France and certainly Great Britain and Russia would *never* join hands. Fundamentally, however, the negotiations broke down because neither power was willing to incur enmities for the sake of the other without exacting a price which the other refused to pay. The Germans saw that the chief British object in the alliance was the defeat of Russian plans in North China and Manchuria where the Germans had few interests, and they had no wish to antagonize Russia. The British in their turn did not wish to guarantee German control of Alsace-Lorraine, since that would have involved perpetual hostility with France, as near to England as Russia was to Germany. The German Foreign Office thought the risks it would assume in guaranteeing the British empire against attack by any two powers was too great, since Russia and France were the only possible two; and the British felt that the Germans were asking for too much in the colonial world.

As late as July, 1901, the British offered the joint control of Morocco by German and British financial syndicates, the Germans to supply all material for future railway construction and all electrical enterprises including telegraphs and telephones. But they would not concede the Bagdad railway and the control of Asia Minor to the Deutsche Bank, and all other concessions were futile as long as the greatest bank in Germany remained unsatisfied. The whole business ended in a rather unseemly quarrel between Prince Bülow and Joseph Chamberlain on the ground that Bülow had not kept his word to stop German press attacks upon the British authorities and the

British army. To these assaults Chamberlain replied in public speeches by criticism of other armies, including the German army in 1870; and Bülow retorted sharply that in assailing the German army Chamberlain was biting granite. Chamberlain retaliated by telling the German embassy in London that he would not move another finger for an understanding with Germany so long as Bülow was in power, and that was the end of the project. As a net outcome of what might have been the assurance of the peace of the world for many years to come was an intensified bitterness between the two peoples, and greater mistrust between their statesmen.

During the course of the negotiations, the German agent, Baron Eckardstein, had suggested that, since Japan was also alarmed at the Russian advances in China, Japan be brought into special agreements with Great Britain and Germany to check Russian aggression in China. Lord Lansdowne thought the suggestion good, and it is possible that it led to the elaboration of a third alternative for the solution of the problems of Britain's foreign relations; namely, an alliance between Great Britain and Japan in place of an understanding with Germany or concessions to Russia and her ally. Negotiations with Japan were set on foot, and early in 1902 an Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed. The agreement staked out the economic control of Korea for Japan and of parts of China for Great Britain, with clauses for the mutual guarantee of these economic interests against "the aggressive action of any other power." In case of a war between either Great Britain or Japan and another power "in defense of their respective interests as above described," the other should remain neutral; in case of a war between Great Britain or Japan and any two powers, the other was bound to come to the assistance of her ally. Supported by this treaty, Japan made war on Russia in 1904 with the assurance that no other power would come to Russia's aid. In 1905 the treaty was renewed for ten years. At this time India was brought within the scope of its provisions, and either power was obliged to assist the other "if attacked by" a single power.

The Entente with France

The alliance with Japan was but the first step in the British obstruction of Russia. The second was the conclusion of such good relations between England and France as would practically detach France from the Dual Alliance in so far as the alliance

was directed against British interests. It is interesting to note that the negotiations with France were begun only a few days after the Anglo-Japanese treaty was signed and all but formally completed before Japan began to make the demands upon Russia which eventually led to hostilities in 1904. The arrangement of an understanding of amity and friendship with France was a matter which at first sight presented insuperable difficulties. In Great Britain, France was only less popular than Russia, and in France England was detested as "Albion perfide."

The antagonism between the two countries was in large part due to friction growing out of colonial and imperial problems. During a remarkable period of colonial expansion beginning after the Franco-Prussian War, France had annexed Tunis and territories in West Africa, claimed rights in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, had begun to coerce Siam in a manner which almost occasioned a war with Great Britain in 1893, and was proceeding to the complete conquest of Madagascar to the detriment of English missions in the island and the entire exclusion of English trade. There was also the popular fury in England over the Dreyfus case, the injustice of which aroused an anger impossible to understand today. The French detestation of Great Britain in turn was based on the continued occupation of Egypt by the British forces since the repression of the revolt of 1882 by the British alone, when the French threw away their chances of getting a foothold in Egypt by withdrawing at the last moment. At that time the British announced that they intended to stay in Egypt only until order was restored, and every once in a while a French note was received in London to inquire whether order had not yet been restored in Egypt. Finally, despairing of ever recovering what they had thrown away in Egypt in 1882, the French hoped to recompense themselves in the Sudan, that southern dependency of Egypt which had revolted from Egypt in 1885 and had not yet been reconquered. While Lord Rosebery was still Prime Minister, in 1895, the disquieting rumor reached London that the French were planning an expedition across Africa to the Sudan. When the government was asked for a declaration of policy in this matter, Sir Edward Grey, undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, replied that if such an expedition were really contemplated, "it must be perfectly well known to the French government that it would be an unfriendly act, and would be so viewed by England."

The French now attempted to get a clear statement of the so-called British claims in the Sudan, and when the British did not reply, they proceeded to send not merely one but two expeditions to the upper waters of the Nile, one from Abyssinia under an Orleans Prince, and the other from the west coast under Major Marchand. The Abyssinian expedition never reached its goal, but through two years of unexampled hardship with extraordinary courage and ability, Major Marchand made his painful way across equatorial Africa, and on July 10, 1898 he hoisted the French flag at Fashoda, chief town of the Sudan province of Bahr-el Ghazal, as a sign of French occupation of the country.

Meantime, a British force under Major Kitchener had made its way up the Nile and, two months after Marchand had entrenched himself at Fashoda, Kitchener avenged the death of General Gordon, on September 4, 1898, and took possession of the Sudan by destroying with the utmost ruthlessness the forces of the Khalifa at Omdurman. The French foreign minister congratulated the British ambassador in Paris, but added that the British army would probably meet a French "emissary of civilization" in the same country within a few days. The British government at once informed the French government that "by the military events of the last week, all the territories which were subject to the Khalifa passed by right of conquest to the British and Egyptian government." A few days later word came to Kitchener that some white men had been seen further up the Nile. He guessed they must be Major Marchand and his force, and at once hastened to Fashoda to interview him. For one tense moment a misstep by either Marchand or Kitchener would have plunged the two nations into war. But they presently sat down to a cup of tea together, agreed to allow both the French and the English flags to fly over Fashoda, and remit the problem to their governments in Europe for settlement.

When the news of Marchand's arrival at Fashoda reached France, the wildest excitement prevailed, especially when the British government let it be known that it considered the question of the Sudan closed by Kitchener's conquest and that it expected Major Marchand, a French explorer whose expedition had no political significance, to retire from Fashoda. Logically the French had as much right at Fashoda as the British had at Khartoum, and the boulevards rang with war talk; and in England there was a general readiness to give the French "the

best licking they had ever got." The French fleet was mobilized at Cherbourg, and hundreds of millions of francs were spent on preparations for war; but after six tense weeks the French yielded and decided to recall Marchand. Yet if the French yielded, they did not forget; and the British ambassador in Paris, Sir Edmund Monson, kept alive their resentment by his superior air and speeches. Marchand was long a popular hero, and the outbreak of the Boer War shortly afterwards afforded the French a wonderful chance to vent their feelings against Great Britain. As late as the summer of 1901 new friction between the two countries developed over French encroachments on Morocco, which led to the proposals of July during the Anglo-German negotiations of 1901 that the French aggressions on Morocco be stopped once and for all by division of the country between Great Britain and Germany.

There were several factors which made the alliance with France less difficult than it appeared at first sight. First of all, a little group of English business men in Paris, forming the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, headed by an enthusiastic barrister, Sir Thomas Barclay, had come to the conclusion that more cordial relations between France and Great Britain would be better for their business interests. After a visit of the Associated British Chambers of Commerce to Paris in 1900, Sir Thomas began a whirlwind campaign among the chambers of commerce in Great Britain and France in the interests of a general arbitration treaty between Great Britain and France. He secured resolutions of approval of this treaty from chambers of commerce, trade unions, and municipal councils in Great Britain and France, in addition to special resolutions from peace societies and organized churches. His work made it evident that in spite of the press, the boulevards, and the upper classes in both countries, there was a world of good feeling between the business elements and working classes, and that "such a settlement was notoriously desired on both sides of the channel."

The second thing which made an alliance between the two countries easier was the fact that in 1902 cabinet changes in France had brought into office a Radical ministry, which saw France's best interests forwarded by English friendship. The French Foreign Office continued to remain in the hands of M. Delcassé, who had taken an important part in the conversion of the Dual Alliance with Russia into an offensive and defensive treaty, but eventually he was induced to reverse his policy

in regard to Great Britain. This situation, together with the willingness for greater friendship among the organized business men and working classes stimulated by Barclay, made it possible for Mr. Chamberlain to approach France with an offer of better relations. The whole negotiations are still the secrets of the British and French archives, but certain facts are known. On February 8, 1902, just a few weeks after the absolute rupture of the Anglo-German negotiations and a few days after the signature of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, there was a big state dinner at Marlborough house. After the dinner the German representative, Baron Eckardstein, saw Mr. Chamberlain and M. Paul Cambon, the French ambassador, go off into the billiard room. "I watched them there and noted that they talked together for exactly twenty-eight minutes in the most animated manner. I could not, of course, catch what they said, and only heard two words, 'Morocco' and 'Egypt.'" Eckardstein got hold of Chamberlain as soon as the French ambassador left and was told by him, "There can be no more question of an association between Great Britain and Germany." "From that moment I knew," Eckardstein continues, "that Chamberlain was ready to adopt the alternative of an accession to the Dual Alliance." The negotiations were long continued and met with many difficulties, during which they passed from Chamberlain's hands into those of Lord Lansdowne. The idea of the Anglo-German agreement still found acceptance among certain ministers in the cabinet, and was revived when the Kaiser visited London in 1903 and succeeded in getting the British bankers to agree to sanction the Bagdad railway and participate in its construction. Mr. Balfour, now Prime Minister in succession to Lord Salisbury, approved the arrangement; and had he succeeded in carrying it through the cabinet, there is no reason to believe that the Anglo-German alliance would not have been revived, and the negotiations with France dropped. Balfour was not able, however, to carry the project through, and the negotiations with France were resumed. There are some indications also that Germany was seeking a *rapprochement* with France at the same time, and possibly Delcassé used this to make France more desirable in English eyes. Matters were aided by a visit of Edward VII to Paris in 1903, and a return visit of President Loubet to London. The result was an arbitration treaty in 1903, and an agreement on all outstanding economic problems, the Entente Cordiale of April 8, 1904, which consisted of two treaties, a public convention which was

published, and a set of secret clauses, which were not revealed until 1911. The Anglo-German negotiations had failed in part because the Germans wanted more than the British were willing to give; the Anglo-French negotiations succeeded because both Great Britain and France were willing to make heavy concessions to get the agreement through. The French surrendered all future interest in Egypt and pledged themselves never again to raise the question of the continuance of British occupation; and the British surrendered Morocco to French bankers and concessionaires as a monopoly area of exploitation and capital investment, agreeing in the secret clauses of the treaty not to obstruct the actions of France in this regard or to oppose the eventual annexation of Morocco by France. In addition, Siam was divided into two spheres of influence, one reserved for British, the other, for French bankers; and minor matters, such as French fishing rights in Newfoundland, the French control of Madagascar, the joint control of the New Hebrides, and conflicting claims in West Africa were arranged also. In line with an earlier Franco-Spanish treaty, which had been negotiated but not signed, the northern coast of Morocco was to be handed over to Spain, in accordance with details which were worked out in a new treaty, signed between France and Spain in October, 1904.

The Development of the Entente Cordiale into an Alliance

The treaty of the Entente Cordiale, the Good Understanding, was not an alliance between France and Great Britain. In so far as Great Britain was concerned, it was a measure by which, for a very heavy consideration, she withdrew France from supporting Russia's plans in the Far East. It would have created no more stir than other similar agreements but for the fact that the German government made a point of challenging the new Entente almost at the outset. This was a period when Germany was displaying a new aggressiveness in international politics. Her financiers were looking for markets for investment as eagerly as those of other countries, and they were forcing a not unwilling government to seek every opportunity to serve their interests. There was a notion in Germany, especially after the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War (1904), that fishing in troubled waters might be profitable, and although the Germans had so little interest in Morocco as to reject the British offer

to divide the country in 1901, the German government now took the stand that it could not permit any nation to proceed to destroy Moroccan independence without being consulted and without receiving compensation. Delcassé's conduct toward Germany when he began French "penetration" of Morocco was not calculated to allay German sensibilities, and on March 31, 1905, Kaiser William II landed at Tangier in Morocco, and made a speech in which he said that he looked upon the Sultan of Morocco as an absolutely independent sovereign and that he was determined to do all in his power to safeguard the interests of Germany in Morocco. The people of Great Britain, who were still in ignorance of the secret clauses of the treaty, took the speech as a challenge to the innocuous published agreement, an insult to the Entente, and an attempt to browbeat France and break her from the understanding with Great Britain. The German government followed the Kaiser's dramatic speech with a demand for an international conference to settle the future of Morocco in an European congress, and finally succeeded in securing such a meeting at Algeciras in 1906 after a good deal of rattling the sabre against France.

The German attempt to make some profit out of the French penetration of Morocco was the gravest political blunder of the first years of the new century. The stupendous folly of challenging France in the hope of getting something out of the arrangement for German interests initiated a series of events which were to result in carrying the understanding between Great Britain and France considerably beyond the point at which it had been left on April 8, 1904, and began the process of welding it into an alliance. The subsequent maneuvering, plotting, and scheming of the Germans against the growing alliance which they themselves had done so much to bring into existence is at the basis of much of the ill-will and fear and international anarchy which provided the fitting milieu for the outbreak of war in 1914.

At the height of the crisis created by the Kaiser's visit to Morocco the Conservative government of Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne, who had signed the Entente Cordiale, resigned; and a Liberal government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman came in, with Sir Edward Grey, one of the leaders of the Liberal imperialists, as foreign secretary. He took over the foreign policy of the Conservative government without any change, in accordance with Lord Rosebery's doctrine of continuity. Late in the month, in the midst of a general election,

when most of the new Liberal ministers were electioneering, M. Paul Cambon, the French ambassador, came to Sir Edward Grey and asked him whether Great Britain would give armed support to France if the crisis developed into a war. In effect he was trying to arrange some definite commitments between the two countries in pursuance of their Entente. Sir Edward Grey answered that there was no alliance between the two countries and refused to promise anything, but went on to say that if "out of that agreement (the treaty of April 8, 1904) war was forced on France, in my view public opinion would have rallied to the material support of France. I gave no promise." The French were eminently well satisfied with Sir Edward's answer. They went on and suggested that, if a crisis should arise and Great Britain should give the armed support which could not be promised in advance, "you will not be able to give that support even if you wish it when the time comes, unless some conversations have already taken place between the military and naval experts." "There was force in that," replied Sir Edward. "I agreed to it and authorized these conversations to take place, but on the distinct understanding that nothing which passed between military and naval experts should bind either government." As soon as the conversations between the experts took place, the amount of mutual aid in case of war was at once defined and fixed, even though the certainty of extending the aid was still left in abeyance. These conclusions of Sir Edward's with Monsieur Cambon were not told to the cabinet or Parliament, but only to Mr. Asquith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Haldane, the war minister, the Liberal imperialist members of the cabinet, and to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister.

In the Algeciras conference of 1906 the future of Morocco was settled by the solemn sanction of the great powers. The independence of the country was guaranteed and the principle of the open door, equal opportunity for all nations in trade and investment, was established. Yet in spite of the Algeciras treaty, France proceeded to penetrate Morocco, and the German industrial and financial interests, which had begun to see the possibilities of exploitation there for themselves, attempted to secure a foothold in the country through economic agreements with the French banks, allocating shares in the country between the German and the French interests. They succeeded in getting large participation in the share capital of international syndicates, and considerable percentages of Moroccan state

loans. Thus the Krupps, the Metallurgische Gesellschaft of Frankfurt, and the National Bank für Deutschland were allowed to purchase shares in the Union des Mines, an international syndicate to exploit Moroccan mines; German interests participated also in the Société Marocaine des Travaux publiques and secured the allocation of 20 per cent of the Moroccan state loan of 1910.

The German government followed the lead of the financiers and endeavored to further their purposes through diplomatic and political channels. In 1909-1910 an economic-diplomatic agreement was almost patched up, giving to the leading German banks and industrial establishments a larger share (40 per cent) in the Union des Mines, a 30 per cent interest in the Société Marocaine des Travaux publiques, an interest in the Morocco Tobacco Monopoly, participation for German capital in the construction of railways in all parts of Morocco, and the establishment of a consortium of French and German bankers for coöperation in other parts of Africa. The agreement was actually signed February 15, 1911, subject to the approval of the Chamber of Deputies. This agreement, however, was opposed by other powerful French banking interests. The Briand government was defeated before bringing the ratification to a vote; the Monis government which followed announced its intention of abandoning the measure, and at the same time French troops occupied Fez, the capital of Morocco. The Monis ministry soon fell, and in the end of June, 1911, M. Caillaux became Prime Minister. Three days after he assumed office the German gunboat *Panther* anchored off Agadir in Morocco in retaliation for the French occupation of Fez and in order to put pressure on French public opinion to hurry up the negotiations. M. Caillaux was determined to come to some understanding with Germany over the question of coöperation in Africa. After arranging territorial compensation for Germany in the French Congo for her acceptance of the French annexation of Morocco, which had become a *fait accompli* by the French occupation of Fez, he went over the heads of the ordinary diplomatic officials and communicated with Berlin directly through the agency of the attaché of the German embassy in Paris. He endeavored to arrange an agreement or "detente" of only one clause, that German finance should share with French finance in the various undertakings and companies which aimed at opening up Morocco by means of ports, railways, and mines. The messages between Paris and Berlin were intercepted by the

French secret service which was working in direct opposition to the French premier, decoded, and placed at the disposal of Caillaux's political enemies. Questions were raised in the French chamber; and, although Caillaux lied about the matter, his own foreign minister, De Selves, admitted the truth of the reports by refusing to deny them. Caillaux was forced out of office, and one of the most extraordinary possibilities of a guarantee of European peace was lost.

The *Panther* incident created the deepest animosity toward Germany in Great Britain, where it was felt that the whole situation represented a move on Germany's part to partition Moroccan territory and establish a naval base at Agadir, which "might make the question of British interests to be directly affected, and which would certainly bring into operation our treaty obligations with France." Although the German ambassador assured Sir Edward Grey that Germany had no territorial designs on Morocco, being interested in territorial compensation elsewhere, he did so with so much truculence and lack of grace that the British government, speaking through Mr. Lloyd George, made a declaration of policy which was all the more serious because it came from the pacifist member of the government. The speech itself was in reality innocuous enough, but as interpreted in the semiofficial *Times* next morning it was a distinct threat and warning to Germany. The French press became more aggressive and chauvinistic, and in England a bitter press campaign against Germany continued for months. The speech, the press campaign, and the attitude of the British government thus revealed had little effect upon Caillaux and his policy, but they strengthened those elements in France opposed to any understanding with Germany. These triumphed over Caillaux in January, 1912, and assumed control of the country with Raymond Poincaré as Prime Minister.

Knowing English feelings through their manifestations over the Agadir matter, Poincaré at once prepared to strengthen the Anglo-French alliance and increase the commitments. In accordance with this policy, further conversations between the military and naval experts seem to have been held; and in August, 1912, a special Anglo-French naval convention was concluded, under the terms of which Great Britain was to guard the northern coasts of France, and the French fleet was to be concentrated in the Mediterranean. Poincaré now desired to reduce the mutual obligations to writing, and although the British government was even yet chary of any definite written

agreement of this sort, Sir Edward Grey at last consented to an exchange of letters between himself and M. Paul Cambon, the French ambassador, under the date of November 22, 1912. The letters start out with the solemn statement that no engagement between the two countries exists, but go on: "I agree that if either government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third power, . . . it should immediately discuss with the other whether both governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common. If these measures involved action, the plans of the general staffs would at once be taken into consideration and the governments would then decide what effect should be given to them."

Russia in the Triple Entente

Between 1905 and 1912 the Entente Cordiale underwent a development quite different from anything ever intended by its British sponsors. Originated as an understanding of friendship to detach France by means of large concessions from supporting Russian designs in Asia, it had been developed into what was an alliance in all but name. Meantime, during the same period, the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War had forced her from Manchuria. She consequently ceased to be an object of British fear, and there was even a possibility that Russia might enter the scope of the Franco-British agreement. This was especially likely since France and Russia continued to be allied in the Dual Alliance. On August 31, 1907, a convention was signed between the British and Russian governments dividing Persia, in addition to a neutral zone, into British and Russian spheres, in which the respective nations were to have monopolies of capital investments.

The convention of 1907 was merely a preliminary settlement of differences between Russian and British financial interests which might well develop into something more. The German government apparently realized this, and about the same time that it was attempting to wean France from the British alliance in 1910-1911 by coming to an agreement with France over Morocco, it was also coquetting with Russia. After a period of negotiations extending from April, 1910, to February, 1911, a Russo-German treaty, known as the Potsdam agreement, was signed, by which Russia withdrew her objections to the Bagdad railway and even sanctioned an extension of a branch line into

Russian Persia. The British government took the stand that Russia must not alienate any portion of the rights reserved to her in her part of Persia, and a certain coolness between Great Britain and Russia was apparent. The French were not satisfied to have the relations between their two allies on such a basis and worked incessantly to remove any suspicions between them and bring them into closer accord. The Russians were also actively interested in closer relations with England, since only through that means could they hope to gain control of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, which since their withdrawal from Manchuria had become anew the leading object of their policy.

At last, in 1914, success attended their efforts and desires. In the spring of that fateful year Sir Edward Grey accompanied King George on a visit to Paris. Meeting the Russian ambassador in Paris, Sir Edward said that he wished to announce to him the beginning of still closer relations with France, and proceeded to admit him to a full knowledge of all the agreements between France and Great Britain. The Russian ambassador had been coached by the French to receive this information as an invitation to Russia to propose similar agreements between Great Britain and Russia, and did so. When the Russian government at home expressed a desire to have a binding formal alliance between Great Britain and Russia rather than the informal conversations and conventions which fixed the commitments of France and Great Britain, the Russian ambassador explained that these informal agreements were just as binding as a formal treaty, and vastly more desirable, since they did not have to be submitted to Parliament for ratification and could, therefore, be kept secret. Subsequently the British and Russian naval experts got together and worked out dispositions of the Russian and British fleets in the Baltic and North seas in case of any contingency, and Russia was in process of being admitted into full partnership in the Triple Entente, as an ally of Great Britain on exactly the same terms as France.

In the strictest and most literal interpretation of the conversations and exchanges of notes between Great Britain, France, and Russia, there were no binding agreements, and it was even possible for the British government to deny the existence of such engagements in response to questions in Parliament. In the most literal sense the only thing that had been done was to exchange certain letters, and to make certain military and naval arrangements in the face of possible events in

the future, but it was always stipulated that no engagement existed and that the British government was free to do as it thought best when the contingency arose. "Sir Edward Grey laid special stress upon the point," wrote the Russian ambassador in London in 1914. Sir Edward always held that no binding engagements existed and, indeed, at the last moment in 1914, Poincaré was afraid that he would act in accordance with that view. Yet if Sir Edward really believed that no engagements existed, Poincaré and Iswolski, the French and Russian ministers, were quite well satisfied that, although there was no formal alliance, "the tone and character of the London cabinet's recent assurances permitted the French government to count on the military support of England in case of a conflict between France and Germany." Since the event many eminent Englishmen have taken the same position, holding that no honorable man could know the terms of the letters and conversations and deny that an engagement existed and assert that, if not in literal fact, at least in actuality, no alliance between the two countries existed. When it came to the test, Sir Edward Grey himself acted in this sense and urged men to look into their hearts whether or not an obligation existed. While the entente was never in theory more than an understanding, it had actually become something more by 1914.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTERS XXVII AND XXVIII

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

C. K. Hobson, *The Export of Capital.*
A. W. Kirkaldy, *British Shipping.*
H. W. Macrosty, *The Trust Movement in British Industry.*
R. Meeker, *History of Shipping Subsidies.*
E. Powell, *The Evolution of the Money Market.*
C. W. Wieser, *Der finanzielle Aufbau der Englischen Industrie.*

DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY.

A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy.*
Die Grosse Politik der Europacischen Kabinette, German official documents.
Sir Thomas Barclay, *Thirty Years.*
H. N. Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold.*
A. C. Coolidge, *The Origins of the Triple Alliance.*
G. L. Dickinson, *Economic Causes of Modern Wars.*
H. von Eckardstein, *Lebenserinnerungen.*
G. P. Gooch, *Recent Revelations on European Diplomacy.*
Viscount Grey, *Twenty-Five Years.*
Viscount Haldane, *Before the War.*

Lord Loreburn, *How the War Came.*
M. Montgelas, *Leitfaden zur Kriegsschuldfrage.*
M. Montgelas and W. Schücking (Eds.), *Outbreak of the World War; German documents collected by Karl Kautsky.*
C. Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House.*
British Documents on the Origins of the War, Ed., G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley. Vol. XI, published 1926.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1908-1914

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

For a generation before the beginning of the twentieth century, the leading part in continental politics had been played by Germany, supported by Austria and Italy. These three nations were bound together by a formal alliance, called the Triple Alliance, which had come into existence in 1882 when Italy, in a huff against France, because of her annexation of Tunis (suggested to France, incidentally, by both Bismarck and Salisbury), joined herself with Germany and Austria, which were already united by an earlier agreement. In 1891 France and Russia had come to an understanding against this rival combination in the Dual Alliance.

The German government, which really dominated the Triple Alliance, never neglected an opportunity to seek to win some advantage or to secure some compensation for itself or for its nationals. The attainment of a place in the sun, commensurate with the needs of the German capital-exporting interests, was constantly pursued, especially in the troubled years after the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War.

Even apart from such incidents as developed from the forwardness of the German Foreign Office, certain serious difficulties stood as causes of friction between the members of the two alliances. Between Germany and France there could be no friendship, as most Frenchmen saw the matter, as long as Alsace-Lorraine remained in German hands, although it is true that some Frenchmen were willing to forget 1870. Austria's insinuation into the Balkans through her occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and her new forward policy to acquire new interests there until she finally reached a port on the Aegean Sea cut across Russia's intention of controlling the Balkans herself; and as long as Austria pursued the *Drang nach Osten* and Russia harbored plans for pushing on to Constantinople, there was bound to be suspicion and hostility. Italy had originally

joined the Triple Alliance in her resentment over the French seizure of Tunis; but her vexation lessened with time, and some years before 1914 she was actually suborned from the alliance by secret compacts with France giving her a free hand in the conquest of Tripoli, which was part of the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey. Between Great Britain and Italy there was real friendship, enhanced by a naval convention dating back to 1887 in which Great Britain guaranteed Italian coasts from attack; between Great Britain and Austria there were no points of variance; but between Great Britain and Germany friction seemed to grow daily more intense from the moment that Great Britain arranged her differences with France.

It is exceedingly difficult to be categorical about the roots of the trouble between Great Britain and Germany after 1904. A good deal of the responsibility must rest with the press of both countries, which exploited ill-will in each nation against the other. But newspapers, after all, cater to the public; their managers want to increase their circulation by pleasing their readers; and the constant press references to national animosity indicates that there was already much of it in existence on each side of the North Sea. The unquiet memories of Germany's attitude during the Boer War account for something, as do also the Kaiser's telegrams, speeches, interviews, and his rather imperious manners to his royal uncle, Edward VII. Much more significance attaches to commercial rivalries between the two peoples. German manufacturers were winning rapidly an important place in British markets, which was perhaps unduly emphasized in the English mind by the constant advertisement of the fact through the regulation that all German goods be marked, "Made in Germany." During Mr. Chamberlain's campaign for tariff reform the German menace to British industries was further stressed by constant references to German conditions, German methods, fair and unfair, and German competition.

Ultimately, perhaps some years after 1904, the British feelings of resentment came to be rationalized on the ground of the German challenge to the British supremacy of the seas, a procedure which could be nothing less than the beginning of a plan to attack and destroy the British empire sooner or later. In 1898 responsible German officials considered that they must embark upon a policy of naval construction. The Spanish-American War proved the advantages of a good fleet; and the Boer War showed that, even if Germany had been willing to

join Russia and France in intervention on the side of the Boers, there was absolutely nothing that Germany, Russia, or France could have done against the British navy in view of the insignificance of their own naval forces. Prince Bülow, who favored the new naval policy, explained his attitude later in this way: "I never advocated an unlimited naval policy. . . . In 1897 we lay at England's mercy like so much butter before the knife. For the sake of our interests, as well as our honor and dignity, we were obliged to see that we won for our international policy the same independence that we had secured for our European policy. The fleet that we have built since 1897, though far inferior to England's, enables us to support our interests everywhere with all the weight of our reputation as a Great Power." The recently published documents from the German archives in *Die Grosse Politik* make it abundantly clear that there was never any thought in the minds of official Germany to use the fleet to attack England; they wanted it as a makeweight in the diplomatic game, so that Great Britain could not disregard their wishes and ambitions too completely in international affairs. At the same time there was a general feeling in Germany that while the fleet was not built to attack Great Britain, it might well end in being used against her. Armaments are likely to result in war; and people on the other side inevitably think of construction as against themselves. This was preëminently the psychological reaction to German naval construction in England, "which depended for its security and its food entirely on the invincibility of its fleet." The German construction seemed a threat to British naval supremacy and an attack upon national security. Considerable justification for British feelings was given by the loose talk of irresponsible German journalists and by the propaganda of the German Navy League.

In the public opinion of Germany, Great Britain's greatest offense lay in her supposed unmitigated hostility toward German colonial enterprise. As the ordinary German understood this phrase, especially after attending a lecture of the Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft, it involved a number of false premises. He believed that Germany was a country from which each year thousands and hundreds of thousands were forced to emigrate because of the already overcrowded conditions. In actual fact Germany, like the United States, was a country into which there was a net immigration of about 20,000 a year. It was held that these thousands of poor German emigrants were

unable to go to German colonies because there were none suitable to white settlement, and so had to go to the United States and South America, where they were lost to German culture. All the while Mesopotamia was richly suitable to German settlement, and only the jealousy of Great Britain prevented Germany from being allowed to take it up as a German colony. The real fact of the case was that Germany was a capital exporting country; and, when the Deutsche Bank had staked out Mesopotamia as their preserve, the British refused to recognize their claim. The greater part of the outcry against British interference with German colonial development was in reality due to the refusal, down to the spring of 1914, of Great Britain to hand over Turkey to the Deutsche Bank, as she had handed Morocco over to the French, as an area of exploitation and investment.

The state of popular opinion, in its long-continued bitterness, was a serious matter. Equally serious in the relations of the two countries was the constant suspicion between the Foreign Ministries, engendered at the outset by the mistakes and misapprehensions of the German Foreign Office as to the nature of the Entente Cordiale. Without perspicacity enough to fathom the British reasons for entering the pact, they regarded the Entente as a challenge to themselves. When the Germans seemed to be endeavoring to break up the Entente by piecemeal negotiations with its members, such as the parleys with Caillaux in 1911 and 1912, the suspicions of Entente statesmen were increased; and out of nearly every German effort to divide the Entente, it emerged stronger than before, and more like the organization which the Germans held it to be. Misunderstanding engendered misunderstanding.

A close study of the documents seems to reveal that while the Germans imputed to the Entente designs of encircling them, and the Entente politicians suspected the Germans of working to destroy their alliance, no government had any well defined and conscious policy in regard to any other state. Rather, every European government seems to have lived from hand to mouth, snatching at an opportunity here or there to serve the day. At the same time in German policy there was visible something like a continuous purpose to break through the supposed encirclement of the Entente by separate treaties with France, Russia, and Great Britain, though, of course, these may have been nothing more than efforts to catch at the advantage of the moment.

German Attempts to Break the Entente

German efforts to come to an agreement with France did not cease with Caillaux's fall in 1912. In 1913 the endeavor was renewed in a series of conversations in August and September between Dr. von Gwinner and Dr. Helfferich of the Deutsche Bank and Baron de Neuflize, a regent of the Bank of France, and M. de Klapka, secretary general of the French Imperial Ottoman Bank, attended by representatives of the German, French, and Turkish Foreign Offices. On February 15, 1914, these conversations resulted in a secret compact, allocating Asia Minor between German and French capitalists, which was not only an agreement between bankers but a convention between the two governments.

German coquetting of Russia was steadier and longer drawn out. After all, there was a real fear in Germany of Russia's high birthrate, which far exceeded that of Germany, and her teeming millions across a frontier that could be defended only with the greatest difficulty. It seems to have been German policy to turn Russia toward Asia in the hope that she would forget Europe; and her adventure into Manchuria had German approval to such an extent that in the Yangste Convention, the Anglo-German treaty of October 16, 1900, against Russian aggression in China, Manchuria (North China) was excepted from the scope of the treaty, and in the Anglo-German negotiations of 1901 the Germans insisted upon excluding Asia altogether from their scope. The success of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War threw Russia back on western Europe. As a result, while Germany's ally, Austria, was consolidating her position in the Balkans, Russia began to intrigue anew for the opening of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to her navy. This was a threat at Constantinople, where Germany herself had hopes. In 1908 Count Iswolski, foreign minister of Russia, approached Count Aehrenthal, the Austrian foreign minister, and suggested that Austria formally annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, which she had occupied in 1878, and, in return, aid Russia to secure the opening of the Straits. Aehrenthal and Iswolski signed the agreement, and Iswolski then proceeded to broach the matter in London, where opposition showed itself to Russia's move. Meanwhile, Austria proceeded to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina under this agreement; Iswolski, with true Russian mendacity, turned to denounce her and demanded a general European conference to humiliate her.

At this point the German government stepped in and forced Iswolski and the Russian government to recognize the accomplished fact. In spite of this incident, which was bound to become typical, the German Emperor used his personal influence over the Russian Czar in 1910-1911, in the same year that negotiations with France were going on over German participation in Morocco, with the result that in January, 1911 the Potsdam agreement between Russia and Germany was signed, by which very cordial relations between the two countries were established. Russia withdrew all her opposition to the Bagdad railway in return for other concessions and even bound herself to facilitate the construction of a branch line into Russian Persia, and Germany gave Russia a free hand in Persia.

While Germany was endeavoring to come to separate arrangements with France and Russia, she was also negotiating with Great Britain. The British and German navies and the Bagdad railway formed the subjects of a number of discussions between Great Britain and Germany from 1907 to 1914. The exchanges of views on the naval question were frequently initiated by Great Britain, but were used by Germany to suggest formulae which would have ended the Triple Entente; the Bagdad railroad question was raised by Germany in season and out of season, and its settlement might have ultimately led to the same result.

The German fleet had been begun under the navy law of 1898; in 1900, after the lessons of the Spanish-American and Boer Wars, the navy law of that year authorized the construction of a fleet to be completed by 1917, so formidable that no other power could attack it without risk. In 1906 Lord Fisher's newly invented *Dreadnaught* was launched. This was the all heavy gun, high speed ship, which made older battleships obsolete. The design of the ship was a secret, but one look at her after she was launched showed the Germans her essential principles, and the navy law of 1900 was enlarged at once by the addition of six dreadnaughts, to be built, however, at a much slower rate than English construction of the same type of ships. "If we had not replied to the Dreadnaught," declared one German publicist, "the fear of the German fleet would have ended and 'good relations' would easily have been reached; but we should have lived under English patronage in all sea and oversea questions."

By 1906-1907 public indignation in the two countries against each other rose to a high point; not only the newspapers, but

ordinary men in both countries convinced themselves of intense hatred. In the midst of this agitation in 1907 the Kaiser and Prince Bülow paid a visit to King Edward at Windsor and talked over the Bagdad railway, but again no agreement was possible, largely because Great Britain insisted that any settlement that might be reached should be made between Germany and Great Britain and her allies, and not between Germany and Great Britain alone. Apparently, much as he wanted to push the Bagdad railway, Prince Bülow did not wish to win his victory at the price of negotiating with the Entente and strengthening it. He would negotiate with Great Britain alone, or not at all. In the next year, 1908, diplomacy turned from the railway to the naval question. King Edward visited the Kaiser and tried to raise the question of the comparative strength of the British and German fleets, but the Kaiser would not discuss the question. In 1909 King Edward paid a state visit to Berlin, and it seemed as if better relations between the two countries were about to develop. Yet he had scarcely returned to England before the naval scare of 1909 broke out. Rumors spread that Germany was secretly accelerating her naval program, so that she would build eight ships for 1908. When the British naval estimates were introduced into Parliament in March, 1909, Mr. McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, declared that in consequence of the German acceleration of construction it would be necessary for Great Britain to build eight ships in 1909 instead of four; and, although some Liberals opposed voting the huge additional sums necessary for this purpose, the public was wildly excited in its demand for the additional construction. "We want eight, and we won't wait," was the popular slogan. So the eight ships were voted. It was soon found that the German government had not accelerated its program, that the kernel of truth in the whole scare was the fact that German shipbuilding facilities, yards, engine-works, and so forth had grown so rapidly that they could have built eight if the government had wished. Nevertheless the British vote was not rescinded, and the eight ships were built for 1909.

In July, 1909, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg succeeded Prince Bülow as German chancellor. He continued Prince Bülow's efforts to seduce England from the Entente, suggesting that in return for Great Britain's signing of a formula of neutrality which would end Great Britain's value to the Entente, he would be willing to accept retardation of the German program

for the first years following 1909 without altering, however, the number of ships to be built by 1918. Great Britain refused to accept the formula at this time, but negotiations were carried on until 1911, when they were interrupted by the Agadir crisis.

In the opening days of 1912, when the passions evoked in both countries by the Agadir incident were still at white heat and the Germans were discussing a new navy law, the Kaiser asked that a member of the British cabinet should come to Berlin to discuss the situation. Lord Haldane, secretary of state for war, was chosen to go. In Berlin he saw the chancellor, the Kaiser, and Admiral von Tirpitz, and the frankest and fullest exchanges of views took place. As in 1910, the German chancellor proposed a formula binding each nation to neutrality in any war in which the other was involved "in which it cannot be said to be the aggressor," with the proviso that the duty of neutrality had no application "in so far as it may not be reconcilable with existing arrangements which the high contracting parties have already made." Since the strengthening of the Entente which was about to come through the exchange of letters between Grey and Cambon in November, 1912 had not yet been accomplished, this formula would have prevented that development. But the British wished to discuss retardation of the German naval program, not formulae to withdraw them from the Entente. The Germans replied that they must have their political agreement first and then they would discuss naval retardation. At last Sir Edward Grey proposed the formula that "England declares that she will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack upon Germany" and that she would not become a party to any agreement with that object. The Germans objected that this was insufficient and insisted upon a guarantee of "absolute neutrality," which meant, in effect, Great Britain's withdrawal from the Entente; otherwise, the new navy law must proceed. In this way the negotiations ended; but at the same time relations were on a better footing than before, and progress in reconciliation between Germany and Great Britain was actually made because Sir Edward Grey had thrown out the suggestion, amplified by Lord Haldane's personal explanations in Berlin, that "the formula which they had suggested might be considered in connection with the discussion of territorial arrangements." "If some arrangement could be made between the two governments it would have a favorable though indirect effect upon naval expenditure as time went on; it would have, moreover, a favor-

able and direct effect upon public opinion in both countries." This was in reality a hint that Great Britain was willing again to discuss the Bagdad railway. It was followed by the appointment of Marschall von Bieberstein, former ambassador to Turkey and one of the most zealous workers for the Bagdad railway, as German ambassador to London. Unfortunately for the cause of better Anglo-German relations, he died shortly after his arrival and his place was taken by Prince Lichnowsky, a personal friend of the Kaiser's. While Lichnowsky and the British Foreign Office were discussing realities, Winston Churchill, the *Enfant Terrible* of the ministry, raised a cloud of dust by the fatuous proposal of a "naval holiday" in 1913, that is, that both nations should suspend all construction for a year. The proposal was not seriously intended, and is said never to have been forwarded officially to the German government, but the discussion about territorial readjustments led to important results. The British bankers and the representatives of the Deutsche Bank again got together; and in June, 1914, they drew up their agreement in the form of a series of treaties between the two governments, which, first signed by the bankers, were then initialed by Prince Lichnowsky and Sir Edward Grey and put into process of ratification, which would have followed without any question in due course of time had not the war broken out. In general, these agreements provided that the Bagdad railroad was to be built by the Germans as far as the river port of Basra and, if extensions from Basra to the Persian Gulf were made, they should be made by Great Britain, in order to protect the British control of the Persian Gulf. At the same time existing British interests in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia were safeguarded. It was arranged, for instance, that Lynch Brothers, who held the monopoly of river transportation on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, should be allotted a large amount of business in carrying building material for the railroad. In return for the concession of the railroad to the German capitalists, it was further agreed that the oil fields of Mesopotamia, which were just becoming valuable, should be divided in such a way that the British secured 75 per cent control and the Germans 25 per cent control. Besides the agreement over the Bagdad railway and Mesopotamian oil, the division of the Portuguese colonies already arranged for some years earlier was again taken up, and the contingency of Portugal's wishing to sell these colonies was provided for by allocating them to Great Britain and Germany.

With these agreements of June, 1914, the outstanding differences between the two nations were removed. As Lloyd George put it later, the relations between Germany and Great Britain were better in 1914 than they had been for fifteen years past; there was not a man in the cabinet who thought that war was a possibility. At the same time it must be kept in mind that while these negotiations between British and German bankers and between Sir Edward Grey and Prince Lichnowsky were going on, conversations were being held by the French, Russian, and British general staffs with a view to strengthening the Triple Entente. There are in this situation certain difficulties which cannot be explained yet, although certain suggestions may be hazarded. Sir Edward Grey personally was apparently trying to preserve European peace by attaching both France and Russia on one side and Germany on the other as allies of Great Britain through a system of separate treaties much like that which Bismarck had relied upon. It may also be that the double policy was the result of two factions in the Foreign Office, one desiring to strengthen the alliance with the Entente, and the other to join with Germany. The treaties of June, 1914 were a success for the pro-German faction, but events had not gone far enough to give them the final victory. Or there is another explanation possible. Without any question the German purpose to separate the Entente by piecemeal agreements was recognized in London. The negotiations leading up to the Potsdam agreement between Russia and Germany in 1910 and 1911 were reported in London immediately, and much the same thing was probably true of the Franco-German negotiations of the same time. Sir Edward Grey was afraid that these attempts of Germany would succeed and made great efforts to prevent them from resulting in the isolation of Great Britain in Europe. The net outcome of these attempts of Germany in 1910 and 1911 to separate the Entente allies was a strengthening of their understandings in the Grey-Cambon letters of 1912.

Much the same situation developed early in 1914 as in 1911. Somewhat earlier than the conclusion of the agreement between the British and German bankers in June, 1914, the French and German bankers had finished, in February, 1914, a similar negotiation. It is just possible that the British regarded this as another attempt of the Germans to undermine the Entente at a moment when they had not yet made other arrangements; and, to prevent such an eventuality, they strengthened their commitments with France and Russia in the spring of 1914. The

accord with Germany of several months later made the alliance with France and Russia no longer a vital matter for Great Britain, and in the normal course of events it might have been allowed to grow weaker.

Before any such developments could unfold themselves came the Great War in August, 1914. Neither Great Britain nor Germany was primarily concerned with the origin of the war. They wanted nothing in August, 1914 which could be gained by a war, but both nations were still bound by their commitments to their old alliances and were drawn into the conflict by their allies, Austria on one side, and Russia and France on the other. The war began as a war between Austria and Russia, and the greatest catastrophe of human history was due to the fact that Great Britain, France, and Germany were so bound to these two states that there was no "honorable" way out for them except by joining in the conflict themselves.

The Outbreak of the Great War

In its origins the Great War was a reopening of the Eastern Question, the question of the control of the Balkan peninsula and the Near East. This curse of diplomats had come nearest to a fair and satisfactory settlement in the treaty of San Stephano, which Russia imposed on Turkey in 1878. By this treaty a large part of Turkey in Europe was erected into an independent Bulgaria. Unfortunately, Count Andrássy in Austria, and Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury in England were motivated by the fear of Russian advance toward Constantinople and insisted that the settlement of San Stephano should be altered. As Lord Salisbury put the matter in a circular letter to the various British embassies: "By the articles erecting a new Bulgaria, a strong Slav state will be erected under the auspices of Russia, possessing important harbors on the Black Sea and the Archipelago, and conferring upon that power a preponderating influence over both political and commercial relations in those seas. . . . A ruler whom Russia will practically choose, its administration framed by a Russian commissary, and the first workings of its institutions commenced under the control of the Russian army sufficiently indicate the political system of which it is to form a part." The whole of Salisbury's argument was based on the false premise, adopted in ignorance of the real situation, that the Bulgarians were incapable of independence and were "bound

THE BALKAN PENINSULA
1878–1914
Boundary of Turkey in Europe before 1913
Turkey in Europe
Serbia
Bulgaria
Rumania
Montenegro
Albania
Greece
after Treaty of Bucharest, 1913
RUSSIA
HUNGARY
Danube
RUMANIA
Bosnia
Belgrade
Sarajevo
SERBIA
Novibazar
Rivers
BLACK SEA
Herzegovina
MONTENEGRO
BULGARIA
ADRIATIC SEA
ALBANIA
Monastir
Constantinople
Bosphorus
ITALY
Salonica
Sea of Marmora
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
TURKEY IN ASIA MINOR
AEGEAN SEA
GREECE
Ionian Is.
Athens
Crete

to fall from the tyranny of the Turk into the grip of the Muscovite." By the revision of the treaty at the Congress of Berlin, a large part of what Russia had included in Bulgaria, the area known as Macedonia, was restored to Turkish misrule and became, in the course of time, a battle ground between Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians, for the preponderating influence in the region. The constant disturbances in Macedonia afforded Russia a pretext for interfering anew in the Balkans, largely on the ground that the majority of the peoples were Slavs, and Russia, as the paramount Slav power, had a duty to protect them. While Russia no longer met the same determined opposition in the Balkans from Great Britain as earlier, she had a new rival in Austria. Before making the treaty of San Stephano, Russia had purchased Austrian neutrality by promising her the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and at the Congress of Berlin the British approved Austrian occupation of these provinces for the future, as a makeweight to Russia in the peninsula. In 1903, in the Mürzteg Program, Russia and Austria agreed to coöperate with each other in pressing reforms upon the Sultan and worked together to maintain the status quo in the Near East. But presently both Austria and Russia ceased to be primarily interested in the status quo and began to develop plans to increase their influence. In 1908 several departures were taken. In Russia, Iswolski, at the head of the Foreign Office, revived the Russian project to open the Straits to the Russian fleet, and eventually to annex Constantinople. In Austria, Count Aehrenthal announced that Austria was seeking a concession to build a railway from Sarajevo to Mitrovitza, in order to enable Austrian trade to gravitate toward the Aegean. In other words, Austria was taking the first step to consolidate her position in the Balkans and to extend her influence as far as Salonika. Iswolski now approached Aehrenthal and suggested that Austria annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, up to this time still legally part of Turkey and merely in Austrian occupation, and, in return, withdraw her opposition to Russia's efforts to open the Straits. A secret agreement along these lines was drawn up and signed. Because of the opposition of her own allies, Russia failed to secure the opening of the Straits; but it remained an object of Russian policy together with the acquisition of Constantinople, for which Iswolski was ready to risk a great European war.

Meantime, Austria declared her annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the ground that Austria wished to grant the

two provinces a constitution "for which the creation of a clear and unambiguous juridical position was indispensable"; and Bulgaria, acting with her, declared her complete independence of Turkey. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a direct and definite check to the expansionist dreams of another Balkan state, Serbia, which stood especially close to Russia, and the whole Serbian nation raised a clamor for war, counting on Russian support. With characteristic Russian duplicity, Iswolski backed the Serbians against Austria, although he also informed the Serbian crown prince on a visit to Petersburg that Russia would not go to war in the matter. Nevertheless to keep Russian influence in Serbia, the Russian government informed Serbia in March of 1909: "when her equipment is ready, Russia will renew the matter with Austria-Hungary. Serbia should not go to war, because that would be suicide . . . conceal your intentions and prepare yourselves because the days of joy will come."

In 1912 the Balkan states, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, alarmed by the Turkization of Macedonia, which was proceeding under the revolutionary government which had been set up in Turkey in 1908, composed their differences and made a treaty for a joint war on Turkey to recover Macedonia. They had the wisdom, furthermore, to arrange the division of the spoils in the event of their success. Within a few months their armies stood at the gates of Constantinople and forced Turkey to yield Macedonia and all of the remainder of the Turkish Empire in Europe except Constantinople, Adrianople, and the small area east of the Maritza River. When the victors came to divide the spoil, Austria, backed by Italy, imposed a decisive veto on the acquisition by Serbia of certain territory called Albania, which would give her a port on the Adriatic. Austria held that this port would really be a Russian port and that its possession would increase Serbian truculence which, since 1908, was already great. It was generally believed in Austria that the Serbs were conducting a series of conspiracies against the Austro-Hungarian state and that, rendered more powerful by a seaport of their own, they would be still more aggressive. In the diplomatic struggle which ensued, Serbia was seconded by Russia, and Austria had the support of Germany, as she had had it in 1908. Great Britain worked together with Germany in the "most peculiar confidence," for she, too, had no desire to see Russian influence too close to the Adriatic. In the end Serbia had to renounce Albania, and Russia had to submit to

the humiliation of seeing her protégé back down. It seems to have become a matter of conviction at this time that Russia could not yield a third time in any diplomatic struggle in which Austria was involved, for fear of losing all her influence over the Balkan Slavs. Moreover, it began to be believed that Russia would never be able to fulfill her historic mission and get Constantinople without a great European war.

The constant friction between the Entente and the Triple Alliance and the crises between the governments of Europe, of which the events of 1908 and 1912-1913 in connection with the Balkans are only two examples, produced an excited and uneasy state of mind even among responsible ministers. This tension was the more serious in view of the highly perfected military preparations in all countries, the growing inclination to back up discussion with the sword, and the increasing importance of the time element in the plans of all the general staffs of the continent. So finely were the calculations of attack and defense worked out that a matter of a few days in putting an army into action might mean the difference between defeat and victory. Consequently, every government was afraid of being caught, not unprepared, but a few hours late. As crisis succeeded crisis, statesmen became more and more nervous lest the rupture should be upon them at last and the hostile army anticipate their own forces in the field. In this state of mind there was grave danger for the continuance of peace. Europe had fallen into a vicious slough of suspicion and reliance upon force, and there seemed no solution of the problem of attaining security but more intensive preparation and greater armies. The Balkan War served as a stimulus, and in 1912 Russia made one of the first moves. Orders were issued to the Russian army that in the future orders for mobilization against Germany should be equivalent to war, that commanders were to act in this sense, and that changes in the army should be made to meet this. In the same year Raymond Poincaré, the premier of France, visited Petersburg and returned with Russian advice to lengthen the term of military service in France to three years, to correspond with increases which the Russians proposed to make. In 1913 Russia extended the term of military service from three to three and a quarter years, adding 300,000 men to the war time strength of the Russian army. This increase was immediately countered by Germany, which announced that the first line army was to be strengthened from 800,000 in 1913 to 850,000 in 1914. Austria also augmented her forces. At

about the same time a new French military law was published, lengthening the term of service from two to three years, reducing the age limit of military service from 21 years to 20, and raising it from 45 to 48. The French law was presented to the Chamber of Deputies on March 10, 1913, and the German law was submitted to the Reichstag 18 days later on March 28. Since the technical details of such laws are enormous and take an extraordinary long time in preparation, it is not possible to call these laws replies to each other; they were rather part of the general intensification of military preparedness initiated by the Russian general staff in 1912. In 1913 Austria and Germany had 1,295,000 effectives and were spending $391 million for military expenses; Russia and France had 2,025,000 effectives and were spending $593 million for military expenses. As important as the increased number of soldiers at this time was the reëquipment of the armies, the building of strategic railways in Germany, Austria, France, and Russia, and the enhanced sway which the glamour of militarism got over the minds of common men all over Europe. In France, for instance, the musical marches on Saturday nights through the towns evoked the greatest enthusiasm, and in Germany there was an overweening pride and confidence in the army and its strength. In all countries, however, the civil authority was still in the saddle.

On June 28, 1914, the world was startled to learn that Franz Ferdinand, crown prince of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, had been assassinated while on a state visit to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The Austrian government appointed a committee of investigation, which announced that the crime was the result of a conspiracy in which the Serbian government was directly implicated. As is now known, the plot was conceived by Col. Dragutin Dimetrijevich, chief of the Intelligence department of the Serbian general staff, in concert with other Serbians who were members of the Black Hand Society. Recent revelations of the minister of education in the Pashitch cabinet, Ljuba Jovanovich, prove the direct complicity of the Serbian government in the plan to the extent that the Serbian ministers, including Prime Minister Pashitch, knew of the plot and did nothing to stop it. The Austrian commission cannot have had all the proofs now available but it had some. The Austrian government was becoming alarmed at the constant agitation carried on from Belgrade against its authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and seems to have determined to make the sup-

posed complicity of the Serbian government in the plot against the life of Franz Ferdinand an excuse for ending further plots by reducing Serbia to a subservient position. Vienna approached Berlin on the matter and received from the German chancellor a promise of backing, a "blank check," without knowing exactly what Austria intended to do, because Austria was the only certain friend Germany had. The German pledge was a very serious blunder since it gave Austria courage for extreme measures. On July 23, 1914, an ultimatum was dispatched, which at best would have involved the reduction of Serbia to an Austro-Hungarian satellite. The Russian government as the protector of the Slavs immediately urged Serbia to reply to the ultimatum in such terms as to reject it. When the Serbs refused to accept the Austrian terms in their entirety, although they accepted most of them, Russia backed Serbia up in her refusal and entered into a quarrel with Austria.

Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, realized the danger of the situation. He recognized that Austria had grievances against Serbia, but at the same time that the Austro-Russian quarrel was dangerous. He, therefore, proposed mediation on the part of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany between Austria and Russia. Von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German chancellor, signified his acceptance of this form of action by "mediation à quatre," but suggested that direct conversations between Austria and Russia would be better. Sir Edward concurred, and direct conversations were begun at Petersburg between Sazanov, the Russian foreign minister, and the Austrian ambassador, after Count Pourtalès, the German ambassador, had given each of them some very good advice. On the same day (July 27), Sir Edward suggested a conference of ambassadors at London, but this was rejected by Austria and Germany on the ground that it was not compatible with Austria's honor to have the powers of Europe interfere between Austria and Serbia, and by Russia on the ground that she would not permit intervention between herself and Austria. On the next day, July 28, Sir Edward admitted that direct conversations were best after all and, at the same time, proposed mediation between Austria and Serbia, which Germany accepted. Bethmann-Hollweg "pressed the button" at Vienna in a vigorous effort to undo the effects of his "blank check" and tried to induce Count Berchtold, the Austrian foreign minister, to come to terms. But Berchtold deceived Bethmann-Hollweg about his intentions, he took a high hand in the matter of conversations

with Russia, and forestalled negotiations by declaring war on Serbia on the same day (July 28). The Berlin government now advised Austria to "Stop at Belgrade" and not to carry her military operations further into Serbia, in the hope that an agreement between Austria and Russia could yet be reached on a basis which would seem satisfactory to Austrian dignity and to Russian pride.

But at this point matters were taken out of the hands of the diplomats by the Russian militarists. Both Berchtold and Sazanov were trying to bluff each other out. Sazanov had made up his mind to be the victor in this diplomatic bout with Austria and, if necessary, to enter a contest with Germany also. As he himself declared in 1916, he had decided to break the pride of Germany at any price and to make her stop once and for all treading upon the toes of her neighbors. If worst came to worst, he had the assurance of France's support. In 1912 Poincaré, then premier of France, declared himself greatly surprised that Russia had backed down before Austria and Germany. In 1913 he repeatedly reminded Iswolski, now Russian ambassador in Paris, that Russia should have French support in all matters relating to the functioning of the alliance. Assurances of this sort without any doubt encouraged the Russians not to back down in another crisis, and even increased the desire which many Russians had to try the fortunes of a great European war. Only a few months earlier in the spring of 1914 Poincaré had worked with the greatest zeal to bring Russia and England close together, and Sazanov knew he could count on Poincaré's aid. Sazanov frankly declared, "If Austria gobbles up Serbia, we shall make war upon her," and to make Berchtold believe that that was no idle threat he had to play with the suggestions of mobilizing the Russian army.

On July 24, 1914, the day before the Serbian reply was sent to Austria, a Russian crown council had authorized mobilization in four districts, and on the next day, July 25, a second council directed that 13 army corps should be mobilized "if and when Sazanov decided it should take place." Sazanov thought he had the cards in his hands. Count Pourtalès, the German ambassador, warned him that he was playing with fire. "If Russia should attempt a bluff of this kind, militarists everywhere would gain an increased influence and take things out of the hands of the diplomats." As a matter of actual fact, the Russian military chiefs had already taken matters into their own hands. Januskevich, the chief of the general staff, and Sukhomlinov,

the minister of war, seem to have wanted a war. They had discussed the whole matter at a crown council on February 8, 1914, and concluded then that their war would soon come. They hoped for a final reckoning with Germany and for a chance to get Constantinople and the Straits. They were also moved in all probability by the feeling that war would relieve a dangerous domestic situation brought about by extensive strikes throughout the large cities of Russia. According to the plans of 1913 a new form of mobilization, called practice or test mobilization, had been adopted. This was a measure almost equivalent to mobilization, but different, in that it was secret and could be called on the orders of the minister of war alone, without further authority either from the Czar or Sazanov. There is some evidence that the Russian militarists had been carrying out "practice mobilization" on a small scale for some time past, but certainly by July 25 practice mobilization was in full swing.

Mobilization, it must be noted, was a costly business. It involved the almost complete tie-up of commercial and industrial life, together with the direct expenditure of hundreds of millions of money by the government which called it. Everybody in Europe knew that no ministers could call a mobilization without going to war except at the risk of their political future. By ordering practice mobilization, Januskevich and Sukhomlinov absolutely committed themselves to a war. On July 28 the news of Austria's declaration of war against Serbia reached Petersburg. Sazanov now agreed to order the partial mobilization authorized three days earlier by the crown council, but Januskevich began to argue for complete mobilization and urged the Czar to issue a ukase for complete mobilization. All through the day of July 29 the Czar was uncertain, but on the afternoon of July 30 he signed the order for general mobilization, and at 7 P.M. the authorization was put on the telegraph wires. Once such a mobilization was set going, according to the evidence of General Sukhomlinov at his trial for treason in 1917, it could not be stopped. Moreover, in conformity with the general Russian army orders and the military conversations with France of 1912, 1913, and 1914, mobilization was equivalent to a declaration of war. "The fat was in the fire" and nothing mattered after that. War was inevitable; it had actually been begun.

The diplomats of western Europe, nevertheless, made desperate moves for peace. On July 29 Sir Edward Grey, refusing

to admit what every politician in Europe knew, that mobilization was equivalent to war, and perhaps in some ignorance of what was actually going on in Russia, proposed that Austria might occupy Belgrade temporarily, while entering into an exchange of views with Russia over the substance of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. The German chancellor urged the Austrians to accept Sir Edward's latest proposal, and on the next day, July 30, sent a very urgent telegram to the German ambassador in Vienna. For two days the wires from Vienna to Berlin had not worked and no news came through, but Bethmann-Hollweg, the German chancellor, had learned from Petersburg that the Austrian attitude as expressed there did not agree with Berchtold's declarations to the German ambassador in Vienna. The German chancellor declared that while Germany was ready to fulfill her duty, the refusal of Austria-Hungary to exchange views with Petersburg would be a great mistake. "As an ally," he telegraphed, "we must refuse to be drawn into a world conflagration through Austria-Hungary's not respecting our advice. Your excellency (the ambassador in Vienna) will express this to Count Berchtold with all emphasis, and with great seriousness." On the next day, the 31st, Berchtold climbed down and declared himself willing to enter into an exchange of views with Russia, but by that time it was too late since Russian general mobilization had already been published on the previous day, July 30 at 7 P.M.

Ever since the 29th Bethmann-Hollweg had feared such action on the part of Russia. Even though he did not know the full extent of Russian mobilization already under way since the 25th, he was greatly alarmed by the news of Sazanov's approval of partial mobilization in Russia on the 28th, which reached Berlin on the 29th. He ordered Pourtalès, the German ambassador in Russia, to show the Russian government how dangerous this was, and to declare that a "further advance in Russia's mobilization measures would compel us to mobilize," in which event an European war could hardly be averted. At the same time on July 29 the German Emperor got the Czar on the telegraph wire and tried to use his personal influence to secure the cancellation of the order of the 28th. The Czar tried to countermand the order for partial mobilization; and, according to a Russian account which may or may not be true, he called Sukhomlinov up on the telephone and told him to stop the partial mobilization. Sukhomlinov declared it was technically impossible to stop it. The Czar then called up Januskevich.

He, too, answered that it was impossible to stop the mobilization, but the Czar replied that it must be done. Januskevich then called up Sukhomlinov and asked him what he should do. "Do nothing at all," replied Sukhomlinov. Next morning Sukhomlinov lied to the Czar, explaining that mobilization was proceeding only in the districts of the southwest. On that same day, July 30, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the militarists succeeded in persuading the Czar, and the orders for complete mobilization were signed by the Czar and published.

Austrian mobilization came at about the same time as Russia's, but did not antedate it and cannot have been an excuse for the Russian order, although that was at one time generally believed. German mobilization, however, came as a direct answer to the Russian. The German ambassador in Petersburg knew nothing of the Russian orders of the afternoon of the 30th until he saw them in the papers next morning. At 11:40 A.M. he telegraphed the news to Berlin. Two similar reports had been previously received by General von Moltke, chief of the general staff, but until the third report from the ambassador in Russia came, von Moltke had refused to take any action. He now, however, advised the chancellor that any further delay would lead to the German army's being caught by surprise. At 1:00 P.M. July 31 von Bethmann-Hollweg declared a state of imminence of war, and at 3:00 P.M. sent an ultimatum to Russia to withdraw her mobilization against Germany and Austria, and another to France to remain neutral in case of a conflict between Germany and Russia. On August 1, at 7 P.M., the conditions of the ultimatum not having been satisfied, the World War began by a declaration of war by Germany upon Russia followed two days later by one upon France.

France was involved in the war by the treaty of the Dual Alliance with Russia. The present available documents indicate that her responsible ministers accepted the obligations of the alliance without regret, for, in spite of the agreements with Germany over Asia Minor, there were always the two lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine to fight for. On July 30, Poincaré, now president, Viviani, the premier, and Messimy, the war minister, again informed Iswolski that the French government was ready to fulfill its treaty obligations, although at the same time Russia should take no "immediate steps which might serve Germany as a pretext for ordering a general or a partial mobilization." Again, at 1:00 o'clock on the night of July 31, some

16 hours before Germany formally declared war on Russia, Iswolski sent the following dispatch from Paris to his government at Petersburg: "The French minister of war informed me in a loud and hearty tone that the government is fully resolved upon war, and begged me to report that the French general staff hopes that all our efforts will be directed against Germany, and that Austria will be treated as a negligible quantity."

Great Britain was brought into the war as the result of her commitments under the conventions and conversations and letters with France and Russia since 1904. Unlike France, she had nothing to gain by the war, although there were in Great Britain some people who welcomed the war after it actually came because it would give an opportunity to destroy German business competition and to retain the mastery of the seas. Nevertheless, England's recent agreements with Germany had settled all outstanding differences. The French and Russians were for a moment afraid that Sir Edward Grey would not recognize his obligations or would not be able to swing English public opinion to accept the war, and were accordingly at special pains to show that Germany was the aggressor. They felt it best for this reason that French mobilization should "not precede the German, but should be an answer to the latter." They felt that for the same reason "it would be better that the declaration of war come, not from France, but from Germany."

The English commitments were probably not so general as those of France and Russia or of Austria and Germany. The conversations between the British and French general staffs, defining the conditions under which Great Britain should come into a war, have not yet been revealed, but the yearly discussions of the Russian and French general staffs for 1911, 1912, and 1913 have been published. From these documents, together with what is known of the strategic plans of the German general staff, it is possible to work out the British commitments to France and the obligations which involved Great Britain in the conflict.

Every general staff of every country has worked out the most detailed plans for every imaginable war; but in Austria, Germany, France, and Russia the only real interest was in the plan for the hypothetical Austro-German and Franco-Russian conflict.

On the German side, taking now the most general view of

the problem as envisaged by the German general staff, a war between Germany and France would inevitably involve a war with Russia also, under the terms of the Dual Alliance between Russia and France. Russia had vastly more soldiers than Germany, and France had nearly as many. German victory, it was held, depended chiefly on speed of mobilization and rapidity of attack, and these in turn were to be achieved by organization, strategic railways, and initiative in officers and men. The army must be thrown west, Paris captured, and France crushed before the slower moving Russian masses were in the field. Then, after the French were out of action, the army could be thrown to the east to defeat Russia. Every army officer in Europe knew that the only way to effect this rapid defeat of France was by invading France through Belgium, or possibly Switzerland. The invasion through Switzerland, incidentally, was ruled out by the French as improbable in army plan number 17, issued February, 1914. The German-French frontier was too short to enable Germany's vast armies to deploy properly, and too strongly defended for the Germans ever to hammer their way through. By a German advance through Belgium, the most northerly and westerly French divisions would be outflanked and forced to surrender. This attack must be made with all possible forces, in order to carry it through to its objective within the defined time; if necessary, the Rhine frontier must be stripped of men to give added weight to the invading army.

The French and Russian general staffs understood the German plan and held annual meetings to discuss the question of how to combat it. The answer was found, according to the discussions of 1911, 1912, and 1913, in an intensification of the speed of the French, and also of the Russian, mobilization so that from the beginning of the fighting there should be equal pressure on the east, and on the west, frontiers of Germany. Eventually, in 1913, the French promised to be ready to fight on the 11th day of mobilization, and the Russians on the 16th day, only five days later. The speed which the Russians promised was out of all reason. The German general staff with their knowledge of Russian railways and transport believed that it would take six weeks before the Russians need be reckoned with, and in that time they must capture Paris and crush France. It seems that the Russians themselves knew that they had promised the impossible and attempted to live up to their pledges when things became critical in the spring of 1914 by all sorts of devices, such as practice mobilizations, partial

mobilization, and other things, to give them the advantage over the German army; and in doing this they actually precipitated the war. In addition to providing for greater speed of mobilization, the French and Russians arranged in their annual conversations for the disposition of the armies. The main French force was to occupy the center of the line opposite Alsace-Lorraine. Since offense was the best defense, this main French army was to attack in full force and invade Germany through the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and the Russian army, getting into action in East Prussia, would call back the German hosts from their march on Paris. Furthermore, according to a secret appendix to the French plan known only to a very few, an army from overseas called "army W" was to cover the French left wing and slow up the German advance until Russian pressure on the east front became effective. This "army W" was the British army, and these plans suggest that the condition of British aid to France in the event of a war was a German march through Belgium. The British were to put 100,000 men into Belgium to slow up the German advance, while enormously heavy Belgian forts at Liège and Namur, constructed as a result of other conversations between Great Britain, France, and Belgium, were to have the same purpose. Whether there were other conditions under which British aid was to be given to France is unknown; but as a result of this condition British intervention was inevitable, since the German invasion of Belgium was certain in any war between France and Germany, as every politician and soldier in Europe knew many years before 1914. It is because British participation could not be prevented under the circumstances that the British had to be so vague when the German ambassador asked on what terms England would be neutral in the struggle. There were no terms on which Great Britain could be neutral short of Germany's giving up every possibility of success against France.

On August 3, 1914, the German armies appeared before Liège in Belgium. The British government at once sent an ultimatum to Germany requiring her to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and on the next day, August 4, Great Britain took her place with her allies by declaring war on Germany.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WORLD WAR, 1914-1918

The governments which controlled Great Britain from 1914 to 1918 were the ministries led by

H. H. Asquith (Liberal), (1908)-1915
H. H. Asquith (Coalition), 1915-1916
David Lloyd George (Coalition), 1916-1918

In their enthusiastic certainty of the success of their strategic plans the general staffs of Europe never contemplated anything but a short war, a rapid advance, a crushing blow, a victorious peace. This was true of Germany, of Russia, and of France. Consequently in the conversations between the British and French military experts possibilities of failure were not envisaged. Great Britain's obligations seem to have been defined as the placing of an expeditionary force upon the French left wing to hold back the Germans should the German army invade France through Belgium. The Franco-British plan called for no enlargement of the British army, which stood at 233,000 men, exclusive of reserves, Indian troops, and militia; but under its provisions the British army was reorganized and reëquipped, until man for man it was probably the finest force in Europe. As soon as the German armies entered Belgium, Britain's entry into the war was inevitable; and after the delay of 24 hours caused by the ultimatum, orders were given to the expeditionary force of 60,000 men to leave England. Since "everything had been planned years before," it took only a few hours to get the men under way and to land them in Belgium. The force was commanded by General French and took up a position near Mons on the extreme French left wing. Meantime, the Germans began their invasion almost on schedule. In their way stood the fortress of Liège, of unimaginable strength, calculated to hold up the invaders for months. Three days after the Germans invested the place with their new heavy guns, the 16 foot concrete walls and the 12 inch steel cupolas were powder and dust, and the invaders

were pushing on toward France. The fortifications at Namur were likewise reduced, and on August 23 the German army formed their first contacts with the British. For five days the British fought a brilliant retreat and slowed up the German advance, but they were almost wiped out in the process. It is doubtful, however, whether the courage and devotion of the British had any very serious effect upon the ultimate outcome, for the German check seems to have come not from the British, but through events on the Russian front. Owing to the practice mobilizations, the Russian army was in the field long before the Germans had calculated they could possibly be ready. On August 3 Russians attacked Memel; on August 7 the main Russian army crossed the frontier at Suwalki; on August 20 the German force defending the eastern frontiers was defeated at Gumbinnen; and five days later the Russians held all of East Prussia as far as the Vistula. East Prussia is the "dear, dear land" of the Prussian military aristocracy. There is a story that the Kaiser and Kaiserin personally besought the German high command to save it from the Russian clutches; and so, on August 23, at the most critical stage of the advance on the western front, the German army was weakened by the withdrawal of two army corps of shock troops for service in East Prussia. Weakened further by the necessity of leaving two corps to mask Antwerp, into which the Belgian army had retreated on August 20, and one corps to continue the siege of Maubeuge, which had not yet fallen, the German advance was slowed up; and on August 31 the German high command definitely postponed the advance of their right wing on Paris, although it had penetrated as far as Amiens and Senlis, very close to the city.

In East Prussia, von Hindenburg, summoned out of his retirement, entangled the Russians in the swamps of the Masurian Lakes in a series of engagements (August 26-31) known as the battle of Tannenberg, but his success was too late, for the advance on the west front had lost its momentum to such an extent that the French were able to stand at bay on the Marne and actually halt the German advance altogether in three days of most terrible fighting (September 6-9). The French now began an encircling movement to get around the German right wing and cut the German lines of communications. The utmost the Germans could hope for was to reach the sea before the French and to get trenches dug behind their most advanced positions to prevent the necessity of retreat. After a second

series of battles on the Aisne in the middle of September, an *impasse* was reached; and for four long ghastly years the Allied and German armies sat in their trenches or made efforts to break through each other's lines without ever succeeding. The strategic plans of all the general staffs had failed, and as the event has proved no purely military victory was henceforth possible for any nation.

In England the universal belief at the beginning of the war was that all would be over in a few months. Although the rest of the regular army was sent to reinforce General French, and the territorial regiments, as the recently reorganized militia was known, together with new recruits, were called upon to replace wastage, no one seriously anticipated a long war. General Kitchener, however, the hero of the South African War, who had been called by Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, to take the office of war minister, early realized that with the failure of the Allied strategy the war must be of long duration, and that Great Britain must supplement her first expeditionary force with vast numbers of new troops. He began, therefore, in the fall of 1914 to recruit an army of a million men and, when this number was obtained, to raise a second million.

Recruits were secured by voluntary enlistment, but as the enthusiasm for fighting died down, all sorts of social pressure, public meetings, street talks, and personal solicitation were used to get the required men. As early as the winter of 1914 some people were convinced that the voluntary system had broken down, and that England must resort to conscription. Yet the idea was so repugnant to English love of liberty that in January, 1915, the government gave assurance that conscription was not contemplated, and that it would be imposed only with regret. In the following June, however, a terrific campaign for conscription was opened by the London *Times* and the *Daily Mail*, out of which grew, as a sort of stop-gap, a National Registration bill, providing for the registration of all persons of both sexes between 16 and 65. Many recognized that this was the first step in conscription; and the government went so far as to admit that, if the voluntary system failed, the information in the register would greatly aid the government in introducing conscription. In September, 1915, the Prime Minister stated that nearly 3,000,000 recruits had volunteered, but shortly afterwards he declared that the government must have an additional 30,000 men each week, who were not coming through. To get these men and to keep the voluntary system,

a new recruiting plan was announced in October, 1915, under the control of Lord Derby; and it was frankly admitted that if the Derby scheme failed, conscription would be necessary. All men between 18 and 40, excepting those in certain occupations which were "starred" because necessary for the conduct of the war, were divided into 46 groups by ages, half of these for married men and the other half for single men. All men who enlisted at once received a pledge that they would not be called for service until their group was called, and Mr. Asquith announced, moreover, that in his opinion no married men ought to be called until all single men had been dealt with. This was interpreted as a pledge to the married men that they might enlist at once and not be called for a long time; and since the wearing of the insignia of an enlisted man gave a certain self-satisfaction and social importance in those times, hundreds of thousands of married men rushed to enlist. When the last day of the Derby scheme had been reached, it was found that 651,160 single men not in starred occupations between 18 and 40 had not yet enlisted; and with the vociferous approval of all the enlisted married men and their wives, the government now decided that these unenlisted single men must be treated as though they had enlisted. Consequently, conscription was introduced into England in the early spring of 1916. It was at first limited to men between 18 and 41, and later extended to all men under 50 with power to the King to call out men up to 56 if necessary.

Through the various devices of voluntary enlistment and through conscription the British government raised an army of 5,704,416 in the British Isles. Besides this number the empire raised an additional force of 2,950,000 men, of whom 640,886 came from Canada, 416,809 from Australia, 220,099 from New Zealand, 136,170 from South Africa, 1,401,350 from India, and 134,837 from other colonies. There were thus fighting under the British flag all told 8,654,000 men. Of this stupendous number many were kept in Great Britain to guard against a possible German invasion. The largest single force held a sector of the trenches in France between the Belgians and the French, at first only a few miles long, but growing larger as the British armies were built up. The Canadians stood side by side with the island British in Flanders; the Australians and New Zealanders, known as the Anzacs, did their greatest service in Gallipoli, Egypt, and Syria; the Indians fought in Mesopotamia and served as bearers and helpers in

the camps in Europe; and the South Africans drove the Germans from their African colonies in German East Africa and German South West Africa.

Everywhere British soldiers performed deeds of heroic valor and undying glory. In German East Africa the South Africans carried on a war several thousand miles from their base with one of the most wily and resolute of the German colonial armies. In Mesopotamia, the territory between the Tigris and the Euphrates through which the Bagdad railroad was to run, a goal of German foreign policy in the generation or so before the war, the troops of the Indian Empire early embarked upon a campaign of conquest, partly to prevent future German control of the country, partly to secure control of the oil wells of the country, partly to effect a junction with the Russians in the Caucasus, and partly to divert the Turks from an attack upon Egypt, which had been declared entirely separate from Turkey at the outset of the war and became virtually a British colony. Basra was occupied November 14, 1914, and in May, 1915 the advance into the valley began in earnest. In an attempt to capture Bagdad with insufficient forces, General Townshend was driven back to Kut-el-Amara and forced to surrender in April, 1916, but in the spring of 1917 Kut-el-Amara was recaptured by the British, and Bagdad fell into their hands shortly afterwards. In order to win the loyalty of the population, fair promises of sympathy with the national aspirations of the inhabitants were given, while the British business man immediately seized upon the country as a valuable investment area. Almost at once after the occupation of Basra, an English firm installed the most complete automatic telephone system then known in the world, and Bagdad had an electric trolley line, electric lights, schools, a police department, and a fire department by June, 1918.

In Egypt the Australian and New Zealand regiments took over the control of the country shortly after the declaration of the independence of Egypt from Turkey, which had joined the German side early in the war. They drove back two Turko-German attempts to capture the Suez Canal, and they repelled the invasion of the Senussi tribesmen from the western deserts. From December, 1916 to February, 1917, they cleared the Sinaiatic peninsula of Turks and Germans; and in the fall of 1917, led by General Allenby, they invaded Palestine and in December captured Jerusalem. Coöperating now with a native force led by a former official of the Sultan, who had

declared his independence as King of the Hedjaz, Allenby advanced into Syria, the country north of Palestine, and by the end of October, 1918, had completely cleared also that country of Turks. Four days after the final victory of Allenby, the Turks, hard pressed on other fronts by a British army advancing through Mesopotamia and by an Allied army advancing through European Turkey, entered into an armistice.

Much more spectacular and dramatic than the work of the Anzacs in Palestine and Syria was their great epic in Gallipoli. In the spring of 1915 there were two schools of strategists among the Allies, the Westerners and the Easterners, those who believed that victory must be won in France and those who looked for success only in Russia. That nothing could be accomplished on the western front was made clear by the battle of Neuve Chapelle in March, 1915. In spite of the expenditure by the British of as much ammunition as had been used in the course of the whole Boer War, they found themselves, after a slight advance, back where they had started, with 12,000 dead and wounded. In consequence, the Easterners had their chance. A surprise naval attack had already been made on the Dardanelles with a view to opening the Straits, so that reinforcements in equipment might be sent to Russia to enable her to strike the winning blow. On this occasion concealed batteries of heavy guns and floating mines carried by the swift current had caused the loss of three ships with serious injuries to two others. It was now resolved to land an Allied force, largely made up of Anzacs, on the Gallipoli peninsula at the entrance to the Dardanelles to force the Straits from the land. The undertaking was hopeless from the start. The Turks had strung the small beach with barbed wire down to shallow water; they had the range of every square inch of the ground with guns concealed behind a ridge; there was no shelter from the burning sun on sand and naked rock; all supplies, even drinking water, had to be brought from distant bases. The Anzacs never advanced more than three miles; the average life of one of their officers was said to be eleven days. In May the fleet aided an attack in force, and three Allied battleships were destroyed by mines and submarines, among them the *Triumph* and the *Majestic*. In August another attack was attempted and again repulsed. Dying like flies, the Anzacs held on, until finally, in December and January 1915-1916, they were withdrawn.

The most extensive British military efforts were, of course,

on the European western front, where the Canadians and island British stood side by side. After the beginning of trench warfare in the fall of 1914, the British centered in Ypres had to submit to a terrific hammering by the Germans in their efforts to drive back the Allied line at that point. In the spring of 1915 the Germans attacked the British lines again in the second battle of Ypres, when they used poison gas for the first time. During the spring and summer British interest was fastened on Gallipoli, but in the autumn of 1915 the Allies attempted a new offensive in order to draw the Germans from their work of annihilating Serbia, which proceeded during the fall and early winter of 1915. In the course of this offensive the British almost forced the Germans out of Lens, the coal center of France, but could not quite attain their objectives.

Early in 1916 the Germans began to batter at Verdun, and in order to distract their attention to another point in the line, the new British commander, Sir Douglas Haig, planned a great offensive in the northern sections of the Allied line. Since the French asked Haig to take over more of the line instead of attacking at once, the offensive was postponed until July. Although the effort on the Somme did not lead to spectacular gains of territory and did not prevent the German campaign against Rumania in the fall of 1916, yet the Allied advances were of such a nature as to make the present German positions untenable.

Faced by the necessity of retreating, the German commanders resolved during the winter of 1916-1917 to straighten and shorten their lines by building some distance behind their original trenches, a series of defensive works, trenches, machine gun nests, pill boxes, concrete dugouts, and barbed wire entanglements of an ingenuity past all belief, in three separate parallels called the Hindenburg line. To this new defensive position the Germans withdrew, leaving behind them as they went an absolute waste of shell holes and destroyed ground. In the spring of 1917 the Allies launched an offensive against this new line which was, however, so costly that the French government ordered it stopped and displaced the French commander responsible for it. General Haig won some spectacular successes between June 7-17, blowing up a ridge, known as the Messines salient, south of Ypres, with a million pounds of high explosive, but no permanent results were achieved. The year of 1917 was a hard one for the Allies, apart from their failure to break the Hindenburg line. Russia collapsed and began her internal revo-

lutions, and the Italian army was pierced by the Austrians at Caporetto with the loss of thousands of prisoners and hundreds of guns. To take pressure off the Italians, Haig attacked the Germans again in the fall at Cambrai; and, although he captured five miles of territory by the untold heroism of his men, supported by endless quantities of high explosive shells, he could not hold it.

Early in 1918 Russia and Rumania made their peace with Germany, and almost simultaneously, in March, the Germans began their last series of offensives. With unprecedented accumulations of high explosive shells, thousand of guns massed at single points, and all the last available German reserves, von Hindenburg gambled with a desperate attempt to break through the Allied lines. The British felt the first terrific blows, and with their Third and Fifth armies almost destroyed they were driven back on a sixty mile front in a salient thirty-five miles deep at the tip. Von Hindenburg almost succeeded in breaking between the British and the French, in rolling up the British right wing, and in encircling the French left. In April a second German offensive began in Flanders against the British and in May a third offensive against the French.

While the Germans had thrown every man into the scale, the Allies still had reserves. The British withdrew 300,000 men who were in England to guard the country against invasion and threw them into France, and a million American troops—America having entered the war a year before—were in France by July 4, and another million were on the way.

The German advance had formed three salients, the first between Soissons and Rheims, the second between Soissons and Arras, and the third in Flanders. In the moment of greatest danger in March, the Allies had established a supreme military command, with the French General Foch as commander-in-chief of all the Allied armies. It was thus possible to coördinate efforts more exactly than hitherto; and with his American and British reinforcements, Foch began a series of counter offensives in July which continued until November, and left the Germans in general retreat from the Scheldt to the Aisne far behind the Hindenburg line. In this drive the British did the most effective fighting against the Germans, particularly in the August offensive against the Soissons-Arras salient and in October against the Cambrai-St. Quentin line. The Americans, too, did yeoman service. Under the pressure of the Allied

advance, the German government made overtures for an armistice, which was made on November 11, 1918. By a strange coincidence, when the fighting was stopped by the armistice on November 11, 1918, the British armies stood in Mons, where they had entered action at the beginning of the war.

All told the British suffered over 3,000,000 casualties, among them 800,000 dead on the field of battle. Yet it must be kept in mind that in the war on the land the efforts of France were incomparably greater and her losses more terrible. Land fighting and military effort were, however, only a small part of Great Britain's contributions to the Allied cause on the combatant side of affairs. To the military effort must be added the work of the British navy. The British grand fleet played no very dramatic part in the war, being ensconced the greater part of the time in Scapa Flow in the Orkneys behind densely planted mine fields. Only three naval engagements of the old style were fought. In the autumn of 1914, Admiral Craddock engaged Admiral von Spee in command of the German China squadron in the battle of Coronel off the coast of Chili; and, inasmuch as modern naval battles between equally brave and skillful sailors are questions of the range of the longest guns, Craddock's fleet was destroyed except for two vessels by the heavier, faster German ships. Twenty-four hours after the news reached England, Admiral Sturdee was sent out to find von Spee, with ships faster and larger than his. Von Spee's squadron was destroyed, except for two ships which got away, one of which, the *Dresden*, remained at large until the spring of 1915. Meanwhile, the British grand fleet had visited Heligoland Bight, where the German fleet lay behind impenetrable mine fields, in the shadow of an impregnable fortress; but after a skirmish with some lighter German vessels, which they sunk, the British fleet retreated to England. In their turn the Germans occasionally raided the English northeast coast—a stealthy approach, a rapid bombardment, and a swift retreat—and on one of these occasions in January, 1915, there was a brush between the Germans and the British in which the Germans lost the battleship *Blücher*. In 1916 while reconnoitering in the Skager Rak between Denmark and Norway, a portion of the grand fleet under Admiral Beatty, at some distance from the main body of the fleet under Admiral Jellicoe, came upon the German fleet under Admiral von Scheer. In the battle which followed von Scheer showed masterly strategy, literally sailing in circles around Beatty in one of the most marvelous

tactical operations of naval history. With his long range guns he sank fourteen of Beatty's ships and lost eleven of his own. When Jellicoe came up with his main squadron, von Scheer did not dare to risk an action with the superior force. Setting up a smoke screen, he again sailed around the English fleet and escaped into his mine fields. The Germans concealed their losses and announced a remarkable victory, but the British grand fleet still continued to hold the seas. This was the grand fleet's really important job, and it did its work for the most part by merely continuing to remain in existence to intimidate the German fleet by its superior numbers, while the smaller craft, from torpedo boats to mine-sweeping trawlers, did the police work.

The task of "holding the seas" involved not only the protection of England from invasion and the incidental destruction of German commerce, but also the maintenance of a blockade of Germany and the defense against the counter German measure of submarine warfare. Very early in the war, the British government, like all other governments, recognized that this was an exceptional war, in which entire peoples, not merely the actual soldiers under arms, were engaged; and, while the British sought the advantage of older rules of international law to protect themselves against similar assumptions by Germany, they revised current international law to suit their interests. Thus, for instance, in defiance of earlier British views on the subject of general international practice, they revised the list of contraband so as to give a quasi-legal status to their seizure of many articles intended for Germany which Germany might use for war purposes. They also claimed the right, under the doctrine of continuous voyage, to seize goods in neutral ships presumably being carried to Germany by way of a neutral port in Denmark or Holland, unless proof could be adduced that the goods were intended for bona fide neutral use. In this way a genuine blockade of Germany was instituted, not maintained, however, by a blockading squadron off the German coast, but by stopping and searching all ships proceeding to the continent, at Kirkwall in Scotland or in the Strait of Dover. This aroused great resentment on the part of American shippers, who objected to the new contraband lists, to the long distance blockade, and to the new doctrine of continuous voyage even though it was defended by reference to American Civil War practice. When the German government took over the control of the importation and distribution of all foodstuffs,

in the face of the serious food shortage which threatened Germany through the cutting off of her overseas trade, the British government declared all foodstuffs contraband and put into full force a policy of preventing food from reaching Germany.

Ostensibly in response to this last measure, but in reality because the lessons of the first six months of the war had revealed to the Germans the possibilities of the submarine, the German government, in February, 1915, proclaimed the blockade of Great Britain by German submarines. It was only after the sinking of three British cruisers, the *Aboukir,* the *Cressy,* and the *Hogue,* off the Hook of Holland by a submarine on September 22, 1914, that the Germans realized the possibilities of submarine warfare; and, after constructing enough new submarines to make them worth while, the German government declared the British Isles in a state of blockade and claimed the right to sink at sight British ships engaged in war service. It also claimed the right to stop and search even neutral vessels and to sink them if they were carrying contraband, inasmuch as the submarine was unable to take them into a prize court port for adjudication. Both sides stretched international law to suit their own special requirements; but when the Germans began to sink passenger ships, the conscience of neutral peoples was stirred even though such ships were carrying war materials, and the German policy was universally condemned. This was especially true in the United States, and nothing made American participation in the war more actively desired by the majority of American people than the sinking of passenger ships, such as the *Lusitania,* in May, 1915, and the *Sussex,* in April, 1916.

On January 31, 1917, the German government announced that it intended to renounce all restrictions upon its submarine warfare, and that all ships would be sunk at sight in certain regions covering about a million square miles of ocean around Great Britain, France, and in the Mediterranean. This regulation made inevitable the entrance of the United States into the war on the Allied side, although unrestricted submarine warfare was not the only reason for American entry into the war. On the other hand, the submarine warfare, although it eventually had an important part in defeating Germany through its reaction on America, seemed for a long time to promise success through the starvation of Great Britain. This was especially true in 1917 when as much as two million tons of shipping

were being sunk a month; and, if this rate could have been continued, it would have been only a question of time when Great Britain would be forced to make peace because of the threat of famine growing out of the disappearance of enough ships to carry food to Great Britain from abroad. That the high rate of destruction was not maintained was due to the British navy, which evolved a most ingenious assortment of nets, depth bombs, submarine traps, electric listening devices, disguised war ships, parading as lazy tramps, especially on the lookout for submarines, camouflage painting of hulls to make ships invisible at a distance, and, above all, the convoy system of flotillas of torpedo boats to accompany fleets of transports and merchant ships through the danger zones. In all 280 submarines were built by the Germans during the war, and they sank 12,815,000 tons of British, Allied, and neutral ships during the course of the war.

While the submarine warfare ultimately failed against Great Britain, the British blockade was a most effective force in bringing about the eventual German submission. In the last analysis the final advance of Foch from July to November 1918 was not the cause of German defeat, but only the finishing touch to the recognition of defeat, which even the German general staff had already accepted. For Germany was without question exhausted, her national nerves shattered, her morale destroyed. As the war went on every channel by which any kinds of goods could reach Germany was more and more rigidly controlled until practically nothing went into Germany from abroad, and even from the neutral nations, such as Sweden and Denmark, on Germany's own frontiers only a minimum of goods could be obtained. The result was not merely the exhaustion of supplies, such as copper, rubber, and hides, for munitions and military equipment, but the depletion of materials of all sorts for use by the civil population. As 1917 came and went, famine began to stalk through the German towns; cotton for sheets, wool for clothing, leather for shoes, even rubber for nipples for babies' bottles were unobtainable; and the national confidence began to break down. What was the good of infinite victories all duly celebrated with flags and holidays, if they attained no object; what was the good of the surrender of Russia and Rumania and their signing most humiliating terms of peace, if every morning saw more straw in the bread and less meat in the pot; if the Allies were as strong as ever on the west front, with countless hordes of new soldiers coming

from America? In 1918 von Hindenburg, or rather his Quartermaster General von Ludendorff, made his last gambler's throw. He collected every available man, every available ounce of metal and explosive, and used them up in those terrible offensives of March-June 1918. When he failed, there was nothing left to fight with; and by August, 1918, the German high command came to the conclusion that a victory was impossible and retreat necessary. The blockade of Germany and the holding of the seas was the chief British contribution to this development. It must not be overlooked, of course, that an important share of the result was due to military operations in France. Moreover, the final German collapse was due less to the failure of materials, which affected the army last, than to the collapse of the morale of the nation and of the army, which followed upon the American entry into the war and the subsequent knowledge that there were a million American soldiers in France, a second million on the way and other millions still to follow.

Britain's Financial and Industrial Contributions to the Allied Cause

Behind the British military and naval contributions to the war, there was a great financial effort and an intense industrial activity in the production of shells, munitions, and equipment. Britain not only had to finance herself, but by virtue of her position in world finance, she became the paymaster of the Allies as well, advancing large sums to them by way of loans. When she herself could lend no more, and when the bankers of New York looked askance upon the credit of the other Allies, Great Britain herself, with unimpeachable credit, entered the New York money market and raised enormous sums in order to lend them to France, to Italy, and to the other states on the Allied side. The first loans in the United States, for only £100 million at high interest, were negotiated in 1915 through one of the most able of British politicians, Lord Reading. The amount was small in comparison with later loans, but the whole transaction was important because it tied up leading American banking interests very closely with the Allied cause. It was only when the United States entered the war in 1917 that Great Britain was relieved of the necessity of financing the Allies, and the United States government took over the task. Great Britain advanced loans of £1,913,960,000 to her Allies and to the

British dominions, and the war cost her £11,197 million (over fifty-five billion dollars), of which £7,367 million was raised by borrowing. It might have been wiser in the long run for the government to pay more of the costs of the war by current taxation, but, as it was, the increase in annual revenues from £200 million a year to £800 million represented a tremendous achievement. The increased revenues were collected by means of extremely high income taxes, which reacted seriously on the old comfortable classes, by excess profits taxes rising to 60 and even 80 per cent, and by quadrupled customs and excise taxes, which were especially heavy on whisky, beer, and tea. On tea, for instance, there was a duty of 1s. per pound; and normal incomes below £2000 a year paid from 22½ to 30 per cent a year, with steep surtaxes on larger amounts.

As in finance, so in the production of munitions, Great Britain had to take care not only of herself, but of the Allies as well. France was a highly developed industrial state, but the industrial regions in the northern and western parts of France were in German hands. Belgium had an intensive industrial life, but nearly all of Belgium was in German hands. Russia was industrially backward and had hitherto been dependent upon France for her war materials and had paid for them from the proceeds of the French loans to Russia. It was, therefore, requisite that England enlarge her factories as rapidly as possible, besides acquiring factories in America and giving contracts for war materials there. At the beginning of the war, there were only three government factories and about 12 other private works engaged in making munitions. In the first year of the war, contracts were let to about 3000 firms, and all sorts of factories were making munitions. In one district alone shells were being made by a music manufacturer, an infants' food maker, a candle maker, a flour miller, a tobacco merchant, an advertising agent, several brewers, a jobmaster, a glazier, and a siphon manufacturer. In 1918 there were 200 government factories, 5000 factories controlled by the government, and 20,000 privately controlled works, employing 2,500,000 men and 1,000,000 women, turning out as many shells every two weeks as were made in the first year of the war, forty times as many machine guns, and seventy times as many medium guns and howitzers. The whole nation was turned into a vast war machine, and those not fighting in the trenches "did their bit" at home.

Britain During the War

In the early days of the war there was no realization in Great Britain of the terrible character or the long duration of the struggle into which Great Britain had entered. The public belief is summed up in an advertisement by a Durham tailor, "Buy your suit now, pay when the war is over." Superficially, business went on as usual; the war was made real only by the fact that everywhere there were posters calling for recruits, by the fact that gold, the usual form of money in England, practically disappeared from circulation and was replaced by paper, and by restrictions on street lighting to lessen the dangers from Zeppelins. Everywhere, too, there was propaganda, in the form of books, lectures, reprints of diplomatic documents carefully edited, as is now known, and reports of atrocities by the Germans in Belgium. This work was entrusted to men of the utmost integrity, such as Lord Bryce, in order to win the united support of the nation for the war, and also to win sympathy and possibly help from neutral countries.

More fundamental was a revolutionary rise in prices which, already under way long before the war, was greatly accelerated by the war from the very beginning. Owing to three factors, first, the enormous use of materials by the world's armies, which created shortages, second, the withdrawal of many millions of men from productive work, which tended to increase wages, and third, the universal inflation of the currency through the overuse of war loans, the great extensions of credit based on war loans, and the overissue of unsecured paper money, another form of war loan, the value of money fell sharply. The cost of living rose by 220 per cent from July, 1914 to 1920. Those classes which lived on fixed incomes, derived from interest on mortgages or bonds, had their incomes cut more than half. Wage workers who were organized were in an extraordinarily good position to demand increases, but except for the most favorably situated, their wages did not keep pace with the cost of living. It was not until 1918 or 1919 that average wages succeeded in catching up with the new costs of living; but then, carried by their momentum, they actually advanced beyond the cost of living in 1920. Failing to understand the causes of the economic phenomena in which they were caught, all classes joined in denouncing the profiteers, and the working

classes demanded that the state should interfere in industry so as to limit profits.

There was thus provided one impulse for the extraordinary enlargement of the powers of the state over individual subjects and over national resources which was so marked a feature of the war. In addition to the workers' demand for the limitation of profits through state interference in industry, the government itself had already begun a policy of state control, in view of its recognition of the necessity of supplies of war materials and of the inefficiency of the present capitalist organization in producing them. At the very outset of the war, on the ground that private control of the railroads could not give the necessary transportation facilities, the government took over the management of the English railroads for the duration of the war. During the course of the war the government conscripted men for military service. It took over the control of shipping, mining, and food. Maximum prices were fixed for milk, potatoes, and for bread without regard to the price of wheat, differences being made good out of the Exchequer. Minimum prices for grain were guaranteed in the Corn Production act of 1917 to encourage agriculture; and at the same time minimum wages for agricultural laborers were established, giving to that debased class its first taste of self-respect. Through the higher guaranteed price of grain and the greater willingness of the agricultural laborer to work, the amount of grain grown in England was raised from 12 weeks supply per year in 1917 to a 40 weeks supply in 1918. Compulsory rationing was established for tea, meat, butter, fats, and sugar, managed by issuing food tickets to the whole population which had to be surrendered at the time when purchases were made. The government limited the hours during which spirituous liquors might be sold; it fixed priority lists in the apportionment of all steel and wool, first to war work and then to the civilian population; it fixed maximum prices for all finished iron and steel goods; it prohibited speculative trading in foreign ores; and it forbade exportation of steel subject to license. In association with the Allied governments, it established central commissions to deal with the world's raw materials with power to go even to the extent of total purchase, as in the case of the Australian wool clip.

The most interesting extensions of government control came in connection with the production of munitions. British skilled labor had been organized before the automatic machines had

begun the reduction of all factory workers to semiskilled hands. The craft unions for years had been enforcing certain rules to check the extension of machines and to protect the skill and the privileged position of their members. By their rules the introduction of certain automatic machines was forbidden, modern efficiency methods were prohibited, a limit to the production of the individual worker was tacitly admitted, and certain processes were reserved for the skilled craftsman. Trade unionism aimed to guarantee the skilled worker a position at fair terms against the competition of the unskilled tender of a high speed automatic machine. As a consequence, the productivity of British labor was falling behind that of Germany and the United States.

By the early spring of 1915, it was realized in Great Britain that, if the war was to be won, the output of munitions must be increased. A week after the terrible losses of the battle of Neuve Chapelle where the British had to retire from their hard won ground because their ammunition gave out while the Germans were still well supplied, Mr. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, called a meeting of representatives of 35 trade unions. After telling them that the Germans were making 250,000 shells a day, while the British were making only 2500 shells and 13,000 shrapnel, he asked the workers to speed up the production of munitions. He promised to limit the profits of manufacturers, but he demanded that there should be no more strikes (which were already becoming common to demand higher wages to meet the increased costs of living) and no lockouts by employers, and that all differences between workers and employers should be settled by conferences or by arbitration. He insisted further that trade union rules should be relaxed and that semiskilled and female workers should be permitted to take over work hitherto reserved for skilled workers. In spite of the signature of an agreement on these points at this conference, the Treasury agreement of March 17, 1915, the introduction of unskilled workers was impeded throughout the country, and strikes continued; and at length in June, 1915, the government resorted to legislation. It passed through Parliament an act known as the Munitions of War act, but more popularly called the Slave act among the workers, by which strikes and lockouts were forbidden, all regulations restricting output were suspended, profits were to be limited to one-fifth more than the averages of 1912-1914, and, since there had been a good deal of trouble with labor turn-

over, no worker was to be given work in another workshop unless he could show a leaving certificate from his former employer. The coal miners of South Wales at once threw down a challenge to the government. Demanding new wage increases, they went on a strike and defied the government to put the whole 200,000 of them into prison. As a consequence the government compromised by accepting the miners' demands and taking over the coal mines for the duration of the war.

In the summer of 1916 the juxtaposition of the leaving certificate and conscription, the danger that, if a man left work in a munitions factory without a leaving certificate because he was dissatisfied with conditions, he would at once be drafted into the army, led to a serious strike against the Munitions of War act and the Military Service bill in the Clyde district. This strike was all the more sinister because it was led not by the old line trade union leaders, but by new radical leaders called shop stewards, who wielded a control over all workers, no matter what their job, in certain districts quite unlike the piecemeal, divided authority of the old trade union leaders. Instead of calling a specific strike of a single craft, they called a general strike of all workers in the Clyde. The government suppressed that strike by seizing the leaders and transporting them to warmer parts of the British empire, but in 1917 it had to face another general strike for the same reasons and yielded by abolishing the leaving certificate and granting a general increase of wages. The new unions of all workers and their use of the general strike were revelations to all people of enormous portent for the future, which have led the more radical British workers to this day to have high hopes in the general strike as a weapon against the rest of society.

In all the changes which the government carried through in the munitions works, Mr. Lloyd George, who became minister of munitions in 1915, promised that, when the war was over, there should be a return to former conditions. It became apparent before long, however, that it was absolutely impossible to get rid of the automatic machine, once it was in a factory, and that it was foolish to think of a return to former conditions. While many workers looked upon Lloyd George as the great betrayer, the Judas of labor, others set their minds to the problems of social readjustment under the new conditions. They worked out such ideas as nationalization of industry with local control by the workers, which they called Guild Socialism; others thought of the erection of a new sort of Parliament

in which men were represented by trades to take over the control of all economic phases of the national life; and still others worked out programs of workers' political control and the enactment of a national minimum of wages, education, and leisure, the nationalization of basic industries, such as mining and agriculture, and national control over others, new systems of taxation to bear more heavily on the rich than on the poor, and the use of the social surplus for the common good. The most brilliant of these Utopias was a pamphlet called *Toward a New World* put forth by the Labor party as their program of reform in the new society created by the war.

War Time Politics

When Great Britain entered into the World War in August, 1914, the Liberal party was in control with the help of the Irish Home Rule party and the Labor party. Mr. Herbert Asquith was Prime Minister, and David Lloyd George was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Asquith also had been acting as secretary of state for war for several weeks past; and after the brief return of Lord Haldane to the war office to give the necessary orders to the British expeditionary force, Lord Kitchener became war minister. The Conservative party, led by Andrew Bonar Law, announced that it had called a truce in party politics and would aid the government to the full extent of its powers in prosecuting the war. When the legal term of Parliament was come in 1915, the Conservatives agreed with the Liberals that the new election should be postponed, at first, for a year, and later, until the end of the war. In the spring of 1915 the London *Times* began a terrific campaign against Lord Kitchener, because he thought only in terms of the Boer War in South Africa and was supplying the British army with shrapnel instead of the high explosive shells needed in trench warfare. As an outcome of this attack, and also in consequence of a bitter quarrel in the admiralty office between Winston Churchill, first lord of the admiralty, and Lord Fisher, the first sea lord, over the Gallipoli expedition, the Conservatives declared that they could no longer refrain from criticism of the government. As a result Mr. Asquith announced in May that he intended to strengthen his government by the inclusion of a certain number of Conservatives. A new ministry of twenty-two was announced, consisting of twelve Liberals, eight Conservatives, one Laborite, and Lord Kitchener, who had no politics.

Among the Conservatives added to the cabinet were Lord Lansdowne, Lord Curzon, Bonar Law, Austen Chamberlain, Arthur J. Balfour, and Sir Edward Carson, the leading lights of the Conservative party.

In the summer of 1915 Lord Northcliffe, owner of the *Times*, began a new campaign for a smaller cabinet, since the existing cabinet was too clumsy for making rapid decisions. During the autumn of 1915 there was bitter criticism of the government over the failure of the Gallipoli venture, over the destruction of Serbia and the entrance of Bulgaria into the war on the German side, and over the refusal of the Allied governments to coerce Greece. Sir Edward Carson resigned from the cabinet because Mr. Asquith refused to appoint a smaller cabinet of five or six men to carry on the war; and a few days later, Mr. Asquith announced the formation of a war committee of eleven, including himself, Arthur Balfour, Lloyd George, Bonar Law, and Reginald McKenna. This new war committee was no more successful than the whole cabinet had been. In the spring of 1916 two "Ginger" groups came into existence to put Ginger into the war, one in Parliament led by Sir Edward Carson, and one in the cabinet led by Lloyd George. In the fall of 1916 the sale of former enemy properties in Nigeria was advertised in the United States, and the opposition seized upon this to attack the government. Why seize properties if British subjects were to get no benefit from them? Although the government escaped a vote of censure from the forces led by Mr. Carson, Bonar Law saw the possibility of a serious split in the Conservative party or even his own overthrow from leadership, since Carson mustered 60 Conservative votes to his own 71.

At this point Bonar Law felt that the situation could be saved only by adopting the small war cabinet. Carson, Bonar Law, and Lloyd George were brought together and, on November 18, 1916, made their proposal to Mr. Asquith to give over the conduct of the war to a war council consisting of Bonar Law, Carson, and Lloyd George under the supreme control of the Prime Minister, or to arrange a cabinet within the cabinet over which Lloyd George should preside in the absence of the Prime Minister. Mr. Asquith had been losing his grip on events for some time past, and it was inevitable that he should be replaced. By either of these plans he would have been allowed to remain Prime Minister, but would have had no authority. When he rejected them, Lloyd George and his friends deter-

mined to oust him altogether. On December 1, 1916, Lloyd George presented another memorandum for a war committee of three, on December 2 the Conservatives advised Mr. Asquith to resign and reconstruct his government. During the next two days a compromise was reached in a plan for a war committee of five under the chairmanship of Lloyd George, with the proviso that the Prime Minister might attend and preside when he did so, and that, moreover, all matters should be referred to him with the power of veto. On the morning of December 4 the *Times* published an article referring to Mr. Asquith as an irresponsible spectator of the war from now on in consequence of the recent compromise, using information in its editorial which only Lloyd George could have supplied. Mr. Asquith at once requested Lloyd George to correct the impression created by the article; Lloyd George declined to do anything.

Mr. Asquith then made the bold stroke of calling upon the entire cabinet to resign, as he had a right to do; and Lloyd George replied that, while he would resign, he would also publish certain statements explaining his reasons, especially certain things about the disaster in Rumania. To avoid the public controversy which such a statement would have aroused, Mr. Asquith resigned himself; and since Bonar Law refused to become Prime Minister, the King called upon Lloyd George to assume the premiership. He accepted and at once chose a War Cabinet consisting of five members: himself, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, Arthur Henderson of the Labor party, and Bonar Law. Bonar Law was the liaison officer between the Cabinet and the House of Commons, which from this time on became a mere registering body putting the approval of legal forms upon decisions already taken, and Mr. Henderson was nothing. The real control of the British government was in the hands of two Conservatives, Curzon and Milner, and one Liberal, Lloyd George; and, in so far as support in the House of Commons was necessary, Lloyd George looked for it among the Conservatives rather than among the Liberals, among whom he had only a few followers. The War Cabinet was assisted by a ministry of 88, all sorts of new ministries having been created to deal with war problems, such as the Ministries of Transport, of Shipping, of Food, and many others, and by 400 committees of technical experts engaged in every conceivable kind of work.

A few weeks after he became Prime Minister, Lloyd George

invited the Prime Ministers of the self-governing dominions to come to London for a War Conference of the empire. On their arrival these Prime Ministers and other colonial delegates met with the War Cabinet to discuss the war. They soon formed an Imperial War Conference, which met on alternate days in turn with the War Cabinet; and much was made of the coöperation of the colonies and Great Britain in conducting the war, although in reality the initiative and decision remained with the War Cabinet. The Imperial War Conference was concluded on May 1, 1917; but before adjourning it voted an annual Imperial Cabinet to discuss the constitutional status of the empire, imperial defense, and such problems. It met again in June, 1918, and recognition was given to the coöperation of the dominions in the war and to the changing quality of the constitution of the empire symbolized by Imperial War Cabinets by naming representatives of the colonies as members of the British empire peace delegation at the peace conference in 1919.

Another important politico-constitutional development of the war, affecting the internal policy of Great Britain alone, was the Representation of the People's act of 1918.

British War Aims

Great Britain based her entry into the World War on the German invasion of Belgium, in all probability because this was the eventuality conditioned in the secret Anglo-French conversations and agreements of the past eight years. If, however, the British government had made this explanation for their joining France in August of 1914, there would have been danger of a good deal of public criticism, and it might have taken a long campaign of education to make the nation understand the subtleties of secret diplomacy. In a flash of genius the British government scarcely hinted at the engagements to France and shifted the emphasis from the invasion of Belgium as a condition of the Anglo-French treaties to the invasion of Belgium as an offense against traditional British policy and a crime against international morality. They found high justification for declaring war upon Germany in the centuries-old British policy that no hostile rival must ever possess the Netherlands, of which Belgium was a part, and in the moral necessity for defending the sacred treaty of 1839 guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, to which both Great Britain and Germany were

parties. There was thus provided a high ethical sanction for the war, without which men cannot fight, capable of supplying the necessary emotional boost to unite the nation in a chivalrous defense of right against might; and at the same time a very wide appeal was made to the consciences of the civilized world against the violators of sacred treaties and the ravishers of little nations.

From the declared reasons for Great Britain's entry into the war, the first statements of British war aims followed inevitably. They were a further appeal to the idealistic and righteous anger already evoked by the violation of Belgium, taking the form of a determined proposal to avenge that violation and to prevent all such acts in the future against not only Belgium, but any other small nation through the destruction of militarism. The best expression of these ideas was given by Mr. Asquith in several speeches in the autumn of 1914. On August 6 he said:

"If I am asked what we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. In the first place, to fulfill a solemn international obligation, an obligation which, if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law but of honor, which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. I say, secondly, we are fighting to vindicate the principle which, in these days when force, material force, sometimes seems to be the dominant influence and factor in the development of mankind, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering Power.

I do not believe that any nation ever entered into a great controversy . . . with a clearer conscience and stronger conviction that it is fighting, not for aggression, not for the maintenance even of its own selfish interest, but that it is fighting in defense of principles the maintenance of which is vital to the civilization of the world. With a full conviction, not only of the wisdom and justice, but of the obligations which lay upon us to challenge this great issue, we are entering into the struggle."

On October 2, 1914, Mr. Asquith spoke again:

"We do not covet any people's territory. We have no desire to impose our rule upon alien populations. The British empire is enough for us. . . . In regard to Germany . . . our policy has been to remove one by one the outstanding causes of possible friction and so to establish a firm basis for cordial relations in the days to come. We still believe here in the sanctity of treaties, that the weak have rights and that the strong have duties, that small nationalities have every bit as good a title as large ones to life and independence, and that freedom for its own sake is as well worth fighting

for today as it ever was in the past. And we look forward . . . to a Europe . . . in which these great simple and venerable truths will be recognized and safeguarded for ever against the recrudescence of the era of blood and iron."

In the Guild Hall speech of November 9, 1914, he declared:

"We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than all she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed."

In 1916 he added "Serbia" after Belgium and defined the last phrase: "We intend to establish the principle that international problems must be handled by free negotiation on equal terms between free peoples, and that this settlement shall no longer be hampered and swayed by the overmastering dictation of a government controlled by a military caste. That is what I mean by the destruction of the military domination of Prussia."

While this last statement of 1916, read in the light of later events, already demanded "security" and reparations, these statements of the war aims of the British government were in general disinterested, vague, and idealistic, and calculated to appeal to neutral opinion, while their reverberating sentences made declarations by the other Allies unnecessary. Beyond these statements the British government refused to go, although pressed to do so by radicals in Parliament, and although the German government had thrown out feelers for peace as early as December, 1915. These were rejected as having no value, as being attempts to open negotiations in which Germany would know how to divide the Allies, as being premature, transparently hypocritical, and futile, that there was no real desire for peace in Germany, that what the German government proposed was Prussian supremacy, a peace imposed on other nations by German supremacy, and all the familiar barrage fire of diplomacy. It is one of the major tragedies of history that public opinion in Great Britain and throughout the world was so lulled by the idealism of Mr. Asquith's utterances that it did not compel the British government to pay serious attention, if not to the peace feelers of the German government, then certainly to other peace movements of 1915 and 1916 initiated by President Wilson

and the Pope. In the early days of 1916 President Wilson went so far as to propose a set of peace terms which were rather favorable to the Allies with the suggestion that if the Germans refused them, he would bring the United States into the war on the Allied side to aid in the defeat of Germany. It has been said that Sir Edward Grey refused Mr. Wilson's offer because he felt certain that the United States would come in on the Allied side sooner or later in any case, or it is possible that he held back because of French fears, or because he knew that Mr. Wilson had not yet made a "firm" offer. Moreover, the peace terms which Mr. Wilson suggested in line with Mr. Asquith's fine public professions were quite opposed to the far less idealistic aims which the Allies had already agreed upon in certain secret treaties, or which were being evolved in Great Britain. These could not be avowed without alienating neutral opinion, especially that of the American people, and they could not be achieved until Germany was signally defeated. A premature revelation of their nature might so stiffen German public opinion in support of the German government that the defeat of Germany might never be possible. What these terms involved had been guessed or discovered by the German government, for in the spring of 1916 the German chancellor declared that the Allies intended to dismember Germany. Although Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey vehemently denied the allegation and declared, "we were never smitten with any such madness," nevertheless at that very moment, no matter what may have been the personal opinions of Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward, they were bound by a treaty signed in September, 1914, between Russia, France, and Great Britain, not to seek a separate peace and to press for those terms which the Allies should agree upon between them. By 1916 the Allies had agreed upon a number of things which were the secrets of the chanceries of the Allied countries and were not known to the world until the Soviet government in Russia published the secret treaties in November, 1917. These secret treaties, the real Allied war programs, involved the partition of Turkey, the disappearance of Austria, and the dismemberment of Germany. The Rhineland was to be separated from Germany and pass into French control, according to one of these treaties, which must have been especially distasteful to the British and was probably never accepted by them; Russia was to have a free hand in drawing Germany's eastern frontiers; Italy, which joined the war in 1915, was to

have large areas of Austria; Turkey in Asia Minor was to be divided among the Allies; and indemnities, the payment by Germany of the Allied war expenditures, were indicated.

In January, 1917, in reply to a new peace note from President Wilson, the British and Allied governments went somewhat beyond the idealistic generalities of the first two years of the war. They said nothing of the dismemberment of Germany, but showed their purpose to weaken Germany through the destruction of her allies, Austria and Turkey, and they indicated that they intended to get indemnities, reparations, and restorations. There was no longer much need to conciliate American opinion, since America was on the verge of joining the war, but nothing was revealed which might unduly stiffen German resistance.

Less criticism attaches to the war aims of the Allied governments inasmuch as they marked rather the tendencies of the times than any particular viciousness on the part of the Entente. The German government never revealed the actual peace terms which it would have imposed upon its enemies if it had won a military victory; but there were enough clamant groups and parties in Germany interested in aggrandizement to make it certain that the actual war aims of the Germans were similar to those of the Allies. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk, imposed by Germany upon Russia, shows this conclusively and indicates only this difference between the Entente and Germany: the Germans were coarser and more brutal and at the same time lacked the finish and imagination of the Allies.

In the case of France and Russia their secret stipulations represented old ambitions, envisaged long before the war began. In the case of Great Britain, which had just attained all the objects of her desire through the arrangements with France, Russia, and Germany between 1904 and 1914, there was no very definite object to achieve when the war opened; and, but for Belgium, British politicians might even have been at a loss to say what they wanted. Yet as the war went on, new circumstances arose, and expression was given to new needs and desires by various groups in Great Britain, the satisfaction of which came to be regarded as essential in any war settlement. Thus British politicians found themselves obliged to accept the attainment of objects not hitherto defined in either Mr. Asquith's Platonesque speeches or in the secret treaties. There was, for example, the matter of extensive new industries which had grown up during the war for making dyes, chemicals,

glassware, electrical apparatus, and other things formerly imported from Germany. Among the owners of works of this sort there came to be a general demand for the extirpation of German business after the war, so that the Germans would be made the beggars of Europe and could never raise their heads again; and this end, it was hoped, might be achieved through a protective tariff for Great Britain, with inter-allied reciprocity perhaps. Then again, in the matter of the annexation of the German colonies, Mr. Asquith was absolutely sincere when, at the beginning of the war, he said that the British empire was "enough for us." Yet the growth of huge fortunes which sought investment in new colonial lands, the conversion of the British navy from coal burning to oil burning ships with the consequent need for large oil fields under British control, and the desire to annex as large areas of raw materials as possible, in order to control them in the face of the world shortage of materials during the war, led to a very real demand in Great Britain for the annexation of the German colonies, even though at the beginning of the war there was a good deal of talk about returning Germany's colonies when the war was over. The important place in the war government of the great capitalists, especially those interested in industry, such as Sir Alfred Mond, Mr. A. H. Illingworth, and Lord Rhonda, and in colonial materials, oil, and shipping, such as Lord Leverhulme, Lord Cowdray, Lord Lee of Farnham, and Lord Inchcape, made it easy for them to impose their views upon the Prime Minister, Lloyd George.

While the war profiteeers were working for protection and imperialism, quite a different development was proceeding among the solid English middle classes. The country gentlemen, professional men, and owners of bonds had borne the heaviest burdens of taxation; they sacrificed their sons more generously than any other classes in England; and with fixed incomes from salaries and dividends they were especially hard hit by the rise in prices. The more intellectual among them began a serious study of the causes of wars and the methods of avoiding wars in the future, and they evolved the idea of an association or league of nations for this purpose. In a democracy like England, they were able to make their views prevail, owing to their extraordinary powers of self-expression and of social pressure; and, before the end of the war, the British government had accepted the notion of a League of Nations.

Upon all these varied programs there was imposed still another, meant to supersede them all whenever it was in conflict with them, but accepted by the British politicians and statesmen in actual fact only in so far as it was not at variance with their other purposes. In contradistinction to the selfish programs of all the warring countries, the Russian revolutionists, in the spring of 1917, issued a program calling for the termination of the war without any conquests, without imposing contributions or indemnities, and with the recognition of the free development of nations. When the United States entered the war, President Wilson, with his power of telling phrases, restated and reshaped these terms with rather definite applications as the Fourteen Points, the American program of war aims. The policy of the government of the United States was to secure the adoption of the Wilson pronouncements as the basis for the general peace; but in the rush of events of October, 1918, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria entered into armistice arrangements with the Allied governments practically without conditions. The Fourteen Points never had any application in law to Bulgaria, Turkey, or Austria, but they were accepted by the Allied governments in relation to Germany. The recognition of the Fourteen Points in the armistice with Germany was due to several factors, among which was a certain amount of preparation for the final surrender in Germany, which had been lacking in the other countries of central Europe. During the spring of 1918 the German Socialists came to the conclusion that Germany must have peace, and that the present German government could never get it except on the Allied terms which they understood pretty clearly. They saw a way out in the idealism of the American position and felt that if they could secure the acceptance by all the Allies of the Fourteen Points as a basis for peace, they might yet save Germany from ruin. Further, since the Allies and the United States would not treat with the existing government of Germany because it was untrustworthy, they must overthrow it. During the spring and summer of 1918 they carried on a campaign in Germany, secretly for the larger part, with these simple propositions; that the Socialist party could get peace at once and get better terms than the imperial government, and that the Fourteen Points were acceptable as the basis for an honorable settlement. When the last German offensive was seen to be a failure, and when the German high command accepted defeat as inevitable (or at any rate decided victory was impossible),

the Socialists overthrew the government of the Hohenzollerns and arranged an armistice on the basis of the Fourteen Points subject to certain qualifications. So it was with a motley array of programs and aims, pledged to Germany and the United States in the matter of the Fourteen Points, pledged to the English capitalists and influential middle classes in the matter of the acquisition of colonies, the restriction of German economic activity, and the League of Nations, pledged to the Allies in the secret treaties, and pledged to the world in the matter of Belgium and Serbia and the destruction of Prussian militarism, that Lloyd George, Arthur J. Balfour, Lord Milner, and Bonar Law from Great Britain, accompanied by Botha and Smuts of South Africa, Borden and Hughes of Canada and Australia, and ten other English and imperial statesmen went to Paris to make the peace in the treaty of Versailles.

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CHAPTER XXX

THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES, 1918-1925

The Governments which controlled Great Britain from 1918 to 1925 were the ministries led by

David Lloyd George (Coalition, largely Conservative), 1918-1922
Andrew Bonar Law (Conservative), October 1922-May 1923
Stanley Baldwin (Conservative), May 1923-January 1924
J. Ramsay MacDonald (Labor), (January-November) 1924
Stanley Baldwin (Conservative), November 1924-

The Treaty of Versailles

The armistice of November 11, 1918 was not an unconditional surrender by the German armies, but was subject to a very solemn contract by which both the German and the Allied and Associated powers were bound. On October 5, 1918, the German government had addressed a note to President Wilson accepting the Fourteen Points and asking for peace negotiations. The President in reply asked whether he was to understand that the German government accepted the terms laid down in the Fourteen Points and subsequent addresses and "that its object in entering into discussion would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application." After further exchange of notes the President announced that "having received the solemn and explicit assurance of the German government that it unreservedly accepts the terms of peace laid down in his address to the Congress of the United States on January 8, 1918 (the Fourteen Points) and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses, and that it is ready to discuss the details of their application," he had communicated the correspondence to the Allied powers "with the suggestion that, if these governments are disposed to effect peace upon the terms and principles indicated," they should proceed to draw up armistice terms of such a nature as would enable them to enforce the details of the peace to which Germany had agreed. In their reply, the Allied governments, "subject to the qualifications which follow, declare their willingness to make peace with

the government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses."

In a brief form the Fourteen Points called for

I. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at. . . .
II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas. . . .
III. The removal as far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance. . . .
IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. . . .
V. A free open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims. . . .
VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory. . . .
The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will. . . .
VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit (her) sovereignty. . . .
VIII. All French territory should be freed, and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.
IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along recognizable lines of nationality.
X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated.
XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured . . . an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.
XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected.
XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In general, there were to be "no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. . . . Self-determination was not a mere phrase. . . . . Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned. The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just, and those to whom we do not wish to be just."

The first Allied qualification related to the freedom of the seas, in regard to which the Allied governments reserved to themselves complete freedom of action. The second qualification referred to the President's declaration "that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and made free." "The Allied governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air."

Relying on the pledge of a treaty of justice based on the Wilsonian principles, the German government accepted the Allied armistice terms on November 11, 1918. They were of such a nature as to render the renewal of war by Germany impossible. They left Germany disarmed before the Allied and Associated powers, with no force to compel them to fulfill the contract into which they had entered except perhaps an appeal to the overworked and exhausted "opinion of mankind." This has since been regretted even by certain Allied publicists, since there were no sanctions but regard for Allied honor and Wilsonian staunchness to induce efforts to adjust the details of the treaty with the principles which all had accepted. On the other hand, solemnly accepted as the Wilsonian principles were by the Allies, certain of them were incompatible with the secret treaties into which the Allied governments had entered with each other at various times during the war. France, for instance, had stipulated for the Saar Valley in addition to Alsace and Lorraine, with the separation from Germany of the rest of the left bank of the Rhine as an independent state under French control. As early as the treaty of 1915 by which Italy came into the war, "contributions," or indemnities in excess of reparations, had formed part of the Allied plans. More serious for the ultimate triumph of the President's ideas was the fact that Great Britain was partner to the secret treaties; and Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, scarcely a month after the armistice, had fought and won a general election, during which he had bound himself to an increase in the severity of the basic terms of the peace to which he had just agreed. Among the most significant of Lloyd George's new pledges was one dealing with reparations.

An election for a new Parliament had been due in 1915, but owing to the war it was postponed from time to time until

December, 1918. In his first election addresses Mr. Lloyd George spoke of a peace of reconciliation and declared that the Allies must not repeat the mistake made by Germany in dealing with France in 1871. When certain loud-mouthed colonials and labor leaders began to demand the hanging of the Kaiser and the payment of the costs of the war by Germany, when Eric Geddes of Mr. Lloyd George's own cabinet declared, amid loud applause, that he would squeeze Germany like a lemon until the pips squeaked, taking all her gold, silver, jewels, libraries, and other property both public and private, and when Lord Northcliffe of the London *Times* threatened Lloyd George for his views, Mr. Lloyd George abandoned his opposition to a peace of revenge and started talking about a peace of prevention, to be achieved by the trial of the Kaiser, the punishment of those responsible for atrocities, and by making Germany pay the whole cost of the war or as much as was humanly possible.

Candidates pledged to Lloyd George received overwhelming majorities, and he went to Paris with a mandate for as heavy an indemnity from Germany as possible. Furthermore, although in the early days of the war there had been a willingness in Great Britain to discuss the return of conquered colonies, this was no longer possible. Some of them had been conquered by the self-governing dominions, which desired to retain them, as, for instance, German South West Africa, which had been taken over by the Union of South Africa. Others of the conquered colonies were of especial value to certain industrial magnates who had come to take an important part in the government, such as Lord Leverhulme, who derived vast supplies of vegetable oil for soap making from Africa and the South Sea Islands. The British Navy had been refitted with oil-burning boilers, and oil-bearing lands were needed to furnish adequate supplies of oil for fuel for the navy. Finally, colonies were also of value as fields for investment for the large surplus capital which certain persons had accumulated during the war. The peace conference at Paris was, therefore, a battle ground between the Wilsonian idealism and the ambitions and requirements of the statesmen and governments of Europe.

The issue was never so clearly joined as this. The Allied statesmen, particularly Lloyd George and Clemenceau, saw the sincerity of the President's convictions and recognized that only by convincing him that their schemes fell within the four corners of his formulae could success be attained. A significant

example of their procedure is found in the settlement of the reparations and indemnity questions. Not only Lloyd George and the British, but all the Allies were anxious to get as large contributions from Germany as possible. But neither the President nor the American delegation would admit more than was implied in the article on reparations as modified in the armistice terms—"the restoration of damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property." Eventually it occurred to General Smuts of the British delegation that a soldier becomes a civilian after his discharge, and that, therefore, a wound which persists after he leaves the army is damage done to a civilian. Hence damage to the civilian population included pensions payable to wounded soldiers. On this argument the President consented to include pensions in the reparation payments. Approximately two-thirds of the indemnity finally assessed on Germany was calculated under this head.

Again there was the matter of the colonies. Outright annexation of the German colonies was prevented by the Fourteen Points. The Allies, therefore, developed the idea of mandates. The conquered colonies became the property of the League of Nations, by which body they were to be turned over by mandates to the trust of the various Allied powers, to be administered by them for the benefit of inhabitants of the area who are not yet able to govern themselves and develop their own resources.

Even among the Allies there were disagreements. Lloyd George and the British statesmen were not entirely in accord with the ambitions of the other Allies, especially of France. After having obtained his own objectives, Lloyd George preferred the moderation of Wilson to the *real-politik* of Clemenceau, who desired to destroy Germany as an important factor in European society by ruining her economic life. Eventually, Lloyd George attempted to call a halt on French policy. In a memorandum presented to the conference on March 25, 1919, Lloyd George rebuked injustice and arrogance displayed in the hour of triumph, he declared himself strongly averse to transferring Germans to foreign rule, he held that the reparations payments (which the French were demanding in even vaster amounts than the British) should be moderated and their payment confined to a single generation, he advised the Allies to do everything to set Germany on her feet again, including the raising of the war time blockade, which still continued, he appealed for disarmament, and urged the admission of Germany into the League of Nations. Clemenceau's reply effectively

silenced the Prime Minister, who later was obliged to defend every article he had condemned in this secret protest to the conference. In effect, Clemenceau said: "You fear Germany's resentment of the injustice we propose to commit in Europe, what of her resentment of the injustice you are going to commit by depriving her of her foreign markets, her colonies, and her fleets? In any case why bother? Germany being incapable of appreciating justice, the Allies are free to be as unjust as they please to her."

By the treaty of Versailles with Germany, and the treaty of Sevres with Turkey, Great Britain acquired, first, the major portion of the German mercantile fleet, of which all vessels over 1600 tons gross were turned over to the Allies with a large portion of other ships under 1600 tons, second, the right to share in huge indemnities, the amount of which was not fixed in the treaty because the American delegation refused the figures which the Allies demanded, and third, certain colonial areas totaling 994,950 square miles.

In Africa were acquired: (1) German East Africa, now called Tanganyika territory, held as a mandate of Great Britain. The various mandates of the British empire were divided between Great Britain and the self-governing dominions. Great Britain is the mandatory unless otherwise noted.

(2) German South West Africa, held as an integral part of the Union of South Africa.

(3) About 33,000 square miles of German Cameroon, added to Nigeria.

(4) Part of German Togoland.

In the Pacific:

(1) German New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the German portions of the Solomon Islands, held as mandates of Australia.

(2) The German islands in the Samoan group, held as a mandate of New Zealand.

(3) The Island of Nauru, held as a mandate of the British empire.

In Asia:

(1) Mesopotamia, including Mosul, part of which has since been erected in a native kingdom of Iraq ruled by King Feisal under British protection.

(2) Palestine.

(3) Certain rights in Asia Minor and in the zone of the Straits, which were later altered as a result of the Turkish

refusal to ratify the treaty of Sevres and its subsequent revision in the treaty of Lausanne.

Political and Economic Developments after the Treaty of Versailles

During the last years of the war Great Britain had been governed by a coalition ministry, made up of Liberals, Laborites, and Conservatives, under premiership of Lloyd George. Lloyd George, theoretically a Liberal, did not control the allegiance of more than a part of the Liberals in the House of Commons, many of whom resented his desertion of Mr. Asquith in 1916. He was not the titular head of the Liberal party, nor did he control the party machinery. On the other hand, the Conservatives, who filled most of the important places in the government, did not have a majority of members in the House of Commons. It was felt desirable by both Lloyd George and the Conservative leaders that their alliance should continue; and, to strengthen their position, a general election was resolved on in December, 1918. Mr. Lloyd George's Manifesto of Six Points, which he issued on December 11,—a somewhat more elegant form of an earlier pronouncement—calling for the trial of the Kaiser, the punishment of those responsible for atrocities, the fullest possible indemnities from Germany, Britain for the British socially and industrially, the rehabilitation of those broken in the war, and a happier country for all, was forced from him by the demagogery of certain of the labor leaders and less moderate Conservatives. Mr. Lloyd George's original agreement with the Conservative chiefs was not concerned with either the Kaiser or reparations, but with the much more realistic problem of protection. The Conservative party had long desired a protective tariff to protect English agriculturalists. They had failed to get it even though they linked it with the idea of imperial preference, because the British manufacturers were wedded to free trade, under which they had won their world superiority, and British workmen were afraid of increases in the cost of their food. During the war certain new industries developed for the production of such things as dyes, magnetos and electrical apparatus, chemicals and chemical apparatus, optical glass, and tungsten and other rare earths used in making very hard steel, all of which had hitherto been purchased largely from Germany. The manufacturers of these products were afraid that they could not meet the competition

of more firmly established German companies after the war without protection in the form of a protective tariff. Moreover, since these industries were "key" industries, that is, essential to the proper production of war materials, since without an assured supply of magnetos, for example, motor lorries could not be produced, there could be little public opposition to the protection of industries so vital to the general safety. Other manufacturers, too, began to be alarmed during the last years of the war at reports of the accumulation of immense supplies of cheap goods in Germany, which German merchants were preparing to dump into England as soon as the war was finished at such low prices as to drive English firms out of business. Just as the makers of key products desired protection, so these agitated manufacturers desired prohibition of dumping. The Conservative party naturally enough espoused the protection of the key industries and the veto on dumping, since they were directly in line with their own program. Before the election Lloyd George came to terms with the Conservative leaders. While still calling himself a believer in free trade in addresses to Liberals, he wrote a letter to Bonar Law, the Conservative chief, qualifying free trade by accepting in principle colonial preference, the protection of key industries, and a veto on dumping. These things could best be accomplished by high tariff duties on imports.

In the election of 1918 Lloyd George and the Conservatives were successful. In the budget of 1919 a beginning of the redemption of Lloyd George's promise was made in the introduction of imperial preference; and, in the summer of 1921, the pledge was completed with the passage of the Safeguarding of Industries act, which placed a duty of 33⅓ per cent on all key products and prohibited dumping. By these measures the principles of protection were at last reëstablished in England, but no progress was made in giving protection to agricultural products and the landed interests, which is what the Conservatives really desired. It is possible that the friction between Lloyd George and the more extreme faction of the Conservative party, which eventually resulted in Lloyd George's resignation, had as part of its origin Lloyd George's refusal to go further along the road of protection, so that they felt that only by breaking their alliance with him and "going it alone" would they accomplish their whole purpose.

During the first two years following the armistice extraordinary prosperity continued in Great Britain. It must be kept

in mind that owing to the war time improvements and enlargements of the British factories, it was possible for British industry to turn out more goods in 1918 than in 1914, and that a continuation of the war time prosperity involved the acquisition of new markets on an extensive scale to take the place of the great Allied government war orders. For a time after the armistice there was a heavy call for goods on the continent by all countries to restock their exhausted supplies. Coal, for example, was in such tremendous demand everywhere that all British coal offered on the continent was snapped up at prices rising to over 100 shillings ($24) per ton. Wages increased more rapidly than the cost of living and even outstripped it between July, 1919, and July, 1920; but it was clear to all thoughtful students that this could not last. There were certain very grave difficulties in the way of the continuance of this postwar prosperity for any long period. Europe was really exhausted by the war, and her exhaustion was increased by the débâcle in Russia and the continuance of the blockade of Germany until June, 1919 in order to ensure a proper degree of starvation to sign the treaty. In the next place an intense economic nationalism appeared in the United States and in the succession states of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, which resulted in enormously higher tariff barriers, such as the Fordney-McCumber tariff in the United States, restricting the entrance of British goods. A third check upon British industry came with deflation, that is, the return, or attempt to return, to the standards of value in prices and wages of 1914. Deflation was not inevitable, but a failure to deflate would have involved the devaluization of the £ sterling—and this British financiers emphatically rejected. "Let us have done with short cuts and bypaths, and bend our energies to return to the old standard. The road may be long and painful, but our fathers have trod it before us and we know the way." Among the industrialists there was very generally a feeling that deflation was desirable for a second reason, that wages were indecently high, and the sooner they were reduced the better. During the course of the war certain classes of labor had secured exceptional advantages, especially the miners and railway workers. They had increased their wages so sharply as to be able to adopt much higher standards of living; when prices and wages fell, should wages of these workers be lowered by so much as to reduce them to their previous standards, or should the new standard be accepted as permanent in fixing the new wages?

These workers were in a remarkably strong position to maintain the latter contention, since they were not only completely unionized, but their unions had joined with the Transport Workers' union to form a Triple Alliance which might tie up all British industry, should it call a general strike of all its members. To protect their gains the railway men tried in 1919 to force the government to recognize a standard scale of wages for the same grade of work on all British railways, so that it might not be possible for wages to be reduced piecemeal on various systems in different parts of England. Their strike did not win this recognition, nor did two miners' strikes in 1920 and 1921 win a similar recognition for the miners; but in the case of railway workers at least they gained the acceptance of a standard of living above that prevailing in 1914, and in 1921 the national standard was secured for them in the Transportation act of that year. Apart from the lowering of consumption caused by the great strikes which followed attempts to reduce wages, and the general stoppage of industry caused by the coal strike of 1921, a more important reaction of deflation was the lessened demand for goods by workers because of their reduced purchasing power. Prices fell but as usual their fall lagged behind that of wages; wages no longer commanded as much groceries and other commodities as during the war.

For these reasons then, the exhaustion of Europe, especially the débâcle in Russia and Germany, the intense mercantilism of the United States and the succession states, and the postwar deflation of wages, the demand for British products was not so heavy as to keep British factories working to capacity.

In the late summer of 1920 the cumulative effect of these factors began to be felt; and, when Europe ceased purchasing to replenish her normal stocks, unprecedented unemployment began, averaging about one and one-half million men out of work, or from 12 to 15 per cent of all employed. Such a condition earlier, in the nineteenth century, would not have been so alarming, but the fact that every man who had a residence had a vote, and his wife too, under the Representation of the People's act of 1918, made it a vital necessity for politicians to consider their case.

The government was not altogether unprepared for the emergency. In 1918 it provided a scheme for out-of-work donations for discharged soldiers and war workers, and in 1920 it extended the unemployment insurance to include all manual

workers and all non-manual workers earning less than £250 a year, except agricultural workers and domestic servants. There was thus available the machinery for dealing with the problem of unemployment, and between the armistice and the spring of 1924 the government distributed nearly £400 million in various ways among the unemployed, while the local authorities expended about £135 million more.

Generous as the government was, self-respecting workingmen wanted to work and did not care to live on doles. Fundamental in the problem was, of course, the overdevelopment and overperfection of Britain's industrial plant during the war, so that six-sevenths of the workers could turn out more than enough goods to maintain Britain's national life, balance the budget, pay £1,000,000 a day interest on the war debt, support one-seventh of the workers in idleness, and provide large sums for capital investment abroad. What the workers saw, as they studied the problem, was that there were extraordinary possibilities in the renewal of trade between Great Britain and Germany and Russia, which might so increase the demand for British goods that all the workers would be employed. British trade in Russia had fallen to nothing, and German imports from Great Britain had fallen off by 62 per cent when reduced to values of 1913; so the workers felt that the rehabilitation of these countries would afford the necessary new markets to get British industry running full time.

Moreover, it was discovered that the reparations problem was reacting upon Germany in such a way as to give German manufacturers certain advantages in the markets of the world in competition with British manufacturers, and thus there was added to the working class desire to get Germany and Russia on their feet again the desire of the manufacturers to settle the question of reparations from Germany in a sense quite different from that suggested after the armistice. In this wise both workingmen and manufacturers entered the field of foreign policy and demanded the revision of the treaty of Versailles, a demand which Lloyd George took it upon himself to satisfy.

The Foreign Policy of Lloyd George after the Treaty of Versailles

Lloyd George's secret memorandum of March 25, 1919, and certain revelations of Monsieur Tardieu in the French Chamber

of Deputies, giving the draft of the treaty terms as first proposed by the English and American delegates at Versailles, make it clear that Lloyd George and the British Foreign Office were not in entire approval of the severity of the terms forced on Germany. The leniency which the British desired to show Germany was in all probability related to the knowledge that Germany was Great Britain's best customer on the continent of Europe, and the permanent disability of one's best customer was to be avoided. Although Lloyd George was compelled to accept the treaty of Versailles as finally drawn up, a study of his activities in foreign affairs shows that he immediately adopted a policy of breaking down the treaty, while at the same time keeping the friendship and alliance of France. His method was to push France "as far as he could, but not as far as he wanted," and then come home "to acclaim the settlement provisionally reached, and destined to be changed a month later, as an expression of complete accord between himself and his French colleague, as a nearly perfect embodiment of wisdom and as a settlement which Germany would be well advised to accept as final, adding about every third time that if she did not he would support the invasion of her territory." These threats of armed invasion he later characterized as "bluff."

Since no sum had been fixed in the treaty of Versailles which Germany was obliged to pay under the various categories of reparations, the first task of Allied statesmen was to agree on the amount. Eventually, after a number of ephemerally important conferences at San Remo, Hythe, Boulogne, Brussels, Spa, Brussels, Paris, and London (April, 1920-May, 1921) between Lloyd George and the various French premiers, after five threats to invade unoccupied Germany and two invasions, the German government was forced in 1921 to acknowledge a total obligation of 132 billion gold marks. Such money as she had already paid was to be credited to this sum after the costs of the armies of occupation and the expenses of the various Allied commissions in Germany had been deducted. Since these charges were almost equal to what had been paid, Germany was still responsible for nearly the entire amount. Of this sum, however, only 50 billion gold marks was to be put in process of being paid off at once. Germany was to pay two billion gold marks a year plus 26 per cent of the value of all her exports. Only when this annual payment, through the increase of exports, rose to such a sum that it more than paid the interest and part of the principal of the first 50 billion marks, should

the remaining 82 billion marks begin to be considered. Although the German government protested that the figures were beyond its ability, they mark an advance over the 300 billion gold marks spoken of by the French amidst the post-armistice infatuation of the peace conference.

While some of the payments were to be made in coal, wood, and materials, the major portion had to be made in gold or gold securities. In order to meet the payments in gold, the German government, having no gold of its own and being unable to borrow any, was forced to print and sell in the world's money markets billions of paper marks. The immediate result of the vast increase in the number of paper marks in circulation was the fall of the value of the paper mark from approximately two and one-half cents in 1919 to one-third of a cent in the spring of 1922, and 20 cents a trillion in January, 1924. The value of the mark did not fall as fast in its purchasing power in Germany as it did on the world's gold markets, that is, German prices did not rise as rapidly in terms of marks as the mark fell in terms of the gold dollar or the pound sterling. The mark still had three times the purchasing power inside Germany that it had outside the country. Consequently wages, which have some relation to prices, rose less rapidly in terms of paper marks than the fall of the value of the mark in the world's exchanges; and German wages translated in gold dollars or pounds sterling declined with every fall in the German exchange. Since wages entered into manufacturing costs in an important way, the result was that German goods, especially when made of native raw materials, could be sold in all the markets of the world at much lower prices than those of British production.

The British producers soon realized that, while the treaty of Versailles had lost them their best European customer, the reparations settlement and payments had created with Germany a competition so terrific that British workmen could not meet it and still maintain the British standard of living. While more than a million men were out of work in Great Britain, there were practically no unemployed in Germany, though, of course, those who were employed got almost nothing in terms of dollars for their work and were living under coolie conditions. Labor leaders especially recognized that the return of prosperity, while conditioned by the general poverty of Europe which could not buy, was also affected by German competition, which excluded British goods from many world markets. Unless British labor was to resume work on the same wretched terms

as the German laborer, a settlement of the reparations questions must come.

Lloyd George of course definitely recognized the situation. The French government, however, was reluctant to discuss any change in the settlement of 1921. France was much less dependent upon foreign trade for her prosperity than Great Britain. She grew nearly all her own food and found her markets for her manufactures among her own people. German distress was a matter of little consequence in its reactions on French prosperity, and its continuance was highly desirable for the purpose of preventing a revival of German power. The French policy, therefore, was to maintain the most severe reparations terms in order that under their influence Germany might not again become strong, while eventual default by Germany would give a pretext for the extension of French occupation on the Rhine and even the destruction of the unity of the German Empire. What Clemenceau had demanded as the only genuine security for France and had been prevented from achieving by the stubborn refusal of President Wilson, would be accomplished "by a detour."

It may be noted in passing that the majority of the French people were convinced that Germany was endeavoring to evade the payment of the reparations necessary to restore the devastated regions of France, and that there was the greatest danger of future aggression upon France by Germany. They felt that the policy of their government in insisting upon the fullest indemnities and security for the future was just and right. Yet in the stand of the French government there was another factor. The association of French steel magnates, the Comité des Forges, backed by the Parisian banks which were influential in French government circles, wished to secure control of the coking coal of the Ruhr Valley to supplement the rewon iron ores of Lorraine. The Ruhr Valley and Lorraine were essentially an economic unit and could be worked most efficiently under unitary control. This was recognized in both Germany and France, and after 1919 the big business men in both countries discussed such a union under joint participation. Since the German magnates refused to surrender their peculiar advantages and send the major portion of the Ruhr coal to the Lorraine blast furnaces, nothing was accomplished. From the official British publications of some of the proceedings of one of the London conferences in December, 1922, it is known that Herr Stinnes, the German coal magnate, made an offer to

consult with Poincaré personally concerning a reciprocal exchange of Ruhr coal for Lorraine ore, which Poincaré refused. Later M. Eugene Schneider, the head of the French iron combination, stated that France must own the Ruhr mines outright, so as to be forever independent of German capitalists for coal. An important part of French policy, in other words, was to unite the French ore fields and the German coal mines under single French control, so as to be in a position to dominate the steel trade of Europe. As long as the treaty of Versailles was unchanged, its unfulfilled terms might be used to further this policy.

Lloyd George, however, was determined to change the treaty. After the preliminary conferences at Cannes and Boulogne, early in 1922, he finally succeeded in inducing the French government to agree to a general European congress at Genoa in the spring of 1922, at which, for the first time since the war, the delegates of Germany were to be admitted on equal terms. In order to secure this much, Lloyd George, trusting perhaps in his own brilliant powers of persuasion once he had men in his presence, made the fatal concession that the reparations question was not to be discussed. Since the French consistently refused to permit any departure from this agreement, the Genoa conference was a failure so far as the modification of the German reparations were concerned. In August, 1922, Germany informed the Allies that she could not make further payments of gold and requested a moratorium. A conference was held in London to discuss the problem anew. The utmost that Lloyd George could do in the face of the obstinacy of Poincaré, who insisted upon a full program of "productive guarantees" including the invasion of the Ruhr, was to refer the matter to the Reparations Commission. The Commission put off the day of decision by agreeing on a suspension for six months of the money payments due for the last five months of 1922. Meantime the mark continued to fall to about 4000 to the dollar in December, 1922, and the rehabilitation of business in Germany and Europe seemed further off than ever.

Another problem was also discussed in the spring and summer of 1922. Before the war, Russia played an important part in Great Britain's economic life, supplying grain, oil, flax, timber, and other raw materials and absorbing large quantities of British manufactured goods and capital. The Russian market had been closed to Great Britain even more completely than the German market. The Soviet system was a challenge to the

existing capitalist organization of society, and many leading men in Great Britain genuinely feared the spread of Bolshevik ideas to Great Britain. There was, therefore, no thought of resuming business with Russia until its old social and industrial order was restored. To aid this process an influential group in Great Britain, headed by Winston Churchill in the cabinet, sanctioned the expenditure of government money to the amount, it is alleged, of about £100,000,000 in aid to Denikin, Wrangle, and Judenich in their efforts to restore the Czarist government. Churchill and his friends were prevented from carrying Great Britain openly to the side of the Poles in their war against Russia in 1920, only by the action of the Triple Alliance of the miners, railway, and transport workers in threatening a general strike. Lloyd George went along with Churchill, but seems never to have been in deep sympathy with his policy. When the impossibility of destroying the Soviet government was rather clearly demonstrated, Lloyd George readily consented to enter into negotiations with Leonid Krassin, the representative of the Soviet government, for a trade agreement, which was actually signed March 16, 1921. Although commercial relations were restored, trade did not flow as freely as was desired.

The rank and file of British labor displayed the greatest sympathy with Russia without desiring to introduce the Soviet system into England. Their keen sympathy was connected with their recognition that with the fullest possible opening of the Russian market a considerable amount of British goods could be sold there, and that the most complete resumption of trade with Russia, which they so needed to aid in the return of prosperity, could come only with the complete reëstablishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia. Lloyd George shared this feeling. The Soviet government was invited to send delegates to Genoa and the recognition of the Soviet Russian government was discussed not only at Genoa, but in an adjourned session of the Genoa conference which met at the Hague in the early summer of 1922. Failure resulted ostensibly from the refusal of the Soviet government to recognize the heavy debts of the former Czarist government and to restore private property to European firms, together with the demand for a large loan to help get Russia on her feet again. Another factor was the rivalry between the British and French oil companies for the control of the rich Russian oil fields of the Baku region, which led the Russians to set

their terms too high and refuse the promises demanded by the Allies. Or it may be, as Chicherin, the Russian foreign minister, declared, that "one of the principal reasons why we did not consent to enter into the agreement proposed by Lloyd George at Genoa was the fact that we would not have been in a position to fulfill the obligation imposed by that agreement. We never undertake obligations which we cannot fulfill."

The End of the Georgian Government and the Attempt to Revive Protection

The failure of the Genoa and Hague conferences and of the London meeting for a moratorium for Germany in August, 1922, proved the bankruptcy of the Georgian diplomacy. Although a brave show of successes was made by Lloyd George at the end of the conferences, he had not succeeded in settling the problem of reparations or in securing the recognition of Soviet Russia. Brilliant personal fencing with Chicherin and Poincaré did not restore prosperity; and, as the economic distress continued, Lloyd George was more and more blamed for it by the rank and file of workers and manufacturers. On the other hand, a movement to break up the coalition, which had already manifested itself in the spring of 1922 among the extreme Conservatives, continued to develop. In view of the approaching expiration of the aid to agriculture provided by the Corn Production act of 1917, the extreme Conservatives were demanding that Lloyd George introduce a government measure giving protection to agriculture through an import duty on wheat. When he refused on the ground that he had given all the protection he had promised in 1918, a strong agitation was started in the late summer of 1922 under the leadership of Lord Salisbury, backed by the *Morning Post*, to vote for a dissolution of the coalition at the next meeting of the Conservative party. This movement was decidedly strengthened by events in Asia Minor and Lloyd George's mistakes in his Turkish policy in the early autumn of 1922, which will be described below; and, when the Conservative party met in London on October 19, 1922, a motion was carried to withdraw the party from the coalition with Lloyd George.

Mr. Lloyd George at once resigned and advised the King to choose Bonar Law as Prime Minister. Parliament was dissolved soon afterward, a new election was held November 15, 1922, and the Conservative party returned to the control of the

government with a majority of over 100 in the House of Commons. Mr. Lloyd George and his supporters carried only 47 seats. In the new Conservative government, Andrew Bonar Law held the office of Prime Minister until May 19, 1923, when ill health compelled his retirement. He was succeeded by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, a leading steel manufacturer, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Bonar Law's cabinet. Mr. Baldwin was not the ablest man in the Conservative party, but the most eminent politicians, such as Robert Horne, Lord Birkenhead, and Austen Chamberlain, were not in good standing because of their desire to continue the coalition with Lloyd George, and Lord Curzon scarcely escaped censure because he had just "surrendered" in the matter of Ireland. The men who took control or at least held the casting vote among the Conservatives were the extremists or the "Die Hards." Led by Sir George Younger, Lord Derby, and Lord Salisbury, these men desired a return to the eighteenth century in politics and in economics, a reversal of the decision of 1846. They purposed to undo the repeal of the Corn Laws and reconsider the Parliament act of 1911, which took the veto power from the House of Lords.

The Conservative government announced that it intended to follow a policy of transfiguration and tranquillity. Transfiguration consisted in a return to normal peace time conditions, with economy, especially in the matter of refusing to commit the government to aid in the building of workingmen's houses, and the removal of war time restrictions on increased rents of houses. Tranquillity was a pious wish as long as the question of the relations of England, France, and Germany were not definitely settled. Since the London conference of August, 1922, an entirely new element entered into the reparations question. French officials had hitherto been on the defensive against Lloyd George's attempts to alter the reparations settlement, and whenever further invasion of Germany, especially of the Ruhr, was broached by them, Lloyd George opposed. Circumstances now put Poincaré into a position to take the aggressive against Germany without danger of British resistance. The first of these circumstances was that the "Die Hard" Conservatives saw eye to eye with France in foreign affairs, with the possible point of difference that they expected France to repay her debts to Great Britain. They did not understand Lloyd George's policy in attempting to revise the treaty of Versailles and were willing to see France suppress Germany still further.

The second circumstance is to be found in certain developments in Turkey.

In order to recognize the true inwardness of the situation, the close relation between the British government under both Lloyd George and Bonar Law and the British oil interests must first be considered. This was noticed in the division of the Turkish Empire and in Lord Curzon's treaty with Persia in 1919, where the chief factors were the oil fields of Mosul and the Persian Gulf area and their exploitation by the Shell Transport, the Royal Dutch, the Burma, and the Anglo-Persian oil companies, in the latter of which some of the stock was owned by the British government. The same connection between the British Foreign Office and the oil companies showed itself at the Genoa conference in the British attempt to squeeze out the small French and Belgian firms from the Baku region in the interests of the British companies. The treaty of Sevres, which gave the Mosul region of Turkey to Great Britain, could not be carried out, because the Turkish nationalists under Mustapha Kemal resisted it by force of arms. Late in August, 1922, the Turks destroyed the Greek army in Asia Minor, on the ninth of September they entered Smyrna, and shortly afterward they started northward to cross the Straits of Dardanelles and occupy Eastern Thrace and Constantinople. They had been supported by French arms and money in their war on the Greeks, who were suspected of having been British pawns, and they now were supported most firmly by Poincaré in the strong position which they adopted toward Great Britain. Lloyd George, in his alarm for the "freedom of the Dardanelles" and the safety of the British position at Chanek, which dominated the Straits, talked of another holy war. This was prevented, through French mediation, at the price of yielding the almost immediate possession of Constantinople and Eastern Thrace, hitherto in Greek hands, to the Nationalist Turks.

As a result of the Turkish victories a peace conference assembled at Lausanne to consider the revision of the Sevres treaty. During the first weeks of the conference the French consistently supported Turkish claims, the attainment of which would have been the end of British hegemony in the Near East. The real prize was Mosul. Lord Curzon emphatically denied that the oil deposits of Mosul were the important consideration. He himself once rebuked "those who thought that England was interested in Mosul because of its oil riches" and explained that he insisted on Mosul solely because its inhabitants were vir-

tually unanimous in demanding British rule. When the Turks incidentally proposed a plebiscite, he refused, suggesting that the question be referred to the League of Nations. In the middle of November accounts began to come from Lausanne of a lessening interest of the French in the Turks, and persistent rumors began to circulate as early as the first week in December that the French had renounced their protection of Turkey in return for freedom of action in Germany, that France had traded the oil of Mosul for the coal of the Ruhr. Although there is much yet to be explained, there is nothing to prove that, in general, developments were not along this line. In December, 1922, France was ready to proceed. The Reparations Commission declared Germany in default for being short some thousands of telegraph poles, coal, and other items in the deliveries for 1922; and on January 11, 1923, the French troops, supported by Belgian detachments, invaded the Ruhr Valley.

The French government justified its action on paragraphs 17 and 18 in annex 2 to the reparations chapter of the treaty of Versailles, which provided that in case of default, declared by the Reparations Commission, the measures taken against Germany "may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and, in general, such other measures as the respective governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances." It was generally thought that such action was to be collective action on the part of all the Allies, but on the basis of the word "respective" France based her claim to act with Belgium apart from her other Allies. In the opinion of many international lawyers, this was illegal, considering the whole spirit of the treaty and certain assurances given to the Germans in a covering letter, before they signed the treaty. Moreover, it was held by lawyers that even if France were justified in independent action, whatever action was taken should have been economic and financial in its nature, and that any further military occupation of German territory was contrary to the treaty. The French government itself had some such suspicion, for it announced to neutral governments that its forces in the Ruhr would consist of engineers and technical experts for economic purposes, supported merely by small forces of soldiers. The supporting troops were in fact a very large army.

The French action aroused popular opposition in England among all parties, but the Prime Minister, while deprecating the invasion, asserted a benevolent neutrality on the part of Great Britain, and soon afterwards practically ratified the

French move by turning over to the French officials control over the Düsseldorf-Aix line of railroad in the British zone, a necessary link in the French communications. The attitude of the government was contrary to British business interests and to all her traditions of foreign policy. The national temper was shown in spirited debates in Parliament, in the defeat of three government ministers in by-elections, and in the demands of good Conservative papers, such as the *Spectator* and the *Times,* for some action on the part of the government to get the French out of the Ruhr. To quiet the popular clamor in Great Britain that the British government should put pressure upon the French to leave the Ruhr, Mr. Baldwin and Lord Curzon, his foreign secretary, did a little solemn typewriting during the summer of 1923, which satisfied the manufacturers and working classes, even though, when read carefully, the British notes were meaningless and were obviously intended for home consumption.

The Conservative government's acquiescence in the chaos of the continent which the French invasion of the Ruhr threatened to bring about was all the more complete because they themselves had a different solution of the problem of setting England to work at full time, which took no account of Germany or Russia. This Conservative solution had the additional virtues of satisfying the Conservative landlords' desire for protection, and fulfilling the Conservative imperialists' hopes for a stronger empire. It was a revamped version of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's plan of Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform and was first broached by Mr. Baldwin in a speech early in October, 1923 before the Imperial Conference, which was then opening its sessions in London. He urged closer trade relations between the colonies and the mother country, the transmigration of Britain's excess unemployed population to the colonies, and the creation of an economic unity within the empire, the colonies coöperating in the supply of raw materials, and Great Britain, in the provision of manufactured goods. All this was to be accomplished by means of a high protective tariff and imperial preferences.

Even before he left office in 1922, Lloyd George realized that sooner or later a drive would be made for a protective tariff in Great Britain, and somehow or other he induced his friend and successor Bonar Law to promise that the Conservative government would not attempt to enact a protective tariff without submitting the question to the country. Mr. Baldwin

considered himself bound by that promise, and in December, 1923, Parliament was dissolved, and the question of a protective tariff was submitted to the people of the country in a general election. When the returns were in, it was found that the people of the country had decisively rejected the protective tariff, without, however, giving a majority to any party. The Conservatives carried 257 seats in the new House of Commons, but the opponents of protection carried 350 seats. These were divided between the Labor party, which held 192 seats, and the Liberal party, which held 158 seats. When Parliament met early in 1924, the Conservative government was voted out of office by the Labor and Liberal parties, and the Labor party came into office at the sufferance of the Liberals.

One solid achievement stood to the credit of the Conservative government, the settlement of the terms of payment of the British war debt to the United Sstates. Ever since the refusal of President Wilson to consider the British proposals for the cancellation of the debt, British statesmen reiterated that Great Britain would pay in full; but no arrangements were made for paying, and each year the interest was "deferred," that is, not paid and added to the principal. The total indebtedness came to four billion six hundred million dollars ($4,600,000,000) principal and deferred interest. As soon as the Conservative government was well established, in the fall of 1922 Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer, came to the United States to negotiate with the American Commission. An agreement was drawn up, which was ratified by the Congress in February, 1923, providing that British bonds for the whole amount, to mature progressively through a period of 62 years, should be issued to the United States government. In the first ten years interest was to be paid at 3 per cent, and during the rest of the time at 3½ per cent. For the first five years one-half the interest might be deferred and added to the principal.

The Peace of Locarno

With the decisive rejection of protection by the British public in the election of 1923, there was left as the only solution of the problem of industrial depression the rehabilitation of Germany and Russia. The new Labor government was headed by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, who also assumed the office of foreign secretary, in view of his extraordinary knowledge of foreign policy. He was firmly convinced that full prosperity

could be restored to Great Britain only through the establishment of peaceful conditions in Europe. In his efforts in this direction he was aided by the fact that the French adventure into the Ruhr proved so costly that Poincaré finally fell from power in France and the new premier, M. Herriot, was willing to abandon Poincaré's policy of seeking to ruin Germany more completely in favor of a policy of better relations between France and Germany. Herriot was more pacific partly from conviction and partly from the fact that while the Ruhr was occupied Germany paid absolutely nothing. The French government needed money very badly to balance its budget and to prevent further declines in the value of the franc. Taking advantage of certain conversations already initiated by the Baldwin government looking toward a settlement of the German reparations problem, Mr. MacDonald finally succeeded in securing the acceptance by France and Germany of an investigation into Germany's capacity to pay by a commission of financial experts, of which Mr. Charles Dawes of the United States was a member. The report of this commission, largely written by Sir Josiah Stamp and Mr. Owen D. Young, but often called the Dawes report, was formally accepted by Great Britain, France, and Germany in the summer of 1924. The first steps were thus taken in the rehabilitation of Germany and the reconciliation of Europe. The German mark, for example, had been restored to par as the rentenmark by the Germans themselves early in 1924, but it still lacked a gold basis. This was now provided under the Dawes plan, the rentenmark became the gold mark, and its stability was guaranteed. At the same time the French and the British were assured of the greatest reparations payments which Germany could make without danger of disorganizing her own economic life or the economic life of Europe. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald looked upon the Dawes report, however, not as a final accomplishment, but merely as a preliminary measure in a movement for the revision of the treaty of Versailles, which he considered as an insurmountable obstacle to European peace.

Russia, no less than Germany, however, had to be brought back into the circle of European life as Mr. MacDonald saw the situation. While the Russians were eager to come to an understanding with Great Britain, they had their own terms, and no real agreement between the British and Russians was possible. Mr. MacDonald did succeed, however, in making a treaty which provided for the recognition of the Russian gov-

ernment by Great Britain without entering into details, which were reserved for later discussion.

Mr. MacDonald's ministry did not have a majority in the House of Commons, but held office at the sufferance of the Liberals. The Liberals became somewhat dissatisfied with Mr. MacDonald's domestic policies, especially his great program of housing reform; and, when he began negotiations with the Soviet Russian government, they grew openly rebellious. This decided Mr. MacDonald to appeal to the people of the country in a general election for a clear majority. During the election which followed in the end of 1924, the fear of Russian communism was aroused by the publication of a letter which was reputed to have come from Gregory Zinoviev of the Soviet Russian government, calling upon British communists to rise against the government. So strong was the resentment in England that Mr. MacDonald was voted out of office for his guilt in negotiating with Russia, and the Conservatives, headed by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, returned to control with a heavy majority. The Liberal party practically disappeared.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who accepted the office of foreign secretary in the new cabinet, abandoned Mr. MacDonald's Russian policy, but continued his German policy. Acting on a suggestion thrown out by the German foreign secretary, Herr Stresemann, for a tripartite pact between Germany, France, and Great Britain, Mr. Chamberlain succeeded in arranging a treaty late in 1925 at Locarno, by which Germany pledged herself never to attack France and to rely on arbitration in her efforts to change her eastern frontiers, and Great Britain assumed a guarantee of Germany's good faith by pledging herself to aid France if she were attacked by Germany. It was thus possible for France to give up her fears of an attack from Germany in her efforts to revise the settlements of the treaty of Versailles, and the way was paved for the final exorcism of the spirit of hostility in Europe, which had not been quieted, but rather increased by the treaty of Versailles. As a symbol of the final reconciliation of Germany with France and Great Britain and the readmission of Germany to more nearly full standing in the family of European nations, certain concessions were made to her in the matter of the Allied occupation of her territory, and she was promised a seat in the council of the League of Nations, which she received in September, 1926. Unfortunately neither Mr. Chamberlain nor M. Briand of France had the courage or wisdom to admit the iniquity of

certain clauses of the treaty of Versailles which had kept Europe an armed camp from 1919 to 1925; and in spite of the reconciliation of Locarno these clauses still remain to poison European international relations.

Meanwhile, the unemployment situation in Great Britain, while somewhat abated, continued serious, and even at the end of 1925 there were still about one and one-half million men out of work in the country At the same time the peaceful development of European life in the future gives promise of a restoration of prosperity, which will gradually provide markets for greater amounts of British goods and finally bring British industry back to working full time and full capacity

There has been one serious setback to the revival of prosperity in the long and bitter coal miners' strike of 1926. In the summer of 1925 the mine operators declared that they could not continue to maintain the present rates of wages and hours except at a loss. They, therefore, announced that the national wage agreement signed in 1924 would terminate on July 31, 1925. To prevent industrial warfare, the government extended a subsidy of £10,000,000 to the coal industry to enable the present wage scales to be maintained for nine months and, at the same time, created a Royal Commission to investigate the whole matter and to seek means by which coal might be mined profitably without reducing wages. In March, 1926, the Royal Commission presented its report, recommending the transfer to government ownership of private mineral rights as the first step in a general reorganization of the industry. During the period of reorganization existing wages probably could not be maintained, but reductions in pay were preferable to increased hours of labor. Several weeks after the presentation of the report, negotiations were resumed between the miners and the operators. The owners yielded the national scale almost at once, but insisted upon wage reductions.

On April 15, in view of the failure to agree, the operators gave fifteen days' notice of the termination of existing contracts. The miners resented this notice as the threat of a lockout, and a miners' strike loomed nearer. On April 27, Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, intervened in the negotiations, but he could not effect an agreement, since the owners insisted upon an eight hour day (in place of seven) and upon 13⅓ per cent reduction in the minimum wage. On May 1 the operators declared a lockout, and the miners, a strike. During the past year the miners had succeeded in bringing

about a strong alliance for mutual assistance among the mining, railroad, transport, engineering, and shipbuilding trades; and their Secretary, Mr. A. J. Cook, reputed to be a communist, was nothing loath to use the weapon of a general strike in many essential industries to force the hand of the operators and the government.

On May 1, the day on which the miners' strike began, the miners' executive handed over the conduct of the dispute to the General Council of Trade Union Congress, and a memorandum was issued calling for a general strike of all workers connected with transport in case a settlement had not been reached by Monday, May 3. Negotiations between the General Council and the Prime Minister continued, and on Sunday evening, May 2, it seemed as though some basis of understanding which the General Council could recommend to the miners had been reached. At about eleven o'clock at night, when negotiations were almost complete, the cabinet learned that some union pressmen in the *Daily Mail* office had gone on an unauthorized strike to prevent the appearance of an obnoxious editorial, headed "For King and Country," in which the statement was made that no civilized government could permit a general strike. Mr. Baldwin declared that this "made me realize that I had got to a point where it was impossible for the government, or for me to persuade the government, to pursue these negotiations any further." When a representative of the General Council reached the cabinet room, the lights were out and the door was locked.

There is a certain amount of hearsay evidence that Mr. Baldwin's hand was forced by the "Die Hards" in the cabinet, who decided "to have it out with Labor," and, thinking the strike in the *Daily Mail* office was the beginning of the general strike, they forced Mr. Baldwin to end negotiations. At midnight on May 3 England was for the first time in the throes of a general strike involving all essential services. Labor was especially militant in 1925 and early in 1926, and the left wing of the labor group had been itching for some time past for a chance to try the effect of mass withdrawal from work as a means of coercing society. The right wing leaders, represented by Mr. MacDonald, who staked all on political action, were violently hostile to the general strike, because it was diametrically opposed to their whole philosophy, and they worked incessantly to bring it to an end. On May 12 the General Council announced the termination of the general strike, in

order to permit the resumption of negotiations between the miners, the government, and the operators on the basis of a memorandum which the General Council accepted. The miners, however, rejected the memorandum, because it envisaged a reduction of wages. The miners' strike continued for months, at an estimated cost to the country of many million pounds a day in lost business and decreased production.

At length in November, 1926, the strike ended. For months past the miners, beaten by starvation, had been drifting back to work on the owners' terms. Faced by the exhaustion of all their funds and the danger of the complete disintegration of the Miners' Union, the leaders eventually authorized the resumption of district negotiations with the owners. This decision was virtually an abject surrender to the owners in every particular, involving district, rather than national, agreements, longer hours and lower wages throughout the industry.

SUGGESTED BOOKS FOR CHAPTER XXX

THE PEACE CONGRESS.

R. S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and the World Settlement.*

B. M. Baruch, *The Making of the Reparations and Economic Sections of the Treaty.*

C. H. Haskins and R. M. Lord, *Some Problems of the Peace Conference.*

E. M. House, *What Really Happened at Paris.*

A. Tardieu, *The Truth about the Treaty.*

H. V. W. Temperley (Ed.), *A History of the Peace Conference at Paris.*

J. M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace.*

ENGLISH HISTORY SINCE 1918.

A. L. Bowley, *The Division of the Product of Industry.*
Has Poverty Diminished?
Wages and Prices in the United Kingdom 1914-1920.

J. J. Clarke, *The Housing Problem.*

G. H. D. Cole, *The World of Labor.*

Encyclopædia Britannica, Supplementary Volumes.

C. F. G. Masterman, *England after the War.*

W. A. Orton, *Labour in Transition.*

Painted Windows; Studies in Religious Personality, by a Gentleman with a Duster.

G. Stone, *The English Coal Industry.*
A History of Labour.

R. H. Tawney, *The British Labor Movement.*

A. S. Turberville and F. A. Howe, *Great Britain in the Latest Age.*

For annual records of events and statistics see

The Annual Register.

The Statesmen's Year Book.

A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs,* 1920-1923, and later years.

Whitaker's Almanac.

CHAPTER XXXI

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The British empire, as it has developed from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, is a complex of colonies with many different sorts of government and many varieties of legal relationships to Great Britain. The most important of all the colonies are the self-governing dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and the self-governing colony of Newfoundland, which are to all intents and purposes independent, subject only to the British king, who is represented locally by a governor general, who has about as much power in the country as the king has at home. In each one of these colonies the real control lies in the hands of a Prime Minister and a cabinet, who remain in office as long as they have control of a majority of the lower house of the legislature. Below the dominions stand those colonies with a large white population and a large colored population, in which modified self-government is given to the white inhabitants. Legislation is in the hands of the colonists, but administration is in the hands of officials sent out from England. The Bahamas, British Guiana, and various islands of the West Indies are in this group. After them come the crown colonies, which are under direct control from home, ruled by a governor sent out from England, who is subject to the British secretary of state for the colonies. He may be assisted by a local assembly, but is in no way bound by it. Such colonies are Ceylon, Sierra Leone, and all colonies with a large colored and small white population. These colonies are absolutely under the control of the home government.

In many of the more recently acquired lands, already densely populated and endowed with elaborate native systems of law and government, the native system has remained intact, but is brought under British control through the appointment of commissioners or residents, whose advice must be followed by the native governments. In Uganda, for example, the native king remains with a British staff under him. Such colonies are protectorates. In spheres of influence the territory is not

annexed, and the native government is entirely unimpaired, but foreign governments are estopped and restrictions are laid upon foreign activity, as, for example, in the case of southern Persia and western Siam. Finally, since the war, a new sort of colony has come into existence in the mandate, in which Great Britain is merely the trustee for the natives under the direction of the League of Nations.

Entirely outside the colonial system, which is managed through the secretary of state for the colonies with supreme judicial authority in the hands of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, stands the Empire of India, by far the largest and most populous part of the British empire. The British king is emperor in India. Over seven hundred little states in India with a population of 70,000,000 still retain their own native governments, subject to allegiance to the emperor and also to the advice of a British resident who is stationed at their courts. The greater portion of India with a population of 250,000,000 is ruled directly by Great Britain. The emperor-king is represented in India by a viceroy responsible to the secretary of state for India, who is a member of the cabinet. The secretary of state for India is assisted by an undersecretary, in whose hands the greatest share of power lies, and by a council of ten, a certain number of whom must have lived in India for a term of years.

In the days just before and since the war, there has been a good deal of discussion about the cohesive strength of the British empire. Such discussions invariably refer to the bond, not between Great Britain and the empire as a whole, but between Great Britain and the self-governing dominions in particular. During the period of the 1880's there was a great deal of sentiment that a closer tie between the dominions and the mother country should be developed, which would be stronger than sentiment, tradition, and the bond of allegiance to the same king. Some in England wanted to increase the power of the central government or to create a federation with a single imperial Parliament, but neither plan was successful, and the only alternative was coöperation in the settlement of common problems. Coöperation was furthered through the dispatch of agents-general from the colonies to London, beginning with Canada in 1879, and by the calling of Imperial Conferences, the first of which was held on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887. One of the matters brought up in this conference was colonial defense; the British government

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1927

British Empire

All islands named are British

ARCTIC OCEAN
Barents Sea
EUROPE
ASIA
Cyprus
Malta
Sea
PALESTINE
IRAK
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
TIBET
CHINA
Wei-hai-wei
PACIFIC
EGYPT
ARABIA
Delhi
INDIA
Hongkong
OCEAN
Khorya Morya
Socotra
Laccadive Is.
Maldive Is.
Andaman Is.
Ceylon
Nicobar Is.
SIAM
Singapore
Borneo
Gilbert Is.
Nauru
Ellice Is.
Solomon Is.
New Guinea
Retumah
Louisiade Arch.
Fiji Is.
Seychelles
Zanzibar
Mahe
Amirantes
Providence
Aldabra
Chagos Archip.
Diego Garcia
Cocos or Keeling Is.
Christmas I.
Cargados
Rodriguez
Mauritius
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
Norfolk I.
Lord Howe I.
Sydney
Melbourne
Tasmania
New Zealand
Johannesburg
Kerguelen
Bounty I.
Antipodes
Auckland I.
Macquarrie I.
Campbell I.

desired that the colonies should take up their share of the burden. Canada was cold, but Australia voted £126,000 a year to provide for the maintenance of a squadron. Other conferences were held in 1894, 1897, and 1902, but always as an obstacle to closer coöperation was the unwillingness of the dominions to participate in maintaining the British navy or British military forces as long as these were under the supreme control of British authorities or on any other terms. From 1894 onward the idea of some sort of imperial customs union took form. The dominions all had high protective tariffs against all importations, even British; and, while they rejected the idea of interimperial free trade in 1902, they showed their willingness to extend special privileges to the mother country by lowering their rates in her favor, Canada in 1897, New Zealand and South Africa in 1903, and Australia in 1908. Through his policy of Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform Joseph Chamberlain tried to establish the imperial tariff union in another way, by introducing a high tariff into England with preferential rates to the colonies. Although he failed to carry his program in the general election of 1906, something was done nevertheless to give the colonies certain material advantages from their membership in the empire. The Colonial Stock act of 1900 made colonial government bonds trustee stock in Great Britain, thus reducing rates at which the colonial governments could borrow by about one per cent, probably saving £10,000,000 a year to the colonies. Preferential treatment was also given in British income tax regulations to income from money invested in the colonies and enjoyed in England.

In 1907 the Imperial Conference took a further step. It called a Conference to meet every four years in the future, and it established a permanent secretariat in the Colonial Office in London to deal with problems between sessions. While the idea of imperial federation still lived on, coöperation assumed really practical importance from 1907-1914. General Botha of South Africa declared in 1911, "It is coöperation and always better coöperation that we want." The most important development of this sort was the organization of an empire general staff in 1912, with a number of independent but closely related sections, each under the control of its own dominion government. Even yet the colonies refused to make contributions to maintain the British forces, but they adopted military training and began the construction of dominion navies under dominion control, which might be placed at the disposal of the

empire in case of war. In return the dominions were given places in the Committee of Imperial Defense as full members. Coöperation did not, however, proceed beyond these measures of defense. In high politics the dominions had no part. Although they were bound by treaties made by Great Britain, they had no representation in the British Foreign Office and no voice in shaping foreign policy. As early as 1911, in the Imperial Conference of that year, they demanded participation in foreign policy; and Sir Edward Grey, in a long exposition of foreign policy before the Conference agreed that negotiations leading to the next Hague Conference should be presented to the dominions. In the end, however, the Conference passed a very timid and mild resolution that "treaties generally as far as possible and when time and opportunity and subject matter permit are to be presented for consultation."

Then came the war, with its heavy contributions in men and money by the colonies to the British cause. From this followed Lloyd George's invitation in the spring of 1917 to the colonial premiers to attend the sessions of the Imperial War Conference or Cabinet which met on alternate days with the British War Cabinet. After the armistice the right of the dominions to be represented in making the treaty of peace was admitted through the appointment of dominion representatives to the peace conference, and the bonds of the empire were strengthened by assigning various conquered German colonies to the dominions as mandates. At the same time, preferential tariff rates were given in 1919 to the dominions in the case of duties imposed for revenue and in case of the McKenna duties.

In the face of the tremendous sentiment of imperial loyalty engendered by the war, the unimaginable bonds created by the Canadian dead at Ypres and the Anzacs at Gallipoli, and the gesture of equality represented by the Imperial War Cabinet, a very influential group in England led by Lionel Curtis, editor of the *Round Table*, a magazine devoted to imperial affairs, began a whirlwind campaign to create a federation of the dominions with Great Britain into a superstate. But various groups in England and in the dominions had caught a new spirit of nationalism which was abroad in the world and would have none of federation. Labor both in England and in the dominions, moreover, feared the superstate idea because with every new governing power the liberties of the individual were less secure; and, while a well organized local

group might be able to oust a bad government in England or Canada, could any opposition parties ever secure enough coöperation and organization over the wide sweep of the empire to oust a government of the superstate once it got itself established? The winds of nationalism were blowing too strong for the federal idea; and out of the agitation came not a federation, but what has been called a partnership of equal nations forming the British commonwealth. Before this process can be traced, it is necessary to examine the matter of nationalism as it affected the dominions and other parts of the empire during the war.

One of the most pregnant forces of nineteenth century European history was romantic nationalism. Based on an ill-informed anthropology, a primitive social polity, and a now discredited economics, its creed was that language was the test of race, that race was the criterion of nationhood, and that mercantilist self-sufficiency within the nation was the true standard of independence. All men speaking the same language were of one race and ought to form one nation; and, by corollary, all men in the nation must be compelled to speak the same language; and all ought to help each other to make a living by buying from each other at the highest possible prices, to insure which a high protective tariff was a useful device. Although the idea had lost its passionate appeal in western Europe in the twentieth century, since most Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians had been brought together in their own nations, it survived in eastern Europe. From Poland to Serbia it lived an active life and still fired the imaginations of poets, office-seeking politicians, and common folk. During the war this doctrine of nationalism based on race, that is language, with very little attention to those more important modern components of true nationalism, economic interests and geographical contiguity, was infused with a new vigor. Mr. Asquith's talk of the rights of small nations and the notion of self-determination by a group speaking the same language, which was soon developed in Allied countries as a check upon German plans of annexation, were followed by a campaign of propaganda in central Europe to stir the national sentiments there to a new life. Afraid of the possibilities of Mittel-Europa, a great politico-economic organization of Central Europe from Germany to Turkey, which German publicists preached before and during the war, British policy sought to destroy the possibility of such a combination through appealing to the old

national aspirations of the constituent peoples of Austria-Hungary. Regardless of their economic advantages which resulted from something like free trade and uniform government over a very large area, the Czechs, the Slavs, the Poles, the Rumanians, and other constituent peoples of Austria-Hungary responded to the stimulus and set up independent succession states, as in the case of Czecho-Slovakia, or joined with their "kinsmen" across their borders, as in the case of the Rumanians. In every case they immediately built high tariff walls around themselves against each other's goods, against Austrian goods, and incidentally against British goods with disastrous consequences for British trade and industry.

Unfortunately for the solidity of the British empire, the nationalist propaganda designed to prevent German aggression, to dissolve Austria-Hungary, and to justify the end of Turkey also, spread far beyond the confines of the continent of Europe. It was taken literally by various subject peoples of the British empire, especially after President Wilson accepted the idea of self-determination; and they used the arguments of the right of people of one race to be a nation with telling effect at home and before the world. Among these subject peoples four were particularly important, the Irish, the Egyptians, the Indians, and the South African Dutch. Their first notions of national independence antedated the war by many years, but their nationalist causes were greatly strengthened by the encouragement given by Allied propagandists to similar movements in Europe, and were now based upon an ideology taken right out of the mouths of their British masters. These four nationalists movements within the British empire reached their climax during the last years of the war and the first years of the peace, and resulted in far-reaching changes.

Ireland

In Ireland the nationalist movement extends beyond the limits of recent history; and the development of the Irish question down to the beginning of the war, when the Liberal Home Rule act was placed on the statute book, on condition that it remain in a state of suspension for the duration of the war, has already been discussed.

After the war started events in Ireland moved rapidly. Mr. Redmond at the head of the Nationalist party and in control of the Nationalist volunteers returned to Ireland to recruit soldiers for the British armies. In the course of his speeches

he declared that Ireland must be defended in France and Belgium, but the Irish, already beginning to be afraid that the enactment of the Home Rule act with the suspension of its application until the end of the war was only a blind, asked whether they had not been trained to fight for Home Rule, and, since they had not yet got it, had they not better stay in Ireland? Moreover, Lord Kitchener made a great blunder in not allowing local feeling in Ireland a chance in regimentation. On September 30, 1914, John MacNeill and six other leaders of the volunteers broke away from Redmond, followed by 10,000 men and 1400 rifles, but the majority of 160,000 Nationalist volunteers stayed with Mr. Redmond.

In 1915 came the formation of the coalition government containing such men as Balfour and Carson, whose very names were synonymous with hate in Ireland, and this was followed by the threat of the application of conscription to Ireland, since almost no recruits volunteered throughout Nationalist Ireland. The Nationalist volunteers gradually deserted Mr. Redmond and joined the force which John MacNeill controlled, in which Padraic Pearse, a young poet, had risen to importance. This force was now known as the Irish volunteers, and its leaders, many of whom were now avowedly members of the Sinn Fein party, began to come to an understanding with Larkin and Connolly, the Irish labor leaders who led the Irish Citizen Army. The labor element was very much alarmed over the threats of the police and the British military authorities to seize their newspaper, the *Workers' Republic,* and Liberty Hall, their headquarters, which they guarded night and day; and hence they were willing to merge with the other anti-British force in Dublin. In the complete bankruptcy of the Irish Nationalist cause, the ideas which permeated the fusion were those of Sinn Fein.

With the union of the two armies the idea of establishing a Sinn Fein republic by force took form, Sinn Fein having by now completely shed its earlier pacifism. The British authorities were alive to the situation and sought to provide a remedy by reviving the prosecutions for the use of Gaelic and by deporting or imprisoning all the Sinn Fein leaders. By April, 1916, 500 of the known Sinn Fein leaders were in jail, and the government had plans for the arrest and deportation of all the rest. To prevent the extinction of their movement in so inglorious a way, the leaders still at large resolved upon an armed revolution and joined an old Fenian survival of the

1860's, the secret Irish Republican Brotherhood, perhaps to add to their cause old rebels of an earlier age. Their determination was made more resolute by the eagerness of British officers in Dublin "to have a whack at the Sinn Feiners" and their open boasts that they would rather shoot the Sinn Feiners than the Germans.

The date of the rebellion was fixed by the circulation of stolen secret documents which showed the plans of the British government, by the failure of a German ship, the *Aud*, to land arms, and by the simultaneous order for the arrest of all Sinn Fein leaders on April 22. Not fully prepared, the Irish chiefs felt that they must strike at once or leave their movement leaderless and unarmed. In Easter week, 1916, beginning Monday, the world was startled by the news that the Sinn Feiners had proclaimed the Irish Republic in Dublin with Padraic Pearse as president, and had revolted against the British empire. Although only 3,000 men took part in the revolt, the majority having withdrawn at the last moment at the direction of John MacNeill who was convinced of the foolhardiness of the appeal to arms, they held Dublin for nearly a week before they surrendered. In a moment of more than usual inapprehensiveness, the authorities in London permitted Sir John Maxwell, who was in command of the British forces in Ireland, to execute Pearse and Connolly and thirteen other rebels immediately, and one other, named Roger Casement, later on charge of treason. The execution of Connolly particularly enraged the Irish folk, because, while so wounded that he could not stand, he was propped up in a chair before the firing squad. With all her other martyrs Ireland had no need of sixteen new political saints; and this example of British vindictiveness, together with Sir John's policy of frightfulness to get Sinn Fein arms, spread the Sinn Fein cause like wildfire through the length and breadth of Ireland outside of Ulster.

To save the situation, the British government and John Redmond called an Irish convention in which all Irishmen were to meet to arrange some kind of common agreement. This convention sat from May, 1917 to April, 1918; but, directly after it was concluded, any good which might have come out of it was undone by the appearance in Great Britain of a measure to extend conscription to Ireland. This ended Mr. Redmond's influence entirely. The remaining Nationalists joined the Sinn Feiners. The British government yielded on the matter of conscription and tried to appeal to Irish sense of British fair

play. Ireland was placarded with posters asking the Irish people whether they supposed that they would be treated worse than the Czecho-Slovaks if the Allies won the war. As soon as the war was won and the Czecho-Slovaks had attained their independence, the Sinn Fein party acted on the implied promise of the placards. They set up an Irish government of their own; and, in the election of 1918, they entered candidates pledged not to go to Westminster, but to form a Parliament in Ireland. They captured 71 per cent of the Irish seats, established an Irish legislature, set up Irish courts, and proceeded to treat the British government in Ireland as though it did not exist. In later elections they captured the overwhelming proportion of the local government boards in the counties and rural districts and the municipal governments also.

Although the British remained in Dublin, the really effective government in Ireland was the Sinn Fein establishment. The Irish Parliament never met twice in the same place, and a large proportion of the so-called members were in English prisons, but it met, and its laws were obeyed. The Irish courts were always on the go before the British police, but they rendered justice and their decrees were enforced. As the months after the armistice went on, marked by the growing perfection of the Sinn Fein system, which even had a president, Mr. Eamonn de Valera, who came and went to America at his pleasure to raise loans for the new Irish republic, an enormous number of British soldiers was poured into Ireland to cope with this new form of insurrectionary movement. By May of 1920 there were 80,000 troops in Ireland; and, in retaliation for the atrocities committed against the British soldiers and police by Irish bands, the British forces carried on a punitive warfare against the Irish, which took the form of the burning of creameries, the shooting of cows, and the execution of many innocent Irishmen. The British government also proposed a new Home Rule bill, providing for separate home rule governments in the six Protestant counties of Ulster and in Dublin; and, although Northern Ireland accepted this measure, which was passed into law in 1921, and is governed under its provisions, southern Ireland pretended that the government was much more eager to repeal the law of 1914 than to pass a new law and scorned the whole matter.

As the disorders grew in seriousness, and the reprisals became more drastic, the British government was subjected to bitter criticism at home from the Labor party and from Lord

Robert Cecil. At the same time the Irish made a continuation of British government in Ireland almost impossible by burning down a magnificent public building in Dublin, known as the Four Courts, together with all the detailed income tax records and other official documents necessary to a modern government which were deposited there. Deprived of these records, the British government practically ceased to function in Ireland, and very soon Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, began making gestures of peace. On June 22, 1921, in the speech at the opening of the Ulster Parliament, the King referred to his desire to see the end of civil war in Ireland. Two days later Lloyd George invited De Valera to come to London to discuss a settlement, and the first conference was held on July 14. After months of negotiations, in December, 1921, a treaty was negotiated between Sinn Fein and the British government by which Ireland subject to Sinn Fein was recognized as a Free State in the British empire, subject to the British king, with the same status as the Dominion of Canada with certain exceptions made necessary by considerations of imperial defense. Northern Ireland might join the Free State if she so desired; if not, the boundary between Northern Ireland and the Free State was to be determined later, as was done in 1925.

De Valera objected from the start to the retention of the British king, and demanded absolute independence; and with the negotiation of the treaty and the formal creation of the Free State government over his head, he led part of the Sinn Fein army into rebellion. For many months a three-cornered fight in Ireland continued, the Free State against Ulster to force Ulster to join the Free State, and De Valera at the head of the Irish Republicans against both. During the course of the struggle nearly all the Irish leaders of the Sinn Fein period were either killed or executed. Mr. Arthur Griffith, the first president of the Irish Free State (as the president of the executive council of ministers or the Prime Minister is known in Ireland), died of influenza resulting in all probability from a dose of poison. Michael Collins, the military leader who organized the Sinn Fein army to resist the British from 1919 to 1921, was killed from ambush; Erskine Childers, credited with being the real directing genius of Sinn Fein, who joined the Republican cause with De Valera, was executed, together with eighty other outstanding figures on the Republican side.

The Free State government is consequently a government of inexperienced men with only a few older men in it, such as

IRELAND
1927
Londonderry
LONDONDERRY
ANTRIM
NORTHERN
IRELAND
TYRONE
Belfast
FERMANAGH
ARMAGH
DOWN
FREE STATE
SAORSTAT EIREANN
IRISH
Dublin
Philipstown
R. Liffey
Galway
River Shannon
Wicklow
Arklow
Limerick
Tipperary
Waterford
Killarney
Cork
Cobh
(Queenstown)

John MacNeill and William Cosgrave, the president, but it has shown surprising ability in maintaining itself. Its military budget is extremely large, but it has almost stamped out republicanism. While it does not parade loyalty to Great Britain as part of its policy in Ireland, it has been true to the Free State treaty and has shown no intention of seeking further independence. It has practiced a rigorous tyranny in domestic affairs, such as no British government would ever have dreamed of enforcing, as, for instance, a most stringent censorship against sex plays, and the absolute prohibition of divorce. It has also taken in hand the revival of Irish economic life, and to that end has already embarked upon an immense hydro-electric construction on the river Shannon at the cost of £5,000,000. The real test of its success will be its ability to solve Ireland's problem of prosperity by whatever method that is to be done.

India

India properly speaking is not a nation by any of the applied tests, having divergent economic interests in different regions, different races, religions, and languages. On the other hand, there has developed through India a common hatred and sense of antagonism to English government and western civilization, which have in some measure supplied a common bond to the scores of different races in India. This feeling first developed among the high caste Hindus of Bengal and was in part the outcome of a mistaken educational policy of the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time the Indian government introduced university education into India on the English model, which turned out Indian gentlemen or Babus with much the same training for public life and outlook on life as public school and university trained Englishmen, holding that their careers were in government offices and jobs. Yet they were not admitted to government positions, except in minor capacities. Out of 2400 officers in the Indian government carrying more than £800 a year salary only 70 were held by native Indians. Having no outlet for their talents in government service, they began to dream in terms of a native Indian nation, with Indian art, music, and literature. In 1885 they formed an Indian National Congress, which has met every year since to spread their ideas. Ironically enough, as the delegates assembled, they found that the only language in which they could understand each other to denounce Great Britain was English, but they

were not humorists and cared little. They denounced English rule in terms of the "Drain," the drawing of treasure from India to pay interest on British investments, and of the exchange rate, which they held Great Britain manipulated against them for her own interests; but they made no really extensive appeal until Lord Curzon came to India as viceroy and proclaimed the partition of the province of Bengal into two separate districts in 1905. This touched the patriotism of Bengal and led to a more general acceptance of the Indian nationalist movement throughout that vast province. The movement now expressed itself in widespread assassinations of British officials, and in *dacoities* or organized lootings; and to quiet things Lord Morley, the secretary of state for India, widely trusted for his positivist views, and Lord Minto, a new viceroy in India, prepared a new constitution under the name of the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. This set of regulations provided for two native Indian members of the secretary of state's council in England, and one native member of the viceroy's council in India, with a larger proportion of native Indian members in the central and provincial legislative councils in India. It was always possible, however, for the viceroy to secure the acceptance of any measure by the council and the legislature, because a majority of members were "official" members, that is, officials in the government appointed by the viceroy.

A second root of the nationalist movement in India was the renascent Mohammedan church. For centuries the Mohammedans and Hindus had lived in antagonism in India, but as the twentieth century went on, the Mohammedans and Hindus came closer together, particularly when the British supported French aggression in Morocco, sanctioned the Italian conquest in Tripoli, joined in the partition of Persia, and were parties to the pressure on Turkey. These were all Mohammedan countries, and Indian Mohammedans began to resent the successive subjection of their coreligionists throughout Africa, Europe, and Asia. They disliked western Christian civilization equally with the Hindus, and, in 1916, the Mohammedan assembly, the Moslem League, joined the National Congress to demand home rule for India. That there was point in specific grievances, such as, for instance, the Indian protest against discrimination against Indians in other British colonies which were refusing to permit Indian immigration, is proved by the fact that Lord Hardinge, the viceroy from 1910-1916, himself protested on this particular point; and that India was ready for greater freedom

is likewise proved by Lord Hardinge's advocacy of further changes. But in 1916 the government was afraid of agitation and clapped the leaders into prison. Yet it felt that something must be conceded, in view of the magnificent war gift of £100,000,000 from the Indian government to the British nation, and in consideration of the million and more Indian soldiers and bearers who fought in the war. In consequence, on August 20, 1917, Lord Curzon, representing the War Cabinet, announced through the Indian secretary, Montagu, "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire," but that "the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament." In spite of this promise, disaffection was more extensive than ever in 1918 and, most portentous of all, this spread to the Punjab, hitherto the most loyal of all the Indian provinces.

During the war the British officer in control of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, had been too zealous in getting subscriptions to war loans and too eager to get recruits for the Indian army. Moreover, a number of new government irrigation canals had been completed, and the farmers were compelled to use them, even though they preferred their own wells; and, naturally, they complained of the high water rents. The result was that by early 1919 the Punjab was as restless as Bengal; and to suppress outbreaks a series of acts, called the Rowlatt acts, ending public meetings, muzzling the press, and endowing the government with arbitrary powers, was passed through the Indian legislative council in defiance of all Indian members. In May a series of disorders took place in the city of Amritsar, the religious capital of the Sikhs, one of the religious groups of the Punjab. Several banks were looted, and their managers killed, some important buildings were burned, and a medical missionary, Dr. Sherwood, was beaten nearly to death. The deputy commissioner in charge of Amritsar called in General Dyer, the military commander of the district, who adopted very severe and unfortunate methods of punishment.

Agitation against the Rowlatt acts and protests against General Dyer became universal. They took the form of passive resistance or *Satyagraha*, which was led by the Mahatma Gandhi, one of the most remarkable figures of the twentieth century. The National Congress was due to meet at Amritsar on December 27, 1919. The British government was frankly worried

over the situation. The King released many political suspects during the Congress and suspended some of the provisions of the Press Law, and the ministry drew up in legislative form the reforms which had been promised in 1917, so as to meet the Indian National Congress with a liberal program. The Government of India act or the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, as the measure is called, provided a new system of government for India. In every province a "dyarchy" was set up, with "reserved" and "transferred" subjects. The reserved subjects were under the control of the British governor and his council of four, of whom two were Indians nominated by the governor, and the transferred subjects were handed over to a ministry responsible to a legislature, of whom not more than 20 per cent might be appointed by the governor and not less than 70 per cent elected on a rather narrow franchise. The transferred subjects were education and sanitation, but the land revenue was a reserved subject. The governor decided on the allocation of funds to different departments. In the central government the viceroy was to be assisted by two Chambers of the Council of State so composed that the governor could always control them, and by a legislative assembly of 140 members, 100 of whom were to be elected and 40 appointed. The viceroy might override the assembly and pass any law he saw fit. In matters of the budget, the viceroy and assembly were recommended to agree, and the secretary of state at home was not to set aside their views. After 10 years a commission was to report on the working of the system and to make recommendations for further extensions.

The Congress and the Moslem League pronounced the reforms inadequate, but agreed to accept them on trial; but before they were put into operation in 1920 new dissatisfaction spread through the country. The Mohammedans were outraged by the treaty of Sevres, which the Allies imposed on Turkey; and the Hindus openly expressed their sympathy with them over British treatment of the Khalif, the head of the Mohammedan church, who happened to be Sultan of Turkey. Then came the Hunter report on the subject of General Dyer in the Punjab, which dropped him, but did not condemn his policy sufficiently to please Indians. Almost as bad were the debates on the subject in the British Parliament, which were in agreement with the language of the report. Shortly afterward another report was published by a commission, presided over by Lord Esher, on the subject of the Indian army. While it

favored reforms in the interests of the Indians, it also recommended that in the future the Indian army should be removed from the control of the constitutional authorities in India and transferred to the British general staff.

The feeling of dissatisfaction against British rule now crystallized in a movement of non-coöperation led by Gandhi, the "Messiah of India." Desirous of ending British rule in India, he realized that it could not be done by violence. If, however, every Indian refused to coöperate in any way with the British authorities, British rule would be impossible almost overnight. But he saw that non-coöperation with British authorities could never be practicable as long as Indians used the apparatus of western civilization, such as telegraphs, railroads, electricity. Indians had no technical knowledge to run their railroads, electric light plants, telephone systems, and as long as these continued in India the British engineer and with him British control would continue. He urged a solution through the abandonment of these things; "western civilization has corrupted you, cast it out," was his plea. To be completely independent, moreover, they must re-create their own primitive industries, especially spinning and weaving cotton, and they must cease to import British cotton cloth. This part of his program put him in closest kinship with the neo-mercantilist nationalists of Europe and was especially dangerous for British industry.

The non-coöperative movement spread like wildfire; its exponents threatened to hamstring the new governmental system through boycotting the councils and assemblies, so that there would be no candidates and no voters. In spite of them the new system was set going, enough candidates appearing to establish the new institutions. Non-coöperation inevitably led to violence, and in 1922 the government tried to end it by putting Gandhi into prison, whence he was released in 1924 by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald during his premiership. Realizing the failure of the policy of non-coöperation, a new group of Indian leaders led by Mr. C. R. Das, formed the Swaraj party, nominally with the consent of Gandhi. Its aim is the same as that of Mr. Gandhi, to drive the British out of India, but its method is to capture the political machinery set up by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and wreck the constitution from within. After considerable success on the part of the Swarajists in 1923-1924, Mr. Gandhi has formally accepted their methods as more certain of results, and non-coöperation has been abandoned, except in the matter of refusing to wear foreign cloth.

With the death of Das and the loss of influence by Ghandi, the Indian situation is quieter for the time being. The Indians have not lessened their desire for self-government and independence, but are seeking it through the control of the majority of the seats which they now hold in the new legislatures and by inducing the British government to extend the powers of the native elements in the Indian government.

Egypt

Egypt, it will be recalled, was placed under the control of a commission of French and British bankers in 1879, and three years later, after a nationalist revolt led by Arabi Pasha, it came into British occupation. Though nominally subject to the Sultan of Turkey as it had been for centuries past, Egypt in reality became part of the British empire. British control was accepted by the French in 1904 in the Entente Cordiale and given more proper legal form in 1914 when the anomalous legal situation was ended by declaring Egypt independent of Turkey and under British protection. The nationalist movement led by Arabi Pasha had, however, never been thoroughly stamped out. In the years before the war its chief supporters were the Turkish Egyptian pashas, the old official class of Turkish origin, who wanted to oust the British so that their own reign of brigandage and corruption might be restored. They were joined by an ever growing intelligentsia from among the Egyptian middle classes. With the increase of wealth and leisure, in large part made possible by good government under Lord Cromer, the British adviser for a quarter of a century after the occupation, there was a remarkable progress in education, not in technical sciences, but in the Mohammedan cultural studies taught in the universities like that of El Azhar in Cairo, which had 405 professors and 9749 students. Among these intellectuals there was a remarkable independence of spirit, which was fostered by the renascent Mohammedan movement already noticed in connection with India. There was also a desire for a chance to advance themselves in government offices at the expense of the lower classes.

During the war new elements were added to the discontented groups. Egypt is preëminently a cotton growing country. The war time demand for cotton sent prices up from a normal £3 to £4 a hundredweight to £20 to £30 a hundredweight and raised the price of land to £500 an acre. The landlords and

the freeholders were very prosperous. On the other hand, the tenant farmers, who form the larger number of the occupiers, merely paid higher rents and, owing to the higher prices of the war period, were worse off than before. There were the greatest contrasts between wealth and poverty and widespread demands on the part of the poor for the ending of gross inequality, for a revision of the land laws, for public health regulations, for elementary education, and municipal government. While it was perfectly clear to an outsider that none of these things made the slightest appeal to the landowning pashas, who would control any nationalist government in Egypt, and that the money necessary for some of these things could only be raised through tax reform, which was impossible as long as certain treaty restrictions on Egyptian sovereignty, called capitulations, were in force, nevertheless all the discontent focused itself in a cry of Egypt for the Egyptians and a demand for the ending of the British Protectorate. The Allied treatment of Turkey and the movement for Arab independence on the other side of the Red Sea, which resulted in the establishment of an independent kingdom of Hedjaz during the war, had reactions in Egypt, and on November 13, 1918, Saad Zaghloul Pasha, leader of the Nationalists, proclaimed Egyptian independence.

The year 1919 was marked by serious outbreaks against the British authorities, the arrest of Zaghloul, the use of machine guns to quell riots, the dispatch of Field Marshal Allenby to quiet the people, and the appointment of a commission headed by Lord Milner to investigate the situation. Lord Milner, imperialist though he was, recommended that Egypt be granted independence. Although his report was shelved, in 1922 a treaty was made between Great Britain and the Egyptian government in which Egyptian independence was acknowledged, subject, however, to British control of the Suez Canal, and the presence of a British army in Egypt to safeguard imperial communications. The British government also declared that it intended to retain its rights in the Sudan, which, though once Egyptian territory, had been lost by Egypt in the revolt of the Mahdi in 1885 and administered, since its reconquest by an Anglo-Egyptian force in 1898, as joint territory. The Nile, upon which the life of Egypt depends, flows for hundreds of miles through the Sudan, and the divergence of its water for irrigation in the Sudan might seriously affect Egyptian agriculture. The formation of a British company to grow cotton

in the Sudan on a vast scale seemed to the Egyptians to give point to their fears and they have demanded the control of the Sudan as essential to their national life. They have likewise resented the presence of a British army in their country, holding that their independence is a sham as long as it remains.

It must be admitted that the retention of the Sudan by Great Britain and the maintenance of a British army in Egypt to guard the canal are genuine limitations upon Egyptian independence, and establish real British control over Egypt. The fact seems to be that in addition to guarding the canal, the British government is determined not to surrender completely the control of a country where hundreds of millions of pounds of British capital have been invested in the past half-century. It is clearly recognized everywhere that Egyptian prosperity, upon which the safety of British investments rests, is bound up with agriculture, and agriculture in Egypt is a problem of engineering. The native Egyptians did not show themselves very much interested in engineering in the nineteenth century, when they allowed so costly a work as the barrage on the Nile north of Cairo, built by the French, to go to ruin within 20 years after it was built. The British have built vastly more important works in the dams and barrages at Assuan, Assuit, and Esneh, which can be maintained only by constant technical supervision. While there were tens of thousands of students in the universities in Egypt taking cultural studies, only 253 students were taking engineering courses. Consequently the technical experts to supervise Egypt's engineering works and to extend them must come in considerable measure from Europe, and cannot at present be provided by Egypt. To make sure that Europeans and especially Englishmen are employed, so that the British investments will not be lost through lack of care, but also with a thought of protecting the Egyptian people themselves from their own lack of interest and skill, it has seemed desirable that British influence in Egypt should not be entirely ended.

South Africa

The situation in South Africa grows directly out of the Boer war and the suppression of the independence of the Boer Republics which followed. While many of the most alert Boers accepted the new situation and proceeded to use the Union of South Africa, which was created in 1910, to extend their own influence over the whole of South Africa within the British

empire instead of limiting it to Transvaal or Orange River, others refused to accept the settlement as final. Thus after the act of Union General Louis Botha and General Jan Smuts, who fought on the Boer side during the war, organized the South African party, a Boer party extending all over South Africa, and through this party they secured control of the government of the Union in opposition to the English or Unionist party. On the other hand, General De Wet never accepted the loss of Boer independence; and, after the outbreak of the World War, he led a rebellion against the British empire, which was suppressed in six months. Another old Boer general, General Hertzog, who was originally a member of the South African party and a member of Botha's cabinet in the Union, developed the view in the years just before the war that South Africa came first in Boer sentiment, and that South Africa need not necessarily be at war when the empire was at war. Although this was an academic question in 1912 when Hertzog raised it, he was removed from the cabinet and founded a new political party, the Nationalist party.

During the course of the war there was much discontent in South Africa. The sale of the wool clip to the government in 1917, while 55 per cent above the 1913-1914 price, was below that of 1916, and below the prices in the open market. Since those who sold in the open market could get no transportation, the greatest discontent spread among the Dutch wool ranchers. Hertzog, who had remained neutral during the rebellion of De Wet, now appealed to the discontented Dutch with his Nationalist party. In 1918 Hertzog adopted the Wilsonian and Allied statements and declarations about self-determination and, basing his case on them, went to Europe to ask the peace conference for the freedom of the Transvaal and the Orange River State. In reply to him General Smuts, now Prime Minister of the Union, backed by a coalition of the South African party and the Unionists, declared that, as a result of the representation of the dominion delegates at Paris, "we have received a position of absolute equality and freedom not only among the other states of the empire, but among the other nations of the world." "The doctrine that Parliament was the sovereign legislature for the empire no longer held good." "As a result of the conference in Paris, the dominions in the future would in regard to foreign affairs deal through their own representatives. The dominions of the empire would in the future, therefore, stand on a basis of absolute equality."

Hertzog at once took up the gage that Smuts threw down. If these statements were true, South Africa was even free to leave the empire; and Hertzog, abandoning independence for the Transvaal and Orange River State, began to demand the separation of all of South Africa from the empire. This was the real issue in a series of election contests between Smuts and Hertzog; and, as Hertzog gradually moderated the immediacy of the event of separation and insisted only on the right of separation, his cause grew stronger. Already in the election of 1919 his Nationalist party had the largest number of seats in the legislature held by any single party, but he was kept from office five years longer by a coalition, and later a merger, of the Unionists and South African parties. In 1924, by uniting with the South African Labor party, he won control of the legislature and became Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. While he has pushed separation as an immediate issue into the background, he still maintains the right of the Union to secede if it pleases, and there is no one to say him nay.

The Reactions of Colonial Nationalism upon the British Empire

The nationalist spirit in the empire has expressed itself in less open political forms in Canada and Australia; but even here words were used in the treaty debates very much like those of General Smuts, and the new dominion tariffs are much less favorable to Great Britain than their previous tariffs have been. The relations between Great Britain and her crown colonies and spheres of influence, on the other hand, are not affected. These colonies are as firmly under British control as ever. The net political outcome of the whole nationalist movement, precipitated by the South African and Irish situations, has been a weakening of British control in India and Egypt and a new conception of the British empire as far as the self-governing dominions, including Ireland, are concerned. Ireland forced Great Britain to grant her the status of a dominion, and dominion ministers declared that the dominions were sister nations with Great Britain in a union of equals known as the British Commonwealth of Free Nations. Lord Milner, speaking as a minister of the government in July, 1919, and again in June, 1920, declared his acceptance of this point of view in the following words: "There is no kind of authority

which in practice, whatever may be the theory of the constitution, the Parliament and people of the United Kingdom claim any longer to exercise over the Parliaments and peoples of the self-governing dominions. We frankly accept the position that we are partner nations of equal status." There was, he said, "Out and out equal partnership between the United Kingdom and the dominions." In foreign policy, he went on to say, the crown should take no action unless advised thereto by each responsible government of the group of states. Unanimity in the group was necessary to declare a war in which the empire was involved. In matters relating to one dominion, the crown would act on the advice and responsibility concerned. At the Imperial Conference of 1926 a more formal statement to the same effect was drawn up, and a detailed scheme for the reorganization of the relations of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations was elaborated for executive and legislative action.

From this it has followed that the dominions may have their own ministers abroad and may negotiate treaties on their own account, as Canada has already done in the Belgian-Canadian treaty and in the Halibut Fisheries treaty with the United States.

A more serious and practical manifestation of the nationalist movement has shown itself on the economic side of relations between Great Britain and her colonies. The colonies have long had tariffs, even against Great Britain, but by virtue of preferential rates on British goods, Great Britain has held a large share of the colonial markets against foreign traders. But the colonies like all states imbued with the virus of romantic nationalism are desirous of developing industries of their own, and in the tariff policy of the dominions since the war the general tendency has been to reduce the British preference and to raise tariff rates against all imports. On the other hand the dominions must long continue to need capital, and even after the imperial connection between England and the dominions ceases to be important for trade, it will still have value to Great Britain or to her investors because it affords an outlet for capital from Great Britain to the dominions.

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